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LIST OF AUTHORS

The article numbers to which an asterisk is added are those of book reviews.

CONTENTS

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

OBITUARIES

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

SHORTER NOTES

REVIEWS

CORRESPONDENCE

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEXT FIGURES

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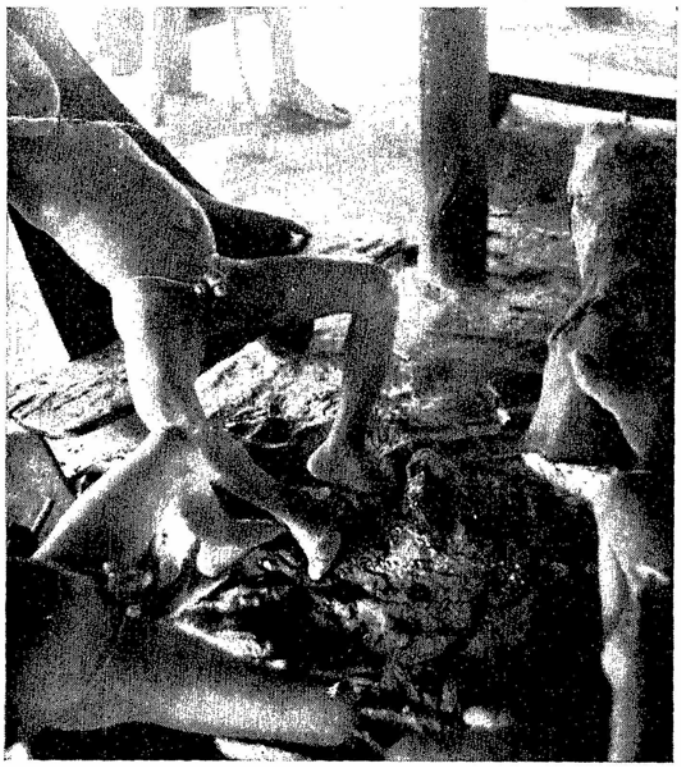
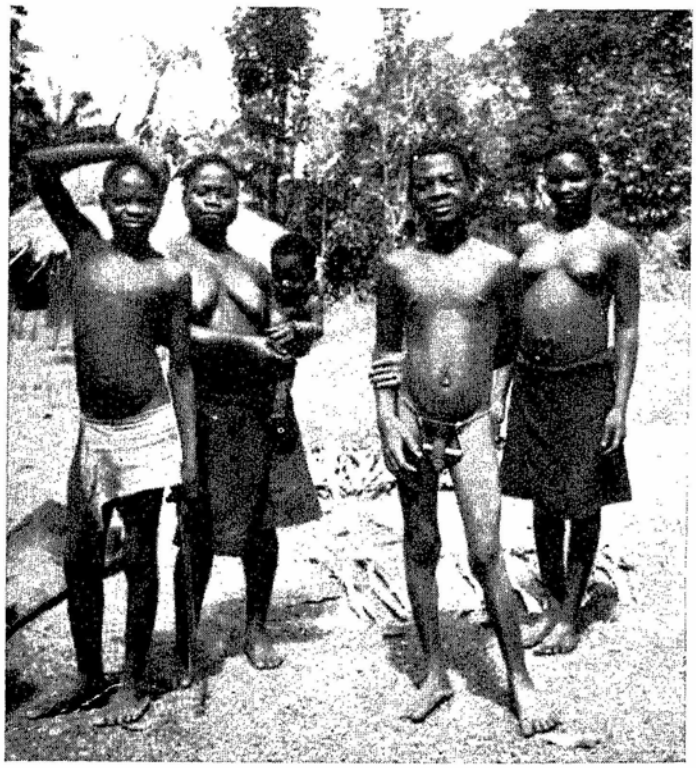
(*a*) *Making the initial incision*

(*b*) *The glans is forced through the incision.*



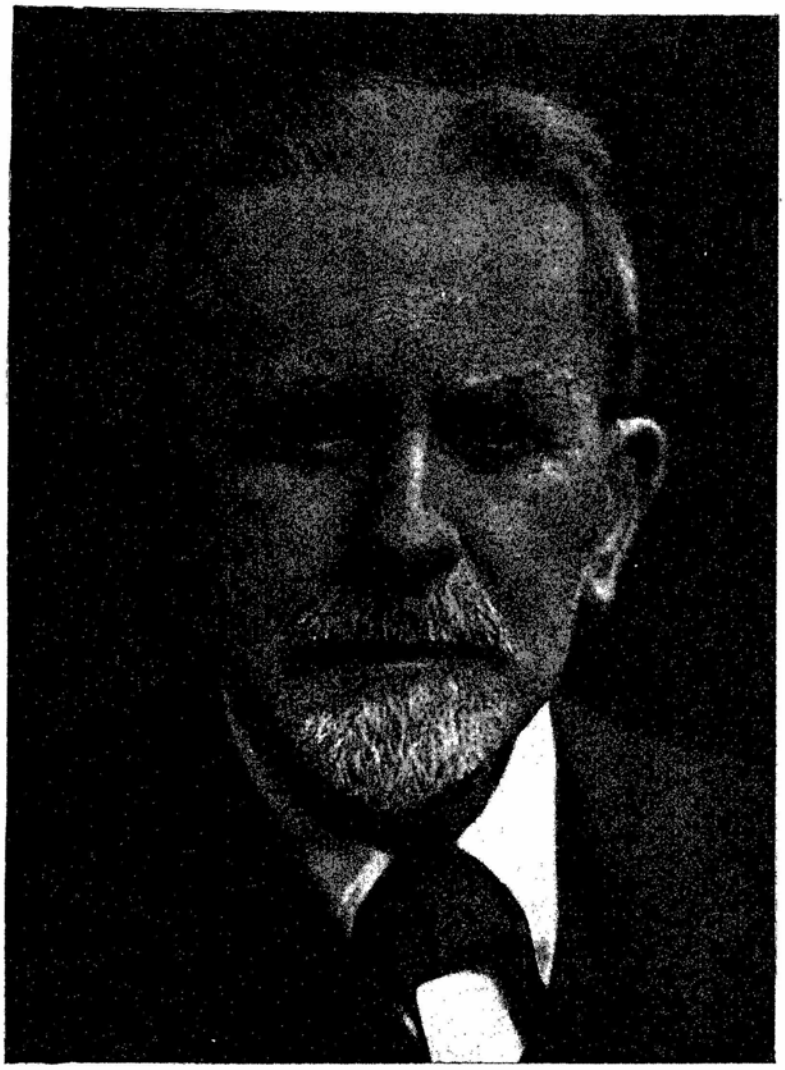
(*c*) *The boys sit on Tiv chairs in the reception hut.*



(*d*) *'Wood and string' makes the boys mobile soon. A Kparev youth*

CIRCUMCISION AMONG THE TIV

Photographs by P. J. Bohannan



JAMES GEORGE FRAZER*

by

PROFESSOR H. J. FLEURE, F.R.S.

The centenary of Frazer's birth is a welcome occasion for a tribute to the assiduous collector who was one of the pioneers of the evolutionary study of the thoughts, beliefs and rituals of mankind. At the time of his birth preternatural origins for these aspects of human activity were still widely postulated. His work supplemented the efforts of Darwin and Huxley to show that natural law reigned in those regions as it did in the world of anatomy and physiology. His life work was in libraries gathering and classifying data from other men's work in the field, and he has been criticized for too frequent disregard of diversities of regional environment and tradition. But it is probable that he felt the importance of these differences, and sought to set forth a provisional generalized evolutionary sequence in ritual in order to press forward the main argument of evolution within the domain of natural law. Probably no one will ever feel impelled to attempt a similar collection of data in any anthropological field of study; *The Golden Bough* and what one may call its offspring stand as classics which established the idea of evolution in human thought and aspiration. The classical scholarship and splendid phrasing that are characteristic of Frazer enriched his work and made it attractive to many a reader without special anthropological knowledge. It is one of the greatest of his achievements that many men,

Sir James George Frazer, O.M., F.R.S., F.B.A., Membre de l'Institut de France, was born on 1 January, 1854, and died on 7 May, 1941. Further reference to the centenary of his birth is made in article 5 in this issue. Obituary notices by Professors Radcliffe-Brown and James appeared in MAN, 1942, 1 *and* 2.

after Frazer, have added to and sometimes altered and superseded his conclusions. His category of Magic as a preliminary to religious development is now felt to be too crude, and the depth and antiquity of the tendency to awe and worship is allowed added significance. Frazer's studies of totems and so-called totemism are also more or less superseded, and opinion has veered towards functional interpretations. But, however people of different cultural traditions may have diverged in the course of ages, the study of that process of divergence must attract thought generation after generation as data accumulate and new details of the sequence of change come to light. And behind all studies of regional diversity lie facts of well-nigh universal importance such as the facts of sex, birth, adolescence, marriage, eldership, death, blood relationship, ritual relationship, slavery, a social code, and so on.

Of Frazer's studies of Pausanias, illuminated by his travels in Greece, his not very successful attempt to review the folklore of the Hebrew scriptures, and his attractive essays and comments on eighteenth-century literature, there is here no space to write. They are all further illustrations of the mind of a patient scholar who involuntarily gained in his lifetime almost every honour thinkable for such a case, and yet withal remained the same retiring researcher untouched by the pomps and vanities of the world.

CIRCUMCISION AMONG THE TIV*

by

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2 In the literature on the Tiv of the Benue Valley of Central Nigeria references to circumcision are numerous, but include some apparent contradictions and rather glaring misinterpretations. I offer this description and analysis both to place my own material and photographs on record,[1] and to indicate that most of the contradictions in the literature, particularly those dealing with fetishes (*akombo*) are more apparent than real.

The age at which Tiv are circumcised varies widely from one part of the country to another. In the large lineage of Iharev, in the north and north-west areas of Tivland, the average age at circumcision is about seven or eight years. In Masev, another large lineage bounding Iharev to the south, the age is about 13 or 14—Masev refuse to circumcise any youth before the appearance of pubic hair. Iharev men, when they see an uncircumcised boy of that age, will ask his lineage—if it is not Masev, they will chide him for being uncircumcised. If, however, he says that his lineage is Masev, they will merely note that Masev have queer customs. In Kparev, the central and largest Tiv lineage of this level, circumcision ages vary much more widely. I have known babes-in-arms to be circumcised at less than a year old, and I know one man who was circumcised at the age of 20 or 22. In the latter case, however, the operation had been postponed many times because the boy was epileptic, and the approach of the operation brought on attacks. Abraham notes (p. 124) that the variation in age depends on health and physical development. However, like other aspects of Tiv life which vary widely from one part of the country to the next, variations in circumcision ages by area have not in the past been reported.

In Tiv myth, half the tribe is descended from a son of 'Tiv,' the original ancestor of them all; the son is said to have been begotten before his father learned about circumcision. After 'Tiv' had learned of circumcision from the 'foreigners' (*Uke*) and had himself been circumcised, he begot the ancestor of the other half of the Tiv tribe.

Today, however, Tiv say that it is impossible for a man to have sexual relations before he has been circumcised. If one points out that this was apparently not the case if the myth of Tiv ancestor is to be believed, and that it is certainly not true among several of the surrounding tribes, Tiv say that you are quite right, but that in Tivland no woman will consent to sexual relations with any man who is uncircumcised, therefore their initial statement was correct. Tiv women say that the idea of sexual relations with an uncircumcised man is repugnant, and insist quite adamantly that no woman whatever would sleep with such a man. Some give reasons of cleanliness; most, however, phrase their distaste in terms of fastidiousness. We could find no other reason than this given by Tiv for the fact that they circumcise all normal males. Extensive questioning reveals no trace of religious motivation, though Tiv have, in order to make this point clear, contrasted their own customs with those of Mohammedans, among whom a religious reason is said (by Tiv) to be present. We could find no Tiv who would give a ritual reason of any sort for circumcision.

Circumcision is, however, associated in a symbolic way with adult male status. This became apparent to me when Tiv discussed the few neurotic males (I know only one and have heard of two or three others) who were not circumcised. Such a man did or had none of the things which are prized attributes of normal adult men: having a compound of one's own, prosperous farms, wives and children, performing ceremonies for control of fetishes (*akombo*) and seeking prestige. Tiv added, as a sort of summary to such a recital, 'He has none of these things; he is not circumcised.'

Although it has been stated in the literature that circumcision is connected with initiation into an age set, we could

* *With Plate A*

find no such connexion made by Tiv, and we inquired extensively in all the major areas of Tivland on this point. Age sets are not formed until after circumcision—are not, as a rule, formed until the ages of 17 or 18 or even later. We have indeed heard Tiv equate both age sets and circumcision with adulthood, and therefore bracket them; but we do not know of any case in which all or any significant proportion of the men of the same age set were circumcised at one time—nor, indeed, could we find a group of boys who were circumcised at the same time who were even approximately of a uniform age. Being circumcised together is sometimes given as a reason for a particularly close bond of friendship, but it is not connected so far as we could discover with age sets in the Kparev lineages of central Tivland, the only areas in Tivland in which age sets are still active today (they were apparently formerly found in the east, but never in the north-west).

Circumcision is called *ichôngo*, from the verb *tsôngo*, to circumcise. The same word is used for castration of animals. Traditionally the operation is performed by using a 'foreign' razor.[2] Circumcisors do not have special ritual and all of their necessary medical knowledge is of a non-sacred sort. Although, as we shall see, there are rituals performed for the boys just before they are circumcised, there are no fetishes (*akombo*) or other ritual associated with the circumcisor's art, so far as I can discover, and indeed none of the literature mentions that there might be. Circumcisors learn their art as apprentices, usually from their fathers or other close agnatic kinsmen. The apprentice pays for his training, all my informants insist, though I neglected to inquire about the amounts and times of such payment. I was told, however, that no circumcisor would practice, no matter how great his skill, unless he had bought the medicines and the right to perform the operation from someone who knew them already.

The standard fee which the circumcisor receives is a shilling for each operation. He can usually be hired at a cheaper rate if there are a large number of operations to be performed at one time.

Nowadays, particularly in central Tivland, many young, uncircumcised boys—usually at the age of about eight—take themselves to the dispensaries and ask the dispensers to circumcise them. In such a case, no magical ceremonies are performed before the operation, and the dispenser dresses the wound and applies European medicines until the wound is healed. I know one Kparev youngster of about seven years who asked and received his mother's permission to visit her parents; near their compound was a dispensary, and when he returned home three weeks later, he had been circumcised, and considered it a special 'surprise' for his mother and brothers. His older brothers, when they heard the news, shouted to the whole compound that wives must be watched especially carefully because their younger brother had become a man.

Even in those areas near dispensaries, however, there are a large number of circumcisors still practising. Circumcisors often come to the compound of one of the leading elders in a community to circumcise a group of boys, or they may do only one or two in each of several neighbouring compounds, or boys may be brought to the circumcisors' compounds and stay there until their wounds have healed. Akiga notes (p. 30) that only a brave man will allow his son to be circumcised in his agnatic lineage area, because the boy can be bewitched only by his agnates in this area. This statement was made to me also by many Tiv, but I found that most nevertheless feel secure enough in their personal relations within their agnatic lineages not to be apprehensive for the fates of their sons.

The operations which I wish to describe in detail occurred on 18 September 1951 in Ukusu lineage of Raav in Iharev-Ityôshin. There were 14 boys all but one between six and ten years of age; there was one youngster of about three. The circumcisor was a well-known and highly regarded operator from Ucha, another lineage of Raav. About an hour after sunrise the operations were begun—it was considered desirable to finish them all early in the cool of the morning, because blood, on analogy to oil, is believed to be thinner in the heat of the day, and therefore to be more difficult to clot with a styptic agent. The boys all bathed in a stream very early in the morning, then the 'blood fetish' (*akombo awambe*) was 'repaired' (*sôr*) for them by the head of the compound in which the operations were to take place. He placed wood ashes on a leaf of *ayande* (*marantachloa flexuosa*—both are symbols of a 'great fetish' called *swem*), then wet the ashes with water from a gourd. He dipped an eggshell into the wet ashes and with this he touched each boy on the feet, chest and back. Then each boy, one at a time, came forward and stood with his feet together, toes in the wet ashes, while the eggshell was again dipped into the ashes and pressed firmly on top of the two big toes.

This rite was variously called 'washing the blood fetish' 'repairing *swem*' and 'taking off the evil deeds (*wuhe ikuran*),' and it subserves precisely the same purpose as do those rites discussed by Akiga and Dr. East, though the form is somewhat different. It is in these matters that much of the apparent contradiction is to be found. Akiga states that three fetishes are 'washed' (*ô*) and names them: *igbe*, *ahumbe* and *megh*. It is noteworthy that all three of these fetishes are associated with bleeding or blood in one form or another. In the case being reported, some of my informants named one or more of these fetishes, while others said that the fetish concerned was the 'blood fetish (*akombo awambe*),' which is another way of saying the same thing. 'Blood fetish' could refer to any one or all three of the fetishes which Akiga names, and perhaps to several others.

It is important to note, however, that the fetishes can attack the boys only if they are empowered by witchcraft to do so. A fetish is a tool, and cannot act without being activated or motivated. It is hence, important that washing the fetish is a preventive against witchcraft—it is the regular means by which fetishes, once activated or empowered, are rendered harmless. The rite of washing the fetish, then, has precisely the same function as another mentioned by Akiga, translated descriptively by Dr. East as 'swinging a chicken rapidly round the boy's head.' This rite, called *wuhe ikuran*, is for the purpose of 'gathering (*kura*) the evil deeds (*wuhe*),' and is specific against the sort of

witchcraft which makes a person especially subject either to fetishes or to ordinary dangers.

Dr. East (pp. 31f.) further records a rite carried out beside a stream in order that the evil or danger may be carried away on the water. This is precisely the same rite as 'washing the fetish' which occurred in the case under description, and the one which is described by Akiga as 'taking off the evil.' In a full 'washing' ceremony, there are two rituals: one is performed in the compound and the other in the streambed. Either is often omitted. This rite, in the streambed, consists in removing, by means of a chicken, the 'evil' or 'guilt' (*ibo*) which is in a person and ends with the chant 'Evil descend, righteousness arise' (*ibo sen, isho i kondo*); most Tiv associate the disappearance of the 'evil' with the running water. In this case, the chicken is first touched to chest and back, or perhaps the head or other parts, of the individual being 'repaired' (*sôr*), and then, during the chanting of the 'evil descend,' etc., is swung back and forth to touch his feet. In the rite we have described in the case under discussion, the 'stream' was made by the water poured onto the ground, '*swem*' in the form of wood ashes was present as it, like running water, is an absorbent of evil. The chicken, as the mechanism for transferring the evil, was replaced by an egg (a common substitution in Tiv ritual) and the feet were involved. The feet are physically the lowest part of the body, and therefore the place from which evil must be drawn.

The point is that it is necessary to protect boys to be circumcised from witchcraft and to cleanse them from any potential witchcraft which may have been put upon them. There are several different ways of doing this: it can be done by performing either one or both of the rituals for washing fetishes; it may be done by putting the boys in contact with *swem* as in the case I am describing; or it may be done by a rite for 'removing the evil deeds' such as the chicken rite which accompanied the 'washing' reported by Akiga. The practice probably varies from one part of the country to another, though I cannot document this statement in detail.

Following this rite, the operations began. Of the 14 boys, two were the sons of the elder who performed the rite. One of these boys was the first to be operated on, the other the last. By this means, the elder declared to all that he not only was himself innocent of any witchcraft which might be worked, but also that he trusted the prophylactic measures he had taken.

A Tiv 'chair' (*ikônu*) was set in the middle of the compound, under the shade of a tree; the seat of this chair is about three inches off the ground (*cf.* Akiga, p. 33). The operator's tools and necessities were nearby—several pots of water, a sherd containing powdered charcoal. A stake had been driven about 18 inches into the ground and removed to leave a small, deep hole. A 'black stone' (*iwen i ii*) was brought and put just in front of the chair. Then one of the middle-aged men of the compound—and I believe it is important to note that he was a kind man whom everyone trusted—sat on the chair, and the first patient sat on the stone in front of him. The man wrapped his legs about the boy's legs so that when he exerted a slight downward pressure the boy could not move. The boy's head was then put back and clamped under the man's right arm, in a way both to hold his head and neck fast and to block his vision. Then two more men, one on each side, held the boy's shoulders and arms. The greatest fear that an operator has, this one told me, is that the boys will move during a crucial moment of the operation, and so hurt themselves seriously.

The actual operation was begun by working the prepuce gently back and forth, to discover its extent; it was then pulled forward as far as it would come, and a mark made on it with charcoal, showing the location of the glans corona. A further mark or dent was then made by the operator with his thumbnail about a quarter of an inch further forward on the prepuce. The foreskin was again pulled forward as far as possible, and a cut made along the line indicated by the thumbnail mark. The glans was then forced through this incision, leaving the partially severed prepuce entirely below the shaft of the penis. It was then removed with one or two further strokes of the razor on each side of the frœnum. The severed foreskin was dropped into the deep hole and a styptic agent applied to the wound. A few moments later the child walked into the nearby reception hut (*ate*), supported by an older boy or by an adult—either man or woman—if he needed support. Once inside, he again sat on a chair or plank bed; a small pile of dust was put on the floor before him onto which the blood dripped.

The styptic agent used is *alufu*. Dr. East (p. 35) identifies this grass as *pennisetum pedicellatum*. There are, however, two grasses which Tiv call *alufu*, both of which are used as styptic agents, and I do not know the scientific name of the other. Both are very effective. For use as a styptic agent, a handful of grass is rubbed into a ball between the palm, then a small amount of water is poured onto it and the water and the juice of the grass squeezed and allowed to drip onto the wound. It stings mightily.

Although the boys were allowed to scream at any time during the operation, those most admired were those who managed a joke—no matter how bad—at some time during the procedure. About half the boys attempted a joke: the most successful was a youngster of about eight, who shouted over and over again, 'Easy, easy, many women will weep if you err' (*Te, te, u tsume, kasev kpishi vaan*).

It should also be noted that the operation took place in public, in the middle of the compound. No one was excluded. There were as many women present as men. Small girls, the age of the boys, were allowed to be present—no one thought their presence unusual. The boys' mothers were present, and we thought tended to be slightly distraught, but they in no way interfered. One woman, whose very young grandson was being circumcised, kept her back to the operation and wondered to me nervously whether he wasn't perhaps a little too young: he couldn't possibly understand as yet that the real reason it was being done was to enable him to become a man, marry and have children: perhaps they should have waited until the child was a bit older.

The 14 operations required a little over an hour. At the end of this time, the operator cleaned his razor and shouted

to the women who had brought him water that he had finished with it. He then filled in the deep hole into which he had dropped the foreskins. I asked him why he buried the foreskins, and he said it was so that the pigs wouldn't find them. I asked specifically whether it was also to keep them from the witches (*mbatsav*) (see East, p. 34, footnote 2), and he replied laconically that perhaps it was. Two or three informants with whom I was accustomed to discuss such matters told me that they did not know that there was any special reason why a witch would want the foreskins. The compound head himself told me that it seemed that if witches wanted to harm the boys, there was no necessity for them to get possession of the foreskins. Beliefs in this matter may show wide differences in different areas.

About two hours after the operations were finished, the boys were given roast yams to eat. Most had completely recovered from shock and ate heartily. From now until the wounds were completely healed, the boys were under food taboos, connected with Tiv beliefs about healing. They could not eat fish with scales, for fear the scar would be scaly; the only fish which could be eaten was mud-fish (*indyar*) which is black and smooth-skinned. They were not allowed any food which contained small seeds, such as okra, tomatoes, gourd seeds or *ingishiim*, as the small seeds would effect the healing and surface of the scar. Further, they were allowed no meat at all, including fowl, because the fat would come out of the wound and retard healing.

Each boy had a calabash of water beside him and a supply of chicken feathers, the purpose of which was to keep the glans moist so that blood and lymph would not coagulate over the urethral opening and interfere with urination. This, I was told, was a dangerous possibility during the first few hours. Most boys were capable of taking care of this matter for themselves.

The boys slept in the reception hut, in the presence of the elders and some of the men of the compound, until their wounds were healed. Before this time they had slept in their mothers' huts.

Late in the afternoon, each of the boys was fitted out with 'sticks and string'. This term refers to a variety of gadgets whose purpose is to keep the legs apart during sleep, and to keep the wound from touching any part of the body. The two most common devices are: one by which one end of a stick some 15 inches in length is tied loosely to each knee; this keeps the knees apart while the boy sleeps, but allows considerable movement. The other is a device by means of which the wound is kept from touching the scrotum or legs. A small piece of stick or reed some six inches long is tied at each end with twine, the whole suspended from a strand of twine around the waist. The reed acts as a support for the penis. This device allowed the boys to be mobile much earlier than would otherwise have been the case.

More painful than the operation itself was the washing, which started on the second day. Akiga (p. 37) says that the wound is not bathed for five days, but in the case I saw wounds were bathed both morning and evening from the second day onward, for about seven days, after which the morning bathing was omitted, though the evening bathing continued until the wound was entirely healed. In the bathing, the scab and pus were removed from the wound, and oil or other medicine applied if it was felt to be needed. The scab was first softened with water or oil and then removed. The washing was done by an older relative; in this case all the men of the compound co-operated. The boys often had to be held during this painful process—and on several occasions I saw them held by three or four little girls very little older than themselves.

When a boy is circumcised, he enters into a new phase of his life. Although there is very little actual difference in his activities, he is considered more adult. It is often said that a boy should wear a cloth after circumcision, but many do not do so until puberty.

Akiga describes in detail (p. 137) the chiding (*ger*) of uncircumcised boys in which the newly circumcised jeer at their uncircumcised friends. All Tiv report this activity, it seems to me, in much more ruthless and formalized terms than it actually occurs. Remarks are indeed passed, and a great deal of bragging is done. But my own idea is that the 'shame' (*kunya*) aroused in the uncircumcised is greater than the actual teasing would warrant among ourselves.

Akiga also mentions that, soon after his recovery, the boy blackens his scar with charcoal and goes into the market dressed in beads. This is called 'dressing up for circumcision' (*wuha chôngo*); I have never seen it, and am told that it doesn't happen any longer. Several of my informants told me, recalling these practices, that in the old days when no one was circumcised until puberty, a recently circumcised youth would rub himself with camwood, and, dressed only in women's beads at the neck, waist and calves, go into the market to dance and display himself. Here, any woman who liked him very much would send a small calabash full of melon seeds (*ichegher*). When his mother asked who gave him the melon seeds, he would tell her. She would usually—but not always—be happy, and say that this was a good woman, and that the significance of the melon seeds was that the woman wanted to give him a feast next day. So, next day, at his mother's insistence, the boy would go and sit in this woman's hut with her, and she would prepare food. When he came home, his mother would ask, 'What did she do?' and the boy would reply, 'She gave me food and I ate it.' The mother would then say, 'My child, you know nothing!' and she would tell him that he must return next day, and after he had finished his food, he must grasp this woman's wrist and pull her towards him. So the boy went back, and after he had eaten, he grasped the woman's wrist as his mother had told him to do, after which this woman initiated him into the secrets and techniques of sexual relations. The boy must never tell anyone except his mother which woman it was who showed him these things.

Tiv project this story into past time, as they do many other of their fantasies. The relationship between actuality and fantasy is often expressed by Tiv as a relationship between present and past. There is no ground either for believing or disbelieving that the custom described in this story was actually ever followed. However, it is a part of

present-day Tiv belief—among many, at any rate—that it was.

It is also recorded by Akiga (p. 38) that after circumcision a boy is entitled to a chicken from his mother's lineage (his *igba*). He does not add, as other Tiv do, that this chicken provides the base on which, by stock-breeding and careful trading, a man is said to build his fortune. The chicken hatches eggs, and the chicks grow up and hatch out more eggs, which are traded for a goat, which bears young which are traded for a pig, which in turn bears young which are traded for a calf, which grows up and bears young which are sold or otherwise exchanged for a wife. Since the property by means of which one acquires this wife originally comes from one's mother's lineage, her daughters theoretically do not belong to any patrilineal marriage-ward group (*mbaye ingôl i môm*) because their mother was not acquired by exchange of a woman from that group. Rather the daughters can be exchanged for wives for one's sons. However, Tiv admit, such daughters are usually bewitched and will die unless they are made part of the marriage-ward group. This story of a man's financial success is widely told in different contexts[3]; in contexts of circumcision, it is said that the acquisition of the original property is from the mother's group following upon the new status associated with circumcision. In other contexts, neither circumcision nor the mother's lineage will be mentioned in connexion with this story.

The points to be made can be summarized briefly: Tiv circumcision is not associated with age sets in any way other than that it precedes age-set formation in time; neither is it associated with any initiation, school or ceremony, nor are women barred from observing it. The operation is performed for reasons of fastidiousness and is considered a necessary precedent to sexual relations. Most important, however, is that circumcision is a symbol of adult male status. When Tiv speak of one of the few neurotics in their midst who do not lead the lives of the normal male, they summarize his situation by saying, 'He is not circumcised.'

Notes

[1] Twenty-six months' research among Tiv between 1949 and 1953 was carried out with financial assistance from the Social Science Research Council and the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

[2] Akiga, p. 20, gives the common connexion between the foreign origin of circumcision and the foreign razor. Similar stories concerning the foreign origin of most elements of Tiv culture can be adduced.

[3] Bohannan, 1954.

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PLAINS INDIAN AGE GROUPS: SOME COMPARATIVE NOTES

by

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3 About ten years ago, W. F. Whyte published in Man (1944, 56) a short paper on 'Age-Grading of the Plains Indians.' The purpose of this paper was to provide some tentative hypotheses about the social conditions under which age-grading arises. He defined the phenomenon of age-grading in the following way:

> Age-grading . . . is a system of differential distribution of rights and obligations, of prohibited, permissible and required activities, according to different (socially recognized) periods of life and according to the social distributions established between the sexes.

He then proceeded to formulate, in a hypothetical way, the main social conditions under which this takes place. The following were the main types of societies in which, according to him, age groups arise: Societies which (1) emphasize activities requiring strength and dexterity; (2) require large co-operation; (3) have little division of labour; (4) have little economic inequality; and (5) pursue a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence. He then proceeded to test the validity of his hypothesis on the material about Plains Indian age groups and societies, as this was, at that time, among the best available material.

This hypothesis was, in a very general way, substantiated through the analysis of the Plains Indian material, although one point—the existence of differential wealth—was not fully substantiated, as some extent of such differentiation exists also among the Blackfoot, an age-graded tribe. It is, however, the assertion of this note that the conditions enumerated by Whyte are not universal conditions under which age groups arise. While almost no new material on the Plains Indians has been published since Whyte's paper,[1] yet very abundant material from other places in the world, especially in Africa, has shown that not all of his hypotheses can hold. Thus, age groups exist not only among nomads but also among peasants, like the Yakö and Ibo,[2] where we find also some division of labour and differentiation of wealth. The case of the military age grades of the Zulu[3] and other African monarchies and especially of the Nupe[4] are

even more striking in this respect. Yet it is true that the age groups in more differentiated societies have some special characteristics which distinguish them from those in less differentiated societies. To that extent there is some kernel of truth in Whyte's formulation.

The purpose of this note is to propose a different, more general hypothesis on the social conditions under which age groups arise, and to apply it to the Plains Indians' age groups. This hypothesis has been studied and tested over a very wide range of societies—primitive (especially African) and historical—and has been completely verified. As the material on other societies has already been published[5] I shall here only (*a*) state briefly the general hypothesis, and (*b*) apply it to the Plains Indian material.

My hypothesis says that age-set systems arise and function in those societies in which the basic allocation of roles is not overwhelmingly determined by membership in kinship groups, and where some important integrative functions are not fulfilled within these groups. These are societies in which (*a*) the descent group is not the exclusive or predominant group to which political, economic, and other functions and offices are allocated, nor the main repository and bearer of the ritual values of the society; (*b*) there exist, consequently, many important social relations and positions within the society, such as leadership in war and the organization of public activities, the regulation and allocation of which are based on membership in the society as a whole, *i.e.* apart from kinship affiliation to particular groups. From the point of view of division of labour and social differentiation the main problem is, then, according to this hypothesis, not whether any great degree of differentiation exists at all but whether, when it exists, it is based on various kinship groupings or other particularistic units, or whether specialized roles are allocated according to some universalistic criteria of achievement, etc.

If we apply these criteria to the Plains Indian societies, we shall find that the material at our disposal fully substantiates this hypothesis. The five age-grade tribes—the Hidatsa, Mandan, Arapaho, Gros Ventre and Blackfoot—were characterized by a lack of any differentiation based on kinship lines (*e.g.* membership in the various associations was achieved mostly by individual merit and not by hereditary ties), usually lack of hereditary chieftainship and offices, and of a more or less universal citizenship open to any member of the tribe without relation to his kin group. It seems also that their bonds were, to a relatively smaller extent, organized on kinship basis. Generally there existed among them a very strong spirit of *individual* (or age-group —but not kin-group) competition and rivalry, and a strong emphasis on individual achievement in the field of war, in bravery, etc.[6]

Another important feature, from this point of view, is that the various associations, membership in which was largely based on age, performed their main activities in those periods when the various dispersed bands gathered together in tribal camps. Then the interaction between various members of the tribe was very intensive and was regulated mainly by universalistic criteria.

In all the non-graded tribes, like the Crow,[7] we find, on the other hand, that the social and economic differentiation was largely based on kinship and hereditary criteria and that kinship groups were among the most basic units of the social division of labour. Economic specialization and accumulation of wealth was effected mostly through kinship units. It seems also that the most important political positions were also vested in kinship groups. Membership in the various associations, which were very similar in names and functions to those of the graded societies, was also determined to a very large extent by kinship and hereditary ties.

The material on Plains Indian societies fully substantiates my main hypothesis, and some additional comparative material from American Indian societies also substantiates it.

The organization of tribes on the basis of ceremonial association and principles, vested in a complementary way in various descent groups composing the tribe, is characteristic of the Pueblos,[8] while strong status differentiation based on competitive achievement performed between families, households, etc., acting as corporate groups, represented by some of their members and not oriented only towards individualistic achievement, may be found among the Kwakiutl and other Coastal Indian tribes with their famous potlatch institution. Neither of these has any age groups.[9]

It would be worth while to dwell for a minute on another aspect of the problem which was raised by Whyte, *viz.* the relation between division of labour and social differentiation and the structure of age groups. While it has been shown that age groups do exist in differentiated societies—if they are based on universalistic criteria—yet a great extent of social differentiation does affect the structure of age groups. The main such effects which can be discerned to a relatively small extent among the Plains Indians, but can be fully seen in other societies, are the following[10]:

> First, the length of the age span covered by age groups is inversely related to the span of life in which achievement-oriented, specialized activities prevail. Secondly, the extent of regulation of over-all behaviour of the members of society by age groups is inversely related to the existence of specialized regulative agencies in the society. Thirdly, the degree of autonomy of age groups and of performance by them of the most important integrative tasks of society is also inversely related to the existence of specialized political agencies and seats of authority.

The basic difference from the point of view of age-grading between specialization based on universalistic criteria of achievement and that based on kinship groups can be seen in a comparison between age groups and various types of associations found in kinship-organized societies. It can be seen, for instance, in some Melanesian societies among which there exists the known system of the *Sukwe*, men's clubs with a very complicated system of grades and ranks.[11]

In the older literature on age-grading this system was often compared to some age societies, particularly those of the Plains Indians, because of the external similarity of 'grades' which youths wish to attain through payment of entrance fees to various 'associations.' Yet the basic difference has already been succinctly analysed by R. Lowie in his earlier writings.[12] The Melanesian system constitutes a combination of differential status which is achieved through competitive, achievement-oriented activities, and the limitation of these positions which are largely hereditary in family groups. Both of these principles are incompatible with age groupings, and we indeed see that here age groups are completely non-existent, despite some formal similarities of these associations to the grading system of some age groups.

Notes

[1] The main new publications known to me are: A. Bowers, *Manden Social and Ceremonial Organizations*, Chicago, 1950, and R. Hauks and J. Richardson, *Tribe under Trust*, Toronto, 1950. The classical description, on which our analysis will also be based, is to be found in Vol. XI, part XIII, of the *Anthropological Papers* of the American Museum of Natural History, edited by R. H. Lowie.

[2] See D. Forde, 'Ward Organization among the Yakö,' *Africa*, 1950; D. Forde and G. I. Jones, *The Ibo and Ibibio Speaking People of S.E. Nigeria, Ethnographic Survey of Africa*, Internat. Afr. Inst., London, 1951.

[3] See H. Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, Oxford, 1947; E. J. Krige, *The Social System of the Zulu*, London, 1936.

[4] S. F. Nadel, *A Black Byzantium*, Oxford, 1942.

[5] See the following papers by me: 'Youth Culture and Social Structure in Israel,' *Brit. J. Sociol.*, June, 1951, and 'African Age Groups—A Comparative Study,' *Africa*, April, 1954, as well as my forthcoming book on *Age Groups and Social Structure*.

[6] See especially H. Elkin, 'The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming,' in R. Linton (ed.), *Acculturation in Seven Indian Tribes*, New York, 1940, pp. 207–59.

[7] See R. Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, New York, 1935.

[8] F. Eggan, *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*, Chicago, 1951.

[9] P. Drucker, 'Rank, Wealth and Kinship in Northwest Coast Society,' *Am. Anthrop.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 55–66.

[10] See in greater detail my paper in *Africa*, *loc. cit.*

[11] W. H. R. Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914, Vol. I, p. 138, Vol. II, p. 250, and R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, Chapter X.

[12] R. Lowie, *op. cit.*; and see also R. Firth, *Human Types*, London, 1938, pp. 104f.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

Status Evaluation in the Hindu Caste System. *By H. N. C. Stevenson. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 28 May, 1953. An essay based on this lecture was awarded a Curl Bequest Prize for 1953 by the Council of the Institute and will be published at full length in its* Journal.

Mr. Stevenson first drew attention to the need, intensified by the declaration of the Government of India that 'untouchability,' so-called, is illegal, to understand more precisely what is meant by this concept and by Hindu ideas about status in general. He described the Hindu caste system as a status system based upon a social structure which is segmentary (in the repetitive sense familiar to Africanists) at the lineage level and below, and fissile at the level of the endogamous and commensal groups, and pointed out that status in the system is linked with behaviour patterns which are themselves linked with various levels of the social structure. In his talk the main points made were:

(1) There are two categories of status in the Hindu caste system—secular status and ritual status—each derived from different sources and socially manifested in different ways. Very little sound research has been done into the interaction in daily life between these two categories.

(2) Secular status derives from such criteria as skill, education, wealth, land ownership and public office.

(3) Ritual status derives from behaviour patterns linked with mystical beliefs, mainly those which he labelled 'The Hindu pollution concept', which concern purity and pollution. There is an important distinction between the social consequences of mental behaviour, such as meditation and right and wrong thinking, and social behaviour, such as right and wrong marriage or diet.

(4) The principal constituent beliefs of the Hindu pollution concept are:

(*i*) that group behaviour patterns establish the natal state of purity or pollution of all group members and, through that, their group ritual status;

(*ii*) that this group-derived ritual status of the individual cannot be altered so long as he or she conforms to the pattern of natal group behaviour;

(*iii*) that right thinking and right behaviour—meditation, devotion, moral uprightness—may promote the mental and spiritual purity or personal ritual status of the individual to a level above that of his natal group, but any such rise in personal ritual status will be accompanied by a deviation from the group behaviour pattern;

(*iv*) that wrong thinking and wrong behaviour such as the breach of ritual avoidances will reduce the ritual purity of an individual to a level below that of his natal group;

(*v*) that so long as a person remains socially integrated with his status group internal physical purity—the results of right social behaviour—is an essential step towards the attainment of mental and spiritual purity.

(5) The main principles governing evaluation of natal status through group behaviour are:

(*i*) that the life principle is sacred, and that destruction of life for a living (as in oil-seed crushing) is polluting;

(*ii*) that death and decay are polluting and therefore occupational association with them is polluting;

(*iii*) that all human emissions are polluting, and therefore occupational association with these, too, is polluting;

(*iv*) that the cow is sacred above all creatures, and that killing it, or flaying it, or dealing in skins or eating its flesh is sinful, and therefore polluting;

(*v*) that certain other creatures—some monkeys, cobras, squirrels, etc.—are also sacred in varying degrees or in some localities, and that killing or eating them is polluting;

(*vi*) that drinking of alcohol is polluting.

There is considerable regional variation in the relative importance of these principles.

(6) Pollution may be permanent or temporary, being subdivisible into voluntary pollution, the result of wrong behaviour,

and involuntary pollution, the result of such natural crises as birth, death and menstruation. Pollution may also be external and internal, the latter being much the less easily expunged.

(7) Permanent pollution is a function of the relations between 'castes' and between commensal and endogamous groups; between man and the phenomena of the natural world, and between these phenomena themselves.

(8) Temporary pollution is situational, and in general is a function of the relations between an individual and the commensal and endogamous groups of which he or she is a member.

(9) Ritual status is socially manifested mainly through ritual avoidances which may arise from: (*i*) social activation of a single group (or category, *e.g. sannyasis*) by one or more beliefs, or (*ii*) social activation of a number of groups—from the family to the 'caste'—by one or more beliefs.

(10) There is no fixed hierarchy of 'castes' and 'sub-castes.' Group status—both secular and ritual—is variable and relative, in time, space and interaction. Relativity and fission are the characteristics which make possible the status mobility of endogamous groups. Observance of different combinations of status principles makes possible fine differentiations of status at all levels.

(11) Change of ritual status by endogamous groups may be both upward and downward, upward change being secured only by generations of conformation to behaviour patterns which avoid pollution, and by severing marital and commensal relations with any non-conforming section.

(12) Ritual status is of different orders at different structural levels:

(*a*) At the level of endogamous and commensal groups, group ritual status *vis-a-vis* like groups can be changed, and is evaluated on the basis of:

(*i*) the observance of certain standards of behaviour, mainly concerning occupation, diet and marriage, by reference to the pollution concept;

(*ii*) the right to perform certain rites, of which the most important is the orthodox initiation rite of *upanayana*, which divides the *duija*, or 'twice-born' groups, from the lower orders;

(*b*) At the level of exogamous groups, group ritual status *vis-a-vis* like groups cannot be changed, and is evaluated according to:

(*i*) the ritual status of the endogamous group to which the exogamous group belongs;

(*ii*) mythological origin;

(*iii*) difference in protecting deities.

(*c*) At the level of the individual, group ritual status *vis-a-vis* the whole Hindu system is inherited and cannot be changed except by deviation from the group behaviour pattern of the endogamous group to which the individual belongs. It is evaluated:

(*i*) within the caste system, according to the status of groups in category (*a*) to which the individual belongs;

(*ii*) within the endogamous group, according to the group in category (*b*) to which the individual belongs.

On the other hand personal ritual status, achieved through such deviations from the group pattern of behaviour as asceticism, is variable, but involves severance of group ties if the variation is to become permanent.

(13) The emphasis on behaviour patterns rather than ritual as the main criterion of status evaluation paves the way for an all-India frame of status reference capable of linking together all castes, tribes, sects, creeds, classes and races into a consistent status system.

(14) There is an urgent need for field research in this vitally important field of Hindu life, with particular reference to the interaction of secular and ritual status, the nature and function of purificatory agents, and the function of the pollution concept—acting through the sanctions against non-observance of avoidance rules—as an integrative factor in the caste system.

In the discussion which followed, the main point raised was the degree to which the rules of avoidance are, in fact, observed in modern India. In this connexion Professor Dube remarked that there is now a considerable variation in behaviour between the villager at home and the villager abroad at the market centre or city, and that this indicated a tendency to relax rules of avoidance. Mr. Stevenson pointed out that it is possible that such deviations have always existed in some degree, and that there are also great variations between what is done in rural and in urban areas and between the habits of wealthy 'expatriates' and their relatives in the natal village, but that these factors emphasize rather than lessen the need for understanding the principles underlying status evaluation. The complexities of the Hindu status system will become understandable only when research has discovered all the principles of status evaluation, the regional zones in which they apply, and their relative importance in these zones.

SHORTER NOTES

Sir James George Frazer, 1854–1941: A Commemoration at the Osler Club

5 At the 118th meeting of the Osler Club, held at the Medical Society of London on Friday, 15 January, 1954, at 7.45 p.m., with the President, Dr. A. W. Franklin, in the chair, the centenary of the birth on 1 January, 1854, of Sir James George Frazer was commemorated. After the minutes of the last meeting had been signed, the President read a message from Mr. Warren R. Dawson, Honorary Member of the Osler Club and Frazer Lecturer at Glasgow University, 1936.

Professor J. M. R. Cormack, Professor of Classics in the University of Reading, opened the meeting by reading a paper on 'Black Magic in the Græco-Roman World.' The lecturer first gave some account of the history, theory and practice of magic in antiquity, making use, by way of illustration, of two main sources, in addition to the literary, the Attic *tabellae defixionis* of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. collected by Wünsch in *IG III* with the non-Attic and later ones collected by Audollent in his *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris, 1904, and the Greek magical papyri from Egypt, ranging from the second to the fifth centuries A.D., edited by Preisendanz.

Particular attention was paid to the syncretism that followed the impact of the East on Greece after the Persian Wars and the conquests of Alexander the Great, with the host of new deities, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian, that came to enrich the pantheon of magic, and stress was laid on demonology, another important contribution from the East, which first gave the idea of the demons as intermediaries between the gods on the one hand, and animals and inanimate nature on the other.

The material vehicles for sympathetic magic, from the animal, plant and mineral kingdoms, were then discussed, as well as the immaterial, the formulæ and invocations, stress being laid on the indissoluble connexion between the name and the thing or person named and the importance of calling on gods and demons by their real names. Often gods in magic were referred to by the number corresponding to the letters of their names, *e.g.* the Gnostic god Abraxas who owed his existence to the fact that the letters of his name in Greek represent 365, the days of the year. In addition mention was made of the meaningless formulæ, including the Ephesian letters, which depended for their value on the permutations and combinations of vowels and consonants, as in the nonsense rhymes.

The lecturer closed with illustrations of three classes of *defixiones*, those used in sport, love and litigation. Examples were quoted from Rome and Carthage of the ancient equivalent of nobbling the favourite, and particular reference was made to the use of magic in silencing witnesses and even lawyers in the law court. To this latter class of legal *defixiones* belonged the leaden curse tablet in the Greek Museum of Reading University (published in *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. XLIV, 1951, pp. 25–34).

The discussion was opened by Professor Raymond Firth, F.B.A., President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, who presented an evaluation of Sir James Frazer, his reputation and his limitations, as viewed by the social anthropologist to-day. He congratulated Professor Cormack on having read a paper in the spirit of Frazer. H.E. Madame Subandrio dealt briefly with black and white magic and with sorcery as practised in her own country, Indonesia. The discussion was continued by Dr. E. B. Strauss; Dr. E. J. Dingwall, Honorary Vice-President, Magic Circle; Dr. Michael Fordham; Dr. G. C. R. Morris; Mr. Dickson Wright; Dr. Harold Avery; Professor V. Gordon Childe, Director, Institute of Archæology, London; and Dr. Green-Armytage. Professors Cormack and Firth briefly replied.

Reference to the Dead among the Penan. *By Rodney Needham, M.A., Ph.D., Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford*

6 Among many peoples of the world the personal name or style of a dead person is avoided, and some other term is employed when such a person is spoken of. An ancient and well documented usage is that of reference to a deceased Malay ruler by means of a *marhum* title. 'When the king dies his name is dropped, and he receives the title of "Marhum," the late or "deceased," with the addition of an expression alluding to some prominent fact in his life, or occasionally to the place of his decease' (Skeat, 1900, pp. 35f.). *Marhum* comes from the Arabic and means 'that has found mercy' (Wilkinson). In the type of reference indicating where the person died, *marhum* is followed by *mangkat*, 'to be borne aloft,' a euphemism for death when speaking of princes (Wilkinson). The reference may be to a topographical feature, as in Marhum Mangkat di Baroh, 'he who died by the riverside' (Maxwell, 1882, p. 102). More importantly, in this paper, it is most commonly to a particular locality or area, as in Marhum Mangkat di Kota Lama (Maxwell, p. 100) or Marhum Mangkat di Pahang (Maxwell, p. 98).

This last mode of reference, applied to Malay rulers, is also used by the Eastern Penan, one of the two tribes of the Penan people, forest nomads of the interior of north-western Borneo. The Penan in general believe that to mention the name of a dead person, particularly when he has been dead for less than about a year, is to incur his displeasure and to provoke through his agency certain misfortunes. This applies not only to his personal name but also to his teknonymic style. The Eastern Penan, therefore, when they wish to refer to a dead person, use the term *dulit*. I do not think it is used in any other context, and I could not extract from the Penan any meaning of the word other than its use in reference to the dead. It has no connexion in Penan culture (as distinct from etymologically) with the Malay *duli*, dust.

It is used prefixed to the name of the river area in which the individual died, so that if a man dies in the valley of the Tebenyi he is referred to afterwards as 'Dulit Tebenyi,' and another who dies in the valley of the Liwen is known as 'Dulit Liwen.' If two people die in the same river area they may be referred to either by the names of minor tributaries, or, if they died in the same place, by the same name. The latter event occurs so extremely seldom that the Penan do not regard it as a possible source of confusion.

The other tribe, however, the Western Penan, express the same avoidance in a different way. When they refer to a dead person they use the term *mukun*. This normally means 'aged,' not merely 'old'; it implies weakness and decrepitude. This word is prefixed to a term indicating the relationship of the deceased to the speaker. Thus the word for a sibling is *padi*, and a person referring to a dead sibling speaks of 'Mukun Padi.' (This does not literally mean 'aged sibling,' which is *padi mukun*.) A parent's sibling is referred to as 'Mukun Vi,' and a cousin as 'Mukun Sak,' from [*padi pe*]*sak*, cousin. Other kin are referred to similarly, the term Mukun being prefixed to the kinship term of reference. All Penan are regarded as kin, and any dead person is known by such a term. The smallest deceased baby is also known as Mukun, without the literal meaning of 'aged' causing the Penan any sense of incongruity. The use of one term to refer to two persons in the same kinship category is said to lead to no confusion: if narrower identification is required the deceased person can be specified by the river area in which he died or by his relationship to some living person.

I can offer no explanation why the tribes use different terms. The Western Penan do not recognize *dulit* as the equivalent of their *mukun* in referring to the dead; and the Eastern Penan use the word *mukun* merely to mean 'aged.' Why the Penan so avoid a dead person's name and fear his spirit is a complex matter of Penan religion that I cannot deal with here.

That a similar usage should be found at opposite ends of a cultural scale in south-east Asia, among Malay princely rulers and Bornean nomads, is a matter of some ethnological interest; but a sociological comparison seems likely to prove baffling and unprofitable. What is needed is information about the forms and principles of ways of referring to the dead among other peoples of Borneo.

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The Bektashi in the District of Strumica (Macedonia). *By Professor Milenko S. Filipović, University of Belgrade*

7 There are still considerable numbers of Turks in the District of Strumica, although many emigrated to Turkey after the Balkan Wars, 1912–1913, and after the First World War, 1914–1918. The Strumica Turks are not, however, homogeneous, but are composed of two main groups. The first, and more significant, is represented by the Yourouks, inhabiting several villages on the southern slopes below Mt. Ograždeh. This group of villages is therefore known as Youroukloukk. In Mt. Elenica, which is merely a peak of Mt. Belasica, there are also two Yourouk villages (Čepeli and Zleševo), but these belong to the Doiran Yourouk zone. The second Turkish group in the district of Strumica are the Čitaks, the Turks in the villages in the Strumica Plain and between the two Yourouk zones. The Yourouks accuse the Čitaks of being descendants of Islamized Slavs. There are indeed some differences in dialect and in way of life: the Yourouks were previously nomadic herdsmen, and the Čitaks settled farmers. A special Turkish group among the Čitaks are the Bektashi in the following villages: Banjsko, Svidovica, and Makrijevo in the region of Podgorija, beneath the northern slopes of Mt. Belasica. The village of Svidovica is their centre.[1] Although members of this group form a community merely on the basis of their sectarian principles and practices, they are treated in this region also as a separate ethnic group, and not without reason, since they differ from other Turks in the District

of Strumica in both their origins and their ways of life. It may be added that there are many Bektashi in the village of Zleovo (District of Radoviste).

The Bektashi are a well-known Muslim dervish order, founded, according to their own tradition, which is known also among the Strumica Bektashi, by Hadji Bektash (in the fourteenth century); the written records of the order, however, date only from the sixteenth century.

In Bektashi tradition are to be found Sufi ideas on the basic equality of all denominations and on the worthlessness of all external cult activities. Protected by dervishhood, many Christian, gnostic and heathen elements have been preserved among them. The Bektashi usually claim to be Sunnites, but, in so far as they can in general be held to be adherents of Islam, they are in fact ardent Shiites and worship Ali.[2] The order was in its time closely connected with the Janissary organization. Among the Balkan Muslims the Bektashi order had most adherents in Albania. Even today there are many Bektashi in Albania. It is significant that the Bektashi in Albania have latterly ceased to be considered adherents of Islam and are regarded as an independent denomination. It is not difficult to explain how Bektashism spread so widely in Albania. The Janissary army and the Bektashi order were formally abolished, in 1826, but the abolition could be enforced only in Istanbul and in provinces where the Turkish central government had direct authority and power, and Albania remained outside such territory. The authority of the central Turkish government was already quite insignificant at that time in Albania, and the Bektashi there continued their existence and activity completely undisturbed. Bektashism in Albania probably did much to create and preserve the remarkable religious tolerance which is so peculiar to the Albanians. It is probable that Bektashism spread from Albania among the Muslims in Macedonia itself, especially in more recent times, and probably also among other Muslims in Yugoslavia.

There were many dervishes among the Turks in the District of Strumica, most of whom belonged to the Melami and Halveti orders, while the Bektashi lived only in the villages mentioned and in the town of Strumica. The other Turks condemn the Bektashi, considering them not to be orthodox Muslims, and the Bektashi do the same in regard to other Turks. While all the Turks in Svidovica are Bektashi, there are both Bektashi and Melami adherents in Makrijevo and Banjsko. But not every Turk considering himself a Bektashi is necessarily a genuine Bektashi, since even among those observing the Bektashi religious principles and rituals there are only a few Bektashi dervishes actually ordained in the order by the prescribed ritual. In 1935 only about 30 such dervishes were to be found in Svidovica. As I have been told by them, only men of genuine devotion and charity enter the order as dervishes, since a Bektashi dervish must live strictly in accordance with the rules of the order which demand a high standard of honour. In 1935 there was only one such genuine Bektashi (dervish) in Makrijevo, but all the Turks in this village observe the fast in the month of Moharrem—and this is one of the chief characteristics of the Bektashi—in addition to the fast in the month of Ramazan. Several aged people in the Yourouk village of Amzali, where there are no Bektashi, also observe the Moharrem fast.

The Bektashi dervishes in Svidovica claim that the Bektashi are the oldest dervish *tarik* (order), all the remaining orders being merely branches of it. They say also that the Bektashi originate from the *Inkjaronlar*, *i.e.* from the Christians in Constantinople before its capture by the Turks.

The ceremony of ordination in Svidovica involves offering a sacrifice (*kurban*), consisting of a ram at least three years old. The Strumica Bektashi take pride in this, since—so they assert—among the Melami a cock can be used for sacrifice, and the ordination may even take place without sacrifice.

The Svidovica Bektashi informed me that the headquarters of their order was in 'Antep' (perhaps the town of Ghazi Anteb in Asia Minor), and that the nearest local Bektashi centre was at Maya Dagh, a large Turkish village south of the town of Gevgeli (the village is actually in Greece). However, the main Bektashi *tekke* for the Eastern Vardar area and the District of Strumica is at Štip. It is to be emphasized that the Bektashi in the District of Strumica also revere the Bektashi saint, Sari Saltik, who is worshipped especially by the Bektashi in Albania and in parts of Yugoslavia adjacent to Albania.

The Bektashi are distinguished from other Muslims by the fact that they worship the saints Hasan and Husain, the sons of Ali the Imam (Azreti Ali). Consequently, they are representatives of Shia Islam in Yugoslavia.

According to the Bektashi tradition, both Hasan and Husain were murdered after horrible torture: Hasan was poisoned, and Husain beheaded. Their executioners tortured them especially by not allowing them to drink water. In memory of that torture the Bektashi fast for the first 12 days in the month of Moharrem and during that period do not drink water even at night and use as a beverage only sherbet or buttermilk. The Melami assert that the Bektashi drink buttermilk even during the daytime when fasting. When fasting in Moharrem the Bektashi do not arrange any entertainment. When the fast is over—and this is the only fast considered compulsory for the genuine Bektashi—they prepare, first in the local *tekke*, the *arife* feast, and later separate families prepare the *arife* in their own homes if they so wish. The *ashure* has to be prepared for the *arife*: a little of each kind of grain, mostly of wheat, is taken and boiled together. Both the Imam and the attendants pray collectively and perform the *duva*, the prayer, then they dine and divide the *ashure* with other families. The *arife* is prepared on three other occasions yearly.

Unlike other Muslims, the Bektashi in the District of Strumica do not eat the flesh of cocks or rabbit. While other Muslims are obliged to bathe the whole body after sexual intercourse, the Bektashi teach that it is sufficient to wash the sexual parts. The Bektashi believe that it is permitted to drink alcoholic beverages; they drink spirits but not wine. I have been told in Makrijevo that there are two kinds of Bektashi: those drinking spirits (called Bektashi Shabani) and those abstaining from them. The Bektashi did not so strictly observe the custom of female seclusion and veiling as the other Turks in the same region (veiling has recently been prohibited by law in Yugoslavia). They held that women could also be dervishes. Such women do not avoid the company of male dervishes and meet together with them for prayer and conversation. The other Turks accuse the Bektashi of not praying in mosques, although they have mosques in their villages; the *tekkes* are their main places of worship.

Bektashism further contains some Christian traits which include the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and a form of communion and confession. In the District of Strumica the Bektashi observe some rituals and customs in the same way as the Slavs in that region. Primarily they celebrate *Badnik*, Christmas Eve. In Turkish times (before 1912) every Bektashi used to fire shots on that day. The head of each household visits his cattle on Christmas Eve, carrying an axe and, threatening his sheep with it, asks whether they will breed. He goes also to his barn asking whether it will fill itself with grain. Another man, accompanying him, asks him not to kill the sheep, as they will breed, and affirms that grain will be abundant. On that day they prepare cakes, and a cake (*kolak*) is put on the ploughshare, and walnuts are brought out, as among the Orthodox peasants. The Bektashi also celebrate New Year's Day (1 January) in the same way as the Orthodox Slavs. They also

celebrate *Krklar* (Turkish: forty, in the Orthodox Church the day of 40 Martyrs, on 9 March old style): they do not work, they visit friends, arrange picnics and the like. The Bektashi, except the ordained dervishes, go on that day to the river. Three days later they celebrate *Sultan Mejruzlar* (*i.e. Nevruz*, the Persian New Year's feast, but postponed for two days); no work is done on this day either. On Maundy Thursday or Good Friday the Bektashi in Svidovica and Makrijevo prepare Easter eggs, dyeing them only in one colour. These are given to children. St. George's day (*Adrlez*) is an important holiday with the Bektashi when they gather from the villages, men and women in separate groups. On St. George's Eve women take an earthenware vessel to the spot where they intend to gather, filling it with water. Each woman then places in the vessel as many flowers as there are members of her family, marking each flower. The next day, after the midday meal, they sing, and each woman takes out her flowers and wears them for some time. Those who wish take water from the vessel and sprinkle sheep in order that mosquitoes may not bite them. On St. George's Day everybody weighs himself. The Bektashi also observe St. Demetrius' day (*Kasum, Kasim*, 26 October old style) as a holiday, when they prepare a festive supper; it is customary to visit the village sheikh on that day. Such a visit is called *ziyaret* (visit, pilgrimage).

These numerous correspondences with neighbouring Orthodox Slavs in the performance of rituals and customs can be explained only by assuming that the ancestors of the Strumica Bektashi, in so far as they were not immigrants, were islamized autochthonous Slavs who retained certain of their old customs and beliefs. This was not difficult as they came under the influence of the Bektashi, known as friendly towards Christians and having both in their religious tolerance and their doctrine much in common with them. It may be mentioned that the Čitak dialect contains many Slavonic elements.

Tekke are the main meeting places of the Bektashi. They had a *tekke*, in Banjsko close to the thermal springs, which was destroyed in the Balkan wars (1912–1913). A *turbe* (mausoleum) still exists in the same village. In the mausoleum the body of Ismail-baba is preserved. According to tradition, he died while sitting on Čuka (hill) and looking at the fair below Banjsko. Tradition says that Ismail-baba came from the town of Doiran, lived in a tent 'like a Turkoman' and died some 120–150 years ago (recorded in 1932). After his death a pasha came to the village; when the pasha saw Ismail-baba's body a flame rose from it. The pasha had the mausoleum built for Ismail-baba and he also founded the *tekke* with a hospice for travellers. Others say that Ismail-baba appeared in a dream to the *kadi* (judge) of Doiran, and that the *kadi* erected the mausoleum. Every evening a candle is lighted in the mausoleum and fresh water with a towel is brought in. The sick, looking for help from the dead sheikh, bring and deposit in the mausoleum kerchiefs, money, animals, etc., as offerings.

It is related that Ismail-baba was a Bektashi and this is actually a Bektashi *tekke*. I had no opportunity of learning by whom the *tekke* was founded, but Professor Tihomir R. Djordjević recorded, in Strumica, that the *tekke* in Banjsko was founded by Sinan-baba, originally from Albania. The last sheikh in the *tekke* was Mehmed-baba, who died about 1913; he was preceded by Moharrem-baba *Arnaut* (*i.e.* Albanian), about 1870. Moharrem-baba was perhaps a descendant of Sinan-baba.

Banjsko, a village which is remarkable for its very hot springs, was a significant place in earlier times, but is now unimportant. The village possessed remarkable Muslim buildings, connected with the name of Messi-pasha, who was, according to local tradition, a son or brother-in-law of the famous Ghazi Evrenos Bey, an early Ottoman *ghazi* (buried at Yenidje Vardar, in Greece). There were also some Christian places of worship. There are many stories about an ancient monastery close to the thermal springs, but that place is actually within the borders of the village of Gabrovo. The brook, Klisse Deresi (*i.e.* Church Brook), runs through the village, and people tell that close to the brook there once existed a church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs, and that another church, that of St. Theodore, respected also by the Turks, was on the plain below the village. The village suffered from a plague and the church was ruined at that time. I mention and stress these legends, since the Bektashi are especially known for the fact that they frequently settled close to ancient places of worship, adopting them in that way, and it is most likely that the same occurred in Banjsko: Bektashi *tekke* and the mausoleum succeeded ancient Christian sanctuaries. From this point of view it is very significant that Christians in the District of Strumica believe that Ismail-baba, who is buried in the mausoleum, was really St. Charalambos, a saint much esteemed in Strumica. They believe that a monastery of St. Charalambos existed in earlier times on the site of the mausoleum and so they bring to the mausoleum offerings dedicated to St. Charalambos.

Several *turbe* (mausolea) existed round the village of Svidovica: Ali-baba, Kara-baba, Zümbül-baba (a woman!), Durgut-baba, Aljo-baba, Dervish Ibrahim-baba, and one anonymous *turbe*. All these have been destroyed except that of Ali-baba. Ali-baba is said to have come from Kutahia in Asia Minor, and Durgut from Durgut (perhaps also in Asia Minor). Dervish Ibrahim-baba was from Albania. The other babas were natives of the region. The Bektashi gather at Ali-baba's *turbe* on St. George's on *Krklar*'s (Forty Martyrs) and on *Nevruz* Days.

Only a few of the former Turkish residents remained in Banjsko. It is significant that among them is a family of Albanian origin, from the region of Ljuma. In 1931, in Svidovica, I met the Bektashi sheikh Hussein, aged 85, whose great-grandfather, Dervish Ibrahim, came from Albania. Seven families in the villages trace their origin from him. There is also a family of Albanian origin in Makrijevo. Families of Albanian origin are also to be found in Strumica and in other places. The Kargali family, who ruled for some time in the nineteenth century in Strumica and its vicinity, was also of Albanian origin.

The ties between Albania and Albanians on the one hand, and the Strumica population on the other, were very strong until 1912. The Albanians came to know the Eastern Vardar area first as herdsmen coming with their herds for winter pasture there. The wanderings of these herdsmen stimulated Albanian robber bands to make frequent incursions, while others infiltrated as servants and village policemen and remained as settlers. As I have shown, this Albanian immigration started in the eighteenth century. These data prove at least that the Strumica Bektashi had close connexions with the Albanian Bektashi, if indeed Bektashism itself did not come from that country. But it is most likely that Bektashi existed in regions of the Eastern Vardar even before the Albanians started—in the eighteenth century—to come and settle in the area: the Turkish traveller, Evliya Chelebi, in the middle of the seventeenth century, tells of the existence of a Bektashi *tekke* near Dupnica in Bulgaria (not far from Strumica). Meanwhile the main diffusion of the Bektashi and their survival during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was doubtless under influence from Albania, which is their refuge in the Balkans. There were certainly Bektashi among the Albanians who immigrated in to Macedonia and they were followed by the Bektashi dervish missionaries, who found a very fertile soil for their propaganda work among the population recently converted to Islam and Turkicized in the villages below Mt. Belasica. We may assume that the landlords (Kargali and several other Albanians) actually invited and assisted Bektashi dervishes to settle there.

Notes

[1] Dealing with the spread of the Bektashi in general, F. W. Hasluck, one of the best authorities on Islamic life in ancient Turkey, mentions only the Bektashi *tekke* with Ismail-baba's grave in the neighbourhood of Strumica; he learned of it from an Albanian dervish (Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford, 1929, Vol. II, p. 525.)

[2] Tshudi, *s. v.*, Bektash, in *Encyclopädie des Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 720f.

REVIEWS

AMERICA

The Comanches, Lords of the South Plains. *By Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel. Norman (U. of Oklahoma P.), 1952. Pp. xvii, 381, 19 plates, map. Price $5*

8 Wallace and Hoebel have made an important contribution to the literature on North American tribes. Here in one compact volume is an all-round description of the Comanches, the people who dominated the Southern Plains for a good 150 years. The authors declare that their purpose has been 'to present in a single piece the salient facts of Comanche history and culture in a way that will satisfy the interests and curiosity of the general reader and also the anthropologist and the historian.' They have used information from many sources: their own field work, published and unpublished data collected by other investigators, and published and unpublished historical documents. Historian and anthropologist have collaborated to good purpose.

They recount how the Comanches emerged from amongst other Shoshonean-speaking peoples to develop into one of the great tribes of the Plains, horsemen without peers, raiders and warriors who ventured far into Mexico and held the frontier against French- and English-speaking colonists. Then they describe the culture of these people as it existed in the great days of the tribe. Technology, economic organization, recreation, the life cycle of the individual, religion, kinship, government, law, and warfare—each receives due attention. Two final chapters complete the story. One traces the wars with the whites which ended in disastrous defeat after the buffalo had been shot out and the large Comanche herds of horses had been destroyed by United States troops. Another describes the bitter years of life upon the reservation when the Comanches turned to the Peyote cult for consolation. The authors close their account with the alienation of the reservation in 1907, for 'The Comanches had entered the White Man's Road. They were Lords of the Southern Plains no longer.'

The Comanches were aberrant among the tribes inhabiting the Great Plains in the nineteenth century in that they never developed a single tribal unit into which the various bands were integrated. Perhaps we should be grateful for this, since we here for the first time have a good discussion of the organization of a Plains band. Writers on tribes with a central political organization have concentrated their attention on this and given us little or nothing on the organization of the smaller units or bands of which the tribes were composed.

The common Plains tribal pattern was one of a fluctuating number of semi-autonomous bands which gathered together during the summer months in one large encampment. During the period of the summer camp, the tribe engaged in the communal hunt for buffalo and also carried out large-scale rituals such as the Sun Dance which dramatized the unity of the tribe as a whole. The men of the various bands were brought together in military societies which usually had political functions. They policed the communal hunt, maintained order in the large encampment, and had official duties during the tribal rituals. The police function rotated among the societies.

When winter approached, and it became impossible for many people with their horses to remain together, the camp broke up into its constituent bands which wandered off to pass the winter in sheltered spots. The Comanches had none of this superstructure of the summer tribal gathering. 'The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was in the old days no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council' (p. 22). Instead the Comanche were organized only into family groups and bands. They lacked the formal military societies, and they appear not to have had any arrangement to police the communal hunt and see that its rules were obeyed. The bands seem to have come together for the first time in 1875 when the Comanches organized their first Sun Dance in an attempt to obtain power to overthrow the whites who had defeated them.

Wallace and Hoebel seem prepared to trace the absence of the tribal organization, of military societies, and of police sanctions against violation of the rules of the communal hunt to the Shoshonean background of the Comanche. They comment, 'Ralph Linton has suggested that a superabundance of bison on the Southern Plains made formal police sanctions functionally unnecessary for the Comanches; however, the historical evidence cited earlier indicates that food was not always easily come by. However this may be, it is quite evident that the Comanches felt no need to make a crime of the violations of the rules of the communal hunt. Furthermore, unlike the other Plains tribes, who felt the need and also had an admirably suited mechanism at hand for fulfillment of the need, the Comanches with their Shoshonean background possessed no military societies. They let the matter ride' (p. 235).

I am not at all certain that all Plains tribes which had military societies in the nineteenth century had anything in their backgrounds which made them susceptible to the idea. The Comanches, from evidence in this book, seem to have been capable of a considerable degree of organization when this was necessary. Each band had its officials. These were the peace chiefs who seem to have been the heads of the family groups. One was recognized as head chief of the band while the rest acted as his counsellors. 'An important peace chief had his personal herald or camp crier, who served as the chief's mouthpiece in announcing the daily news and comments of the chief. Each chief kept a staff of young men to serve him as aides and counselors' (p. 212f.). The council of chiefs considered such matters as 'moving the camp, undertaking a tribal [*sic!*] war, making peace, seeking an alliance with other tribes for the purpose of proceeding to war against a common enemy, the selection of the time and place of the summer hunt, community religious services, the disposition of spoils belonging to the band (but not of spoils acquired by a raiding party), the allocation of supplies to widows and the needy, and the regulation of trade with outsiders' (p. 215). Each band also had its war chiefs.

Now it seems feasible that there were perfectly good reasons why the Comanches did not develop the summer tribal unit complete with military societies and legal penalties for infringement of the hunt rules. In the Northern Plains, winter conditions were severe, and only small bands could persist as units. The summer buffalo hunt was of prime importance for provisioning the people for the year. The herds, more concentrated in the north than in the south, offered a focus for the efforts of many bands, drawing them close together. Possibly the winter bands were too small to undertake successfully a large-scale communal hunt on their own, and larger units also offered greater protection against the raids of outsiders. But with the drawing together of a large number of different bands, some political organization that countered band loyalties was necessary. The summer tribal organization with its military societies was the answer. Members of the societies were recruited in such a way that each society was composed of men drawn from various bands, and the men of each band were divided amongst the different societies. As members of the societies, they acted as officials of the tribal unit, and their punishment of offenders against tribal rules

prevented the irruption of band loyalties which otherwise might have rent the tribe. The Comanches lived in the best buffalo country. At times they may have known scarcity, but they faced conditions very different from those found further north. The herds were more widely spread, some hunting was possible right through the year. The summer hunt was not of the same crucial importance. Winter conditions were not so severe. The bands, the permanent local units, seem to have been larger than on the Northern plains. In these circumstances, there was little need for a tribal summer mobilization, and there was none. Since the communal hunt was the activity of the band, and not of a collection of bands, the normal organization of the band could operate to maintain order during the hunt. It could also be argued that discipline could not be as strict under these conditions as it was further north, for a man could always move from one band to another. Further north, where all bands joined together during the summer in the tribal organization, an offender must perforce submit to discipline or leave his tribe altogether.

Wallace and Hoebel show that the Comanche were adaptable and borrowed freely as it served their purposes. Much of the fascination of their book lies in its record of the constant change and readjustment that went on as the Comanches encountered new experiences. It is to be hoped that the authors will produce a further book to show how the Comanche have met the experiences of the last half-century.

E. COLSON

Wichita Kinship, Past and Present. *By Karl and Iva Osanai Schmitt. Norman (U. of Oklahoma Book Exchange), [1952]. Pp. 72*

9 This is a technical kinship study of about 500 remaining Wichita Indians who live just north of Anadarko, Oklahoma. Its purposes are to present further terminological data (to supplement Spier's 1924 work in this area), to present behavioural and attitudinal kinship materials and the changes which have occurred in both these and the terminological areas over the past hundred years, and to consider the theoretical implications of the findings—particularly with respect to some of Murdock's assumptions and conclusions.

More than a century ago the Wichita practised a summer subsistence agriculture and an autumn and winter hunting-type economy. Their place of residence shifted seasonally according to the necessity of their economic pursuits. As early as 1835 they signed treaties with the United States Government, and by 1859 they were securely placed on a reservation. Since that time the Wichita have become an increasingly dependent and encysted society within the larger American democracy.

The monograph consists of two typological descriptions of Wichita kinship: the old system and the modern system. Aside from the limitations on the availability of material for the years 1850–75 (the period defined as the old system), the authors try to make their two treatments cover the same topics. The primary emphasis is placed on a description of respect and joking relationships and on the changes which have occurred in these between the two periods under consideration. Most of the more important dyadic relationships in Wichita society are considered under these two main types of relationships.

Unfortunately, since the authors set such broad purposes for so brief a monograph, many of the more important theoretical implications of the study are buried or scattered in ethnographic detail. Two are worth mentioning even in so brief a review as this. With respect to Eggan's formulation of the relationship between joking and respect relationships and conflict, the authors suggest that there are degrees of or gradations between 'possibility and inevitability and between no particular necessity and an actual necessity for avoiding conflict.' This would suggest that the character of the relationship is determined not only on kinship terms but also on other bases—for example, the extra-kinship interests and motives of the individuals who are party to the relationship. Murdock's formulation of a transition from Normal Hawaiian to Matri-Hawaiian is strongly challenged. The analysis of the Wichita material shows the sequence to be one of change to bilaterality from a matrilineally oriented system, a change which Murdock considers improbable in any situation. The authors also note that Murdock's criteria of classification do not bring out the pertinent characteristics of the social order, especially when the focus of the analysis is on social change.

Though brief and published obscurely between paper covers, this is a commendable study which should certainly be called to the attention of students with an interest in the technical problems of kinship.

ARTHUR J. VIDICH

Apache Kinship Systems. *By Robert N. Bellah. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard U.P.) (London Agent: Cumberlege), 1952. Pp. 151. Price 16s.*

10 This compact little study is the prize essay for 1950 of the Harvard chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, the American undergraduate honorary fraternity. It aims to test some of Murdock's social theorems as presented in his book on *Social Structure* (1949) through application of the 'Parsonian structural functionalism' (p. 7) contained in Marion Levy's *The Family Revolution in Modern China* (1949). The theoretical slant of the work is, therefore, explicit although it did not have the benefit of Talcott Parsons' own formulation of his concepts as they have since appeared in *The Social System.*

The data used for the test derive from the seven related tribes of Southern Athabascan-speaking Indians of the American Southwest. The title reference to 'Apache' is at least partially justified because Jicarilla, Kiowa-Apache, Chiricahua and Western Apache are handled in some detail. The Navaho, who are not, strictly speaking, Apache at all, and the Lipan and Mescalero are given more summary treatment. The social organization and the kinship system of each of the seven tribes is briefly outlined and for anthropologists relatively unfamiliar with the area these descriptive comparisons may prove of considerable value in themselves. The extended family and the local group are found to be 'basic' (p. 123) in all Southern Athabascan groups whether they have matrilineal clans, as do the Western Apache and Navaho, or not.

On the whole, Bellah feels that his data support Murdock but two of his seven cases 'prove refractory to Murdock's analysis' and two more 'are partially refractory' (p. 133). He is aided in understanding these cases by referring to the size and composition of the units, and their structures of authority and solidarity. This he feels validates the 'structural-functional type of analysis' (p. 135) with which he began. The treatment given the Southern Athabascans is fuller than anything Murdock attempts and there remains some question whether the richer results obtained are not due as much to this fact as to any conceptual machinery employed. In any case, a number of interesting comments on Southern Athabascan anthropological problems are scattered through the pages.

MARIAN W. SMITH

Soogwilis: A Collection of Kwakiutl Indian Designs and Legends. *By R. Geddes Large, with colour drawings by Charlie George. Toronto (Ryerson), 1951. Pp. 88, incl. 33 plates. Price $4*

11 The basis of this work is a series of drawings made many years ago by a young Kwakiutl patient of the author's father. In later life the artist, by then a notable carver, told to the present Dr. Large the stories underlying his designs. These have been added to, and one suspects simplified, and are now presented in popular form. They recount various adventures in the life of Soogwilis, a young chief of pre-contact times, and culminate in his outwitting of a malignant shaman. The drawings lack the precision of adult work but are quite attractively reproduced in three colours.

As a lightweight contribution to the non-technical literature of the Northwest Coast the book fulfils its aim without inaccuracies.

GEOFFREY TURNER

The Wolf Ritual of the Northwest Coast. *By Alice Henson Ernst. Eugene, Ore. (U. of Oregon), 1952. Pp. ix, 107, frontispiece, 19 plates, text figs. Price $1.75*

12 Known by local variants of the Nootkan name *tlu'kwana*, the Wolf ritual is an initiation ceremony of special importance among the southerly tribes of the Northwest Coast area. Mrs.

Ernst, encouraged by Franz Boas, spent the years from 1932 to 1940 in collecting data on the ritual and its paraphernalia among the Makah, Quillayute, and Nootka, besides studying Wolf masks in museums. She describes in detail the versions of the three tribes, together with the associated origin myths, and concludes with a chapter on the aims of the ceremony. These are shown to include the acquisition of 'power' and wisdom from the wolves themselves, the inculcation in the young of social and ceremonial responsibility, and the securing of prestige through membership of the Wolf order.

Mrs. Ernst's style is discursive and somewhat heavily burdened with footnotes, but by spotlighting a single facet of Coast ceremonial life she has provided a useful introduction to the complex whole. GEOFFREY TURNER

Miti e Leggende III: America Settentrionale. *By Raffaele Pettazoni. Torino (Unione Typographico, Editrice Torinese), 1953. Pp. xviii, 576, 22 plates, and 3 ethnological maps. Price Lire 4000*

13 Almost 300 North American myths and legends have been translated and supplied with an ethnological framework by Professor Pettazoni. In the introduction he assures his Italian readers to whom North American mythology is *terra nuova* that the texts have not been interfered with (1). He accounts thus for his conspicuous preference for creation myths: they are common to the whole of North America and of great religious importance. The adherents of the 'High-God' theory will warmly approve of Professor Pettazoni's selection. The illustrations of sacred symbols and religious masks are excellent. E. ETTLINGER

The Mark of Oppression: A Psychological Study of the American Negro. *By Abraham Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey. New York (Norton), 1951. Pp. xvii, 396. Price $5*

14 Students of sociology and psychology will welcome another contribution to the study of personality and society in the joint work of Professor Kardiner and Dr. Ovesey. The general thesis, which was also put forward by Kardiner in previous works, is that human personality varies with the conditions to which it must adapt, and tends to polarize all other aspects of adaptation towards itself. But unlike these previous studies, which aimed at establishing basic personality structure, here the authors claim that this is not their primary objective, though in fact it has been the logical outcome (*cf.* pp. 12 and 317). They have also recognized the circular relationship between childhood impressions and adult behaviour.

The problem here is to explain the effect of the American caste and class structure on the development of the Negro personality. Twenty-five Negroes, differing in age, sex and status, and 'sufficiently varied to cover as many aspects of Negro adaptation as possible' are used in the tests, which are of three kinds, the Rorschach, the T.A.T., and the Psycho-dynamic. The results show that the discrimination experienced by the American Negro constitutes his main problem of adaptation. His self-esteem suffers from the constantly unpleasant images he receives of himself from the behaviour of others towards him. These impressions develop in him a basic personality structure, with such characteristics as 'the fear of relatedness, suspicion, mistrust . . . aggression, etc.'

Only in a few instances, such as the effectivity range of the upper and middle classes, do discrepancies occur in the results shown by the tests. But these disagreements are fundamental to the interpretation of the problem. The 'tentative' explanations given would suggest that there is scope for more intensive and extensive enquiry into this area of the problem, the outcome of which may modify or change some of the conclusions now arrived at. This leads to the problem of method, which the authors have themselves critically examined. The adequacy or reliability of the samples used which include 'patients' will remain debatable. In so valuable and important a work as this, all the dangers of misleading interpretation which have arisen from general statements of the Negro personality must be taken into account. Thus it is claimed that the Negroes' proficiency in sport and 'remarkable talent in dancing' are not due to 'joyful abandonment' but are the result of aggression. How, then, may we account for the success of West Indian Negro athletes of Olympic fame, who lack the aggressive stimulus of the American marks of oppression?

For anyone venturing into this new and precarious, though important, area of investigation, we may expect the most valuable findings to emerge with material not acceptable without query. This enquiry, quite wisely made in a field which has previously been so well documented by sociologists, will fill an important gap in our understanding of American Negro life. SYDNEY COLLINS

EUROPE

Die Felsbilder Europas. *By Herbert Kühn. Stuttgart (Kohlhammer), 1952. Pp. 322. Price DM 24*

15 In this book Professor Kühn studies the prehistoric rock pictures of Europe by the standards of the art critic and art historian. These paintings and engravings, he contends, are best understood in the setting of the material surroundings, the economy, religion and philosophy of the people who made them. He sees three main periods of rock art. First came the naturalistic drawings of the Ice Age, beginning as simple outlines, becoming pictorial in the Middle Magdalenian, and then reverting to linear form. Second, in the era 10,000–2,000 B.C., the pictures become more and more stylized. There is less care for realistic drawing; what counts is the total impression given by the attitude of a figure or the grouping of a scene. At this stage the lively pictures of eastern Spain and North Africa differ from the static groups of Scandinavia. Lastly, after 2,000 B.C. when the ideas and beliefs of the eastern Mediterranean countries reached western and northern Europe, the style becomes more imaginative, abstract and symbolic. Again there is a regional contrast, for in Spain the symbols belong to the mother goddess of cultivating folk, while in Scandinavia the emblems are those of the masculine deities of herding people, the ship, wheel, axe and spear.

Professor Kühn explains the evolution of this early art in terms of the alternatives which have always faced the artist. He can present either the natural world as he sees it, or the spiritual, visionary and immaterial world of the soul. His choice will depend largely on the outlook of his times. Thus the masked magicians of the Ice Age are shown as they really danced before the artist, but in the mesolithic and later times the figures and symbols are taken more and more from the shadowy realms of the unconscious.

Some parts of this thesis may seem too simplified and conjectural, but whether he agrees with the main argument or not, the archæologist will learn much from the incisive analyses of the technique and execution of particular paintings. The artist who drew the reindeer herd at Teyjat in the Dordogne, for example, is shown to have used a style of abbreviation and perspective that was only rediscovered by the 'Impressionists' of the early part of this century.

This stimulating work leaves no doubt that modern methods of art criticism can now provide fresh and original aid in the study of prehistoric art. The 116 plates, 5 of them in colour, are brilliantly printed, the 144 line drawings are clear and spirited, and the gazetteer of sites, with maps and references, makes a very valuable appendix. W. C. BRICE

Liber sæcularis in honorem J. Qvigstadii d.IV aprilis A.D. MCMLIII editus I–II. *Edited by Nils Lid. Studia Septentrionalia IV–V. Oslo, 1953. 2 vols. Pp. 163, 163. Price 18 Norw. kr. each*

16 In order to do honour to Just Knud Qvigstad, the famous expert on Lapland and Lappish, when he reached the unusual age of 100 years, on 4 April, 1953, in Tromsø, Norwegian Finnmark, there was published a splendid book written by 13 anthropologists. The articles in this book mostly deal with Lappish and the ethnology of the Lapps; the most comprehensive of them—four in number—are written in English, the rest in Norwegian.

There is a biography of Qvigstad by K. Nissen indicating that he was a headmaster in Tromsø Teachers' Training College between 1883 and 1920 and that he began the publication of his scientific works in 1881 and has continued it uninterrupted until last year.

K. Nielsen has written an article on the *Lexicon Lapponicum* by Knud Leen published in 1781, K. Bergsland an article called *Numeral Constructions in Lapp* including comparisons with Finno-Ugric languages, and even with the Samoyedic and Altaic groups of languages. G. Gjessing deals with the shamanic and Læstadian ecstasy of the Lapps, showing that in a religious sect, widely spread in Lapland, there appears nearly the same kind of ecstasy as that of the ancient Lappish heathenism. J. Falkenberg writes of the highly developed system of relationship among the Lapps in Snåsa (in Norway), A. Nesheim of seal fishing and hunting taboos, among the Lapps, derived for the most part from ancient times. There is an article by Ø. Vorren on 'The Stone Enclosure in Ucca Vuorjash; The Memory of the Times of Intensive Reindeer-Raising' (in East Finnmark), when reindeer were milked in summer on the fells, in the large enclosures built of stones. H. J. Henriksen has given a description of how reindeer are made to carry burdens when there is no snow and it is not possible to use any vehicle. N. Lid and A. Nesheim explain some Scandinavian word and cultural loans of the Lapps. A. L. Fliflet studies long vowels in Finnish. R. Th. Christiansen has written a comprehensive study, 'Ecstasy and Arctic Religion,' perhaps the most thorough in this field, with plenty of hints to guide the reader to the books of reference (though the remarkable article by F. Äimä in *Ann. Acad. Sci. Fenn.*, Ser. B, Vol. XXVII, is omitted). Rather thorough also is 'The Star Husband Tale' by S. Thompson, in which are explained the origin and distribution of a folk tale common among the Indians of North America; 15 illustrative maps are added to this study.

T. I. ITKONEN

CORRESPONDENCE

The Meaning of 'Mau-Mau'

17 Sir,—*Mau-Mau* is the name under which the Kikuyu contra-acculturative movement, with its prolonged outburst of violence unprecedented in other nativistic movements, is commonly known. The meaning, literally or otherwise, of the Bantu term has so far not been explained.

I would suggest that the term may be interpreted as follows. It seems clear that it denotes a circumscription, or even circumlocution, of a concept that we would translate by our term 'rebellion,' or rather 'revolution.' The reduplication of the word would then give expression to the desired extent and intensity of the movement. In this respect the term has direct affinity with the name of that other extensive revolt, the *Maji-Maji* rebellion in the south of German East Africa in 1905–1906. That term is commonly explained as having to do with a water magic which sought to change the German rifle bullets into splashes of water.[1] It seems, however, more appropriate to look for explanation to the Swahili expression *Kunywa Maji*, literally 'to drink water' but essentially 'to go on strike, disobey, rebel' (*cf. A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, London, 1939, p. 255). In the same way the literal meaning of *Mau-Mau* could be rendered as: 'to urinate, to pass water' (probably not in Standard Kikuyu, but either in one of its dialects or in 'squatter Kikuyu'?) but with a purposively hidden essential meaning: 'to revolt.'

Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen A. H. J. PRINS

Note

[1] *Cf.* R. M. Bell in *Tanganyika Not. and Rec.*, No. 28 (January, 1950), pp. 38ff.

The Lapps and their Names. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 99, 174, 259

18 Sir,—My friend Mr. Ian 'R. Whitaker questions the usefulness of introducing the term 'Same' for 'Lapps' in British anthropological terminology, as suggested by myself. As he points out, this certainly is a problem of considerable general interest. Soviet anthropologists have changed the names of several groups within the Soviet sphere in accordance with the peoples' own names. This is obviously impractical in some ways, as viewed from the outside; it is, however, probably practical both for the Soviet administration and for the Soviet ethnographers whose contacts with the peoples in question will be in some way or other facilitated. In Scandinavia and Finland there is a marked tendency, even among scholars, to use the genuine term 'Same' (in Scandinavian or Finnish transcription) instead of 'Lapps,' which by the peoples themselves is generally regarded as contemptuous. This tendency has been strongest in Norway where scholars now unanimously (or almost so) use the term 'Same.' Consequently foreign anthropologists will sooner or later have either to become familiar with these terms or to be cut off from the literature written respectively by Soviet and Fenno-Scandian scholars. Now in any linguistic change (a phenomenon of which Norwegians have considerable experience!) emotional and traditional resistance will compete with rational reasons, and it obviously takes some time to overcome this resistance. The question is whether the traditional attempts to preserve a nomenclature foreign to the anthropologists closest to the original sources will not prolong the hardships instead of avoiding them. Western literature is probably not well known among Siberian peoples. But there are a number of Same (Lapps) who read and speak English, or who have second- or third-hand knowledge of some British literature concerning their own people, and this number is bound to increase in the future. Certainly no British fieldworker will be discriminated against because he uses the term 'Lapps,' but some of his informants will probably feel the well-known stereotype of British ethnocentrism confirmed, whereas they would surely appreciate seeing or hearing Englishmen use their own name 'Same,' just as many Scots travelling abroad appreciate seeing or hearing that some few people there know the distinction between a Scot and an Englishman.

Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Oslo GUTORM GJESSING

Note

The Hon. Editor of MAN is far from wishing to obstruct any desirable improvements in terminology (the discussion of which is indeed among MAN'S prime functions). But the practical difficulties in the way of the adoption of 'Same' by any but highly specialized scholars (if it were considered theoretically desirable) are obviously very large.

A great many of the world's peoples enjoy, without traumatic effect, names which when traced back to their origin are found to have borne some opprobrious connotation or other. And it is perhaps not too much to say that the good-humoured acceptance of such well established and long innocuous terms is a mark of the political maturity which follows emergence from the more naive levels of nascent nationalism.

Even after a decade of U.N.E.S.C.O., few Englishmen are probably yet convinced that ethnocentrism is *entirely* a bad thing; and it is to be feared that the English will go on for some time speaking and writing unconcernedly of the Lapps, the Germans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Siamese—and the Scotch.—ED.

Webs of Fantasy. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 152, 229, 281, 304

19 Sir,—In MAN, 1949, 113, I ventured to take exception to Professor James's statement that 'primitive peoples are constantly experimenting, improvising and improving upon their techniques.' I was reproved by Professor Hutton.

In his recent lecture to the Institute on the plough in Britain Mr. F. G. Payne told us that until the introduction of the Rotherham plough in 1730 the ploughs previously in use, with what now seem their obvious and easily remediable defects, had remained fundamentally unchanged for nearly 2000 years. It seems to me that anyone who supposes that throughout this period the Bonga-bonga were constantly improving their techniques is weaving one of those webs of fantasy to which I referred in my letter, MAN, 1953, 229.

Usk, Monmouthshire RAGLAN

Greatest width: 7¼ inches

Photographs: W. B. Fagg, 1954

(Reflections from the hemispherical glass case into which the head is sealed could not be entirely avoided.)

A GOLDEN RAM HEAD FROM ASHANTI

A GOLDEN RAM HEAD FROM ASHANTI*

by

WILLIAM FAGG, M.A.

Department of Ethnography, British Museum

2O The object illustrated in Plate B, a hitherto unpublished trophy from the first Ashanti war, came to my notice through a mention of it in the 'People and Things' column of the *Sunday Times*, 23 August, 1953. Through the courtesy of the Commander of the Woolwich Garrison, Brigadier M. W. Hope, D.S.O., I was able to inspect it in the Royal Artillery Mess at Woolwich and to take a number of photographs, and I am grateful to him for permission to publish some of them here. The head is preserved in a sealed glass dome mounted on an elaborate stand made in London in 1875 and including three bowed caryatid figures of Negroes; the form of this glass case makes it difficult or impossible to exclude some reflections from the photographs, but the opportunity may occur later to photograph it in more favourable conditions.

As is well known, General Sir Garnet Wolseley's expedition, after defeating the Asantehene Kofi Kakari in the first Ashanti war of 1873–4, brought back a considerable amount of gold work, much of it forming the indemnity exacted from the defeated monarch. Those prizes which had been collected by individual members of the expedition were called in and added to the booty, which was then sold by auction, in 1874, in aid of disabled soldiers and the dependants of those killed. A number of pieces, mostly of small size, are in the British Museum, but the most spectacular piece hitherto known to ethnologists was the gold head bought at the auction by Sir Richard Wallace and left with the rest of his art collection to the nation; with it he bought several other gold pieces, including a pair of finely cast eagles from the arms of a throne which are a remarkable example of courtly philistinism.[1] The Wallace head, of which a coloured reproduction was published in the golden jubilee issue of MAN,[2] is badly battered on the left side, though very impressive in right profile; it is heavy and thick and no great trouble seems to have been taken to obtain a flawless casting. According to Mrs. E. L. R. Meyerowitz, in a verbal communication, this head would have formed part of an effigy of an Asantehene for use at his 'second burial.'[3]

The Royal Artillery trophy was the gift of seven artillery officers who were present at the entry into Kumasi on 4 February, 1874. Two of them (including one who later became General Sir W. G. Knox, and who had also been part donor of a very fine silver Coptic cross taken in the storming of Magdala in 1868) 'having entered the town with the advanced guard, proceeded to break into the Royal Palace, and procured the ram's head amongst other loot. Later, when the loot was surrendered, the artillery officers were allowed to buy the ram's head for its weight in gold.'[4] On the three sides of the base are the place names 'Amoaful, Ordashu, Coomassie.'

* *With Plate B*

So far as can be judged without handling the head, it is a fine piece of casting, of exceptional thinness for one so large—hardly more than a millimetre at the points where edges are visible. The casting has been done by the *cire perdue* process, the wax being applied to the core, as usual in Ashanti, in the form of very fine threads laid parallel and then smoothed over. A ram's head, rather than a skull, seems to be represented, to judge by the nostrils, although the eyes are represented by hemispherical sockets. Observation of the exponential curve described by the horns of rams seems to have inspired the artist to a freer and more imaginative use of the third dimension than is commonly attempted in African sculpture, with its predilection for rigidity; the horns are here the main part of the composition, and the artist may possibly have had in mind the use of spirals in Ashanti iconography as symbols of birth and creation. The under side of the horns is left open, a strap-like bridge joining the two edges at one point on each horn. On the upper surface of each horn are five or six small holes spaced at regular intervals; these may have been due to the insertion of 'bridges' before casting to prevent movement of the clay core within the outer investment. The right horn appears to have suffered some damage (perhaps in course of casting) and to have been repaired, partly by the 'burning-in' method, partly by patching and riveting. On the brow of the head is a rectangular area of decorative design based on cross-hatched lozenges, and at two points triangular elements in the design are missing. The purpose of the rimmed circular hole above the nostrils is not clear.

The ram is rare in Ashanti art, and I know of no evidence that this head is likely to be related to a deity of thunder. However, the Yoruba and Fon thunder gods, Shango and Xevioso, are both associated with ram cults (which some trace to the Egyptian cult of Amen), and the ritual axes of the latter are commonly carved in the form of a ram head.

The age of the piece is not obvious. It is probable that work of this high quality continued to be carried on up to the time of the 1874 expedition, and so fragile a piece would perhaps survive only with difficulty more than a few years of handling. We ought probably to assume it to have been made in the mid-nineteenth century, until other evidence is adduced. Clearly, however, unlike most Ashanti work after 1874, it is in an uncorrupted tradition and among the most striking examples of West African metallurgy.

Notes

[1] See Mrs. Meyerowitz's *The Sacred State of the Akan*, 1951, Plate XLII.

[2] 1951, Plate A; this reproduction was also used as the Royal Anthropological Institute's Christmas card for 1953.

[3] For similar practices in England and Yorubaland, see R. P. Howgrave-Graham and W. B. Fagg in *J. R. Soc. of Arts*, 29 May and 26 June, 1953, respectively.

[4] Information supplied by the Commander, Woolwich Garrison.

STUDIES OF IRISH AND BRITISH EARLY COPPER ARTIFACTS: SECOND SERIES

REPORTS OF THE ANCIENT MINING AND METALLURGY COMMITTEE OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE*

REPORT AND SURVEY

by Humphrey Case, F.S.A., Deputy Chairman

21 The series of analyses undertaken since the last report (MAN, 1953, 150) is presented in accordance with the agreed programme of research (MAN, 1952, 124). The survey which follows was made in constant consultation with the Chairman, Mr. H. H. Coghlan, A.M.I.Mech.E., F.S.A.

The new series of analyses. In Table I, the results are given for six Irish halberds; in Table II, for three Irish halberds, and two Continental ones; and in Table III, for a knife of Beaker Culture type from England and five Irish axes. Specimen No. 64.5–3.2 was analysed by Mr. W. F. Bennett on behalf of the Research Laboratory, British Museum, and the remainder were analysed by Dr. Maurice Cook, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.I.M., to both of whom the Committee again expresses its appreciation and thanks. The Committee also thanks the following Museums and Departments for their valued collaboration in selecting and providing specimens: the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities, British Museum; the University Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge; the Department of Antiquities, the Ashmolean Museum; and the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Thanks are also due to Mrs. M. E. Cox of the Ashmolean Museum for drawing figs. 1–5.

The determinations were made spectrographically, and the higher values were, in most cases, checked chemically. Readers of these reports will hardly need reminding that whereas spectrographic analysis enables a comparatively rapid search to be made for a wide range of elements, the figures it provides, other than those in the first or second decimal places, can only be regarded as approximations—in fact the higher the figure the less precise it is.

It will be noted that two of the artifacts were found to be of tin bronze, and the remainder to be of copper. The decorated axe (Table III: Pitt-Rivers 1441) is the first of type III from Ireland to have been analysed; a type-I axe from Co. Carlow is also of tin bronze (Coghlan, Table I, OA 56).

General Survey. This report by the Committee brings

TABLE I. ANALYSES OF IRISH HALBERDS

Locality *Museum No.*	*Bellanamallard Co. Fermanagh British* 64. 5–3. 2	*Ballina, Co. Mayo Cambridge* 25. 286	*Ashmolean* 1927. 2830	*Letterkenny, Co. Donegal Ashmolean* 1927. 2831	*Ballybogey Bog, Co. Antrim Ashmolean* 1927. 2848	*Near Cavan, Co. Cavan Ashmolean* 1927. 2832
Copper		*m.c.*	96·8*	97·1*	97·3*	89·4*
Silver	<0·07	0·3*	0·3*	0·1*	0·07	0·07
Gold	<0·05	*tr.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*
Zinc		0·02	0·01	0·01	0·01	*tr.*
Cadmium		*tr.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*tr.*
Aluminium	<0·03					*tr.*
Tin	0·07	*tr.*	<0·01	<0·01	<0·01	9·1*
Lead	<0·07	0·05	0·01	0·02	0·14*	0·3*
Arsenic	0·2	1·7*	1·9*	2·2*	1·8*	1·3*
Antimony		0·2*	0·6*	0·2*	0·1*	0·005*
Bismuth		*n.d.*	*tr.*	*tr.*	*tr.*	<0·001
Molybdenum			*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*tr.*	*n.d.*
Manganese		*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	0·03
Iron	<0·05					0·05
Nickel	<0·07	0·02	<0·01	<0·03	<0·01	0·004*
Silicon	0·07					*tr.*
Barium	<0·03					
Magnesium	<0·03					*tr.*
Beryllium		*tr.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*
Zirconium		*s.tr.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*		
Platinum		*q.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	

*In 64. 5–3. 2: Tungsten, bismuth, cobalt, zinc, chromium, calcium=0·25; antimony, beryllium, vanadium, titanium=0·07; cadmium, molybdenum, strontium=0·03. In 1927. 2830, 2831, 2832 and 2848: Hg, Ga, In, Ge, Te, Cr, Co, Zr, Nb and P were sought but not detected spectrographically. In addition, in 1927. 2832: Ti and V were sought but not detected spectrographically. In this specimen and 1927. 2355 (Table III): Traces of Mg, Al and Si may arise from surface contamination. Figures are expressed as percentages. *=Chemical determination. ~=about. <=less than. n.d.=not detected. tr.=trace. s.tr.=slight trace. m.c.=major constituent. q.=quantity*

* *With five text figures and three tables. The first series was published in* MAN, 1953, 150.

TABLE II. ANALYSES OF ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL HALBERDS

Locality / *Museum No.*	*England Manea, Ely, Cambs. Cambridge* P.B. 121	*England Faversham, Kent Ashmolean* 1927. 2356	*England Stoke Ferry, Norfolk Ashmolean* 1927. 2444	*Italy Etruria Cambridge* F.B. 256	*Spain Near Ciudad Real Ashmolean* 1927. 2004
Copper	*m.c.*	94·8*	96·9*	*m.c.*	98·1*
Silver	0·01*	0·02	0·2*	1·1*	0·7*
Gold	1·3*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*tr.*
Zinc	*n.d.*	0·01	0·01	*n.d.*	0·03
Cadmium	*s.tr.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*s.tr.*	*n.d.*
Tin	0·5*	0·01	<0·01	*tr.*	0·02
Lead	0·02	0·02	0·01	<0·01	0·14*
Arsenic	0·3*	4·6*	2·1*	0·7*	0·7*
Antimony	0·1*	0·2*	0·3*	0·7*	0·2*
Bismuth	*s.tr.*	0·03	0·01	*n.d.*	0·01
Manganese	*s.tr.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*s.tr.*	*n.d.*
Cobalt	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	0·02	*n.d.*
Nickel	0·02	0·17*	<0·01	1·6*	<0·01
Beryllium	*s.tr.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*s.tr.*	*n.d.*
Platinum	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*tr.*	*n.d.*

Zr was sought in all specimens but not detected spectrographically. In 1927. 2356, 2444 and 2004: Hg, Mo, Ga, In, Ge, Te, Cr, Nb and P were also sought but not detected spectrographically. For conventions see Table I.

TABLE III. ANALYSES OF IRISH AND ENGLISH ARTIFACTS

Artifact / *Locality* / *Museum No.*	*Tanged knife England Faversham Kent Ashmolean* 1927. 2355	*Flat axe Ireland Pitt Rivers* 1432. 2325	*Flat axe Ireland Pitt Rivers* 1433. 2316	*Flat axe Ireland Pitt Rivers* 1431. 2317	*Flat axe Ireland Pitt Rivers*	*Flanged axe (Decorated Type III) Ireland Pitt Rivers* 1441
Copper and Silver		96·2*	97·4*	96·9*	87·7*	88·3*
Silver	0·02	0·2	0·3	0·3	0·2	0·1
Gold	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*tr.*	*n.d.*
Zinc	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	<0·01	0·01	0·01
Tin	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	12·0*	11·4*
Lead	0·01	0·01	0·01	0·2	<0·01	0·01
Arsenic	~7	2·5*	2·3*	0·2*	0·01	0·3
Antimony	0·05	0·57*	0·21*	0·36*	0·2	0·003
Bismuth	0·02	0·004	0·001	0·003	0·0086*	0·004
Manganese	*n.d.*	*s.tr.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*s.tr.*	*s.tr.*
Iron	<0·01	0·02	<0·005	0·02	0·02	0·2
Cobalt	0·01	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*
Nickel	0·1	<0·01	<0·01	0·02	0·03	0·02
Selenium		0·03	*n.d.*	0·05	0·03	*n.d.*
Beryllium	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*s.tr.*
Phosphorus	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	0·03

Ga, Ge, Hg, In, Te, Ti, V, Cr, Zr, Nb, Mo, Pt and Cd were sought but not detected spectrographically. For conventions see Table I.

the analyses at present available of Irish and British early copper artifacts up to 41, comprising 14 halberds, one knife of Beaker Culture type, 25 flat axes, and one implement of uncertain use (No. 21; see below). It makes a fit occasion for a survey of this material, undertaken not for the purpose of drawing any hard and fast conclusions—which would be obviously premature—but simply to incite interest in the very important question of early metallurgy in these islands. (A list of the available material will be found in the Appendix, together with the reference numbers used in this survey.)

In dealing with metals of an early period technologically, when there is no reason to suspect artificial results due to the wholesale use of scrap metal, it should in theory be a simple matter to determine the origin of the metal in any given artifact or series of artifacts. Thus, the main elements found as impurities should be more or less a reflection of the composition of the parent ore or native metal; and, given the analysis of an ore or native metal, one should be able to recognize that particular raw material in the artifacts made from it. The Committee has already published a number of analyses of British native coppers, and is well

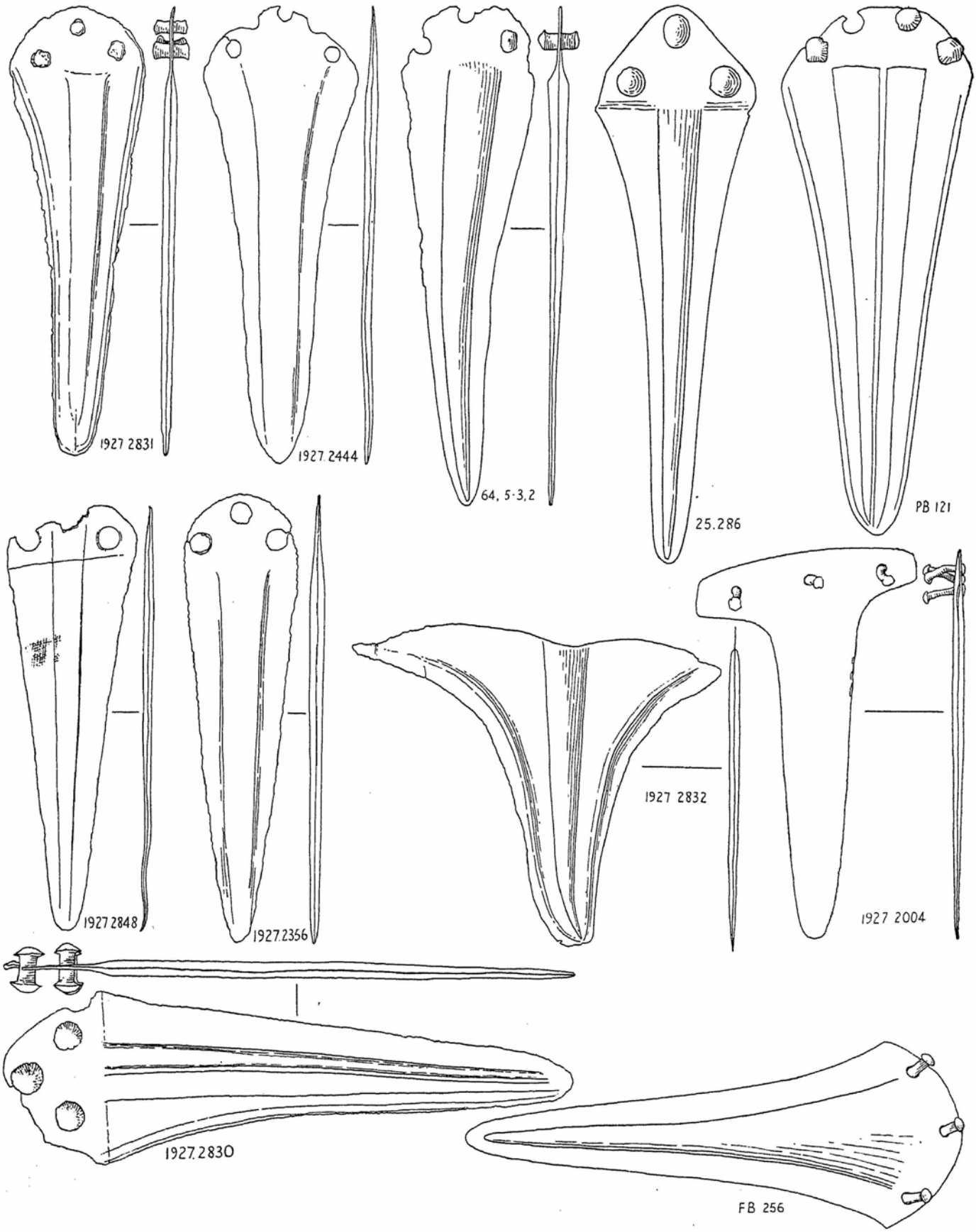


FIG. 1. HALBERDS REPORTED IN TABLES I AND II
Scale ¼; 64.5–3.2, 25.286, PB 121, FB 256, after O'Ríordáin

aware of the need to obtain a reliable series of analyses of the copper ores, which are likely to have been in use from the dawn of metallurgy until the end of the Bronze Age (see MAN, 1948, 17). Considerable time, however, must elapse before we can obtain sufficient analytical data concerning the many ore bodies in Ireland and Great Britain.

However, even when a comprehensive series of analyses of likely raw materials is available, their recognition in artifacts may not be at all a simple matter. In the question of native coppers, Bromehead pointed out serious difficulties (MAN, 1948, 3); and in the case of artifacts of typology and distribution to believe that they were manufactured in a certain region, then one could reasonably infer that the composition reflected one aspect at least of the metallurgy of the region. That would be the first step.

From that step, two others could follow independently of each other. On the one hand, artifacts of a similar composition found elsewhere could be assessed in the light of the evidence of typology, distributions and trade relations as to whether they were derived from the region in question. On the other hand, given a series of analyses of the ores of the region, and evidence about the smelting

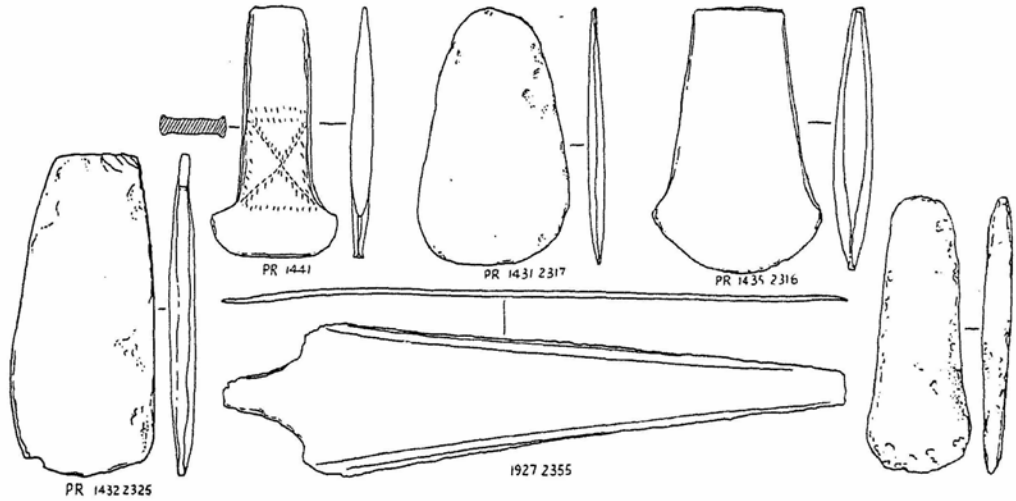


FIG. 2. ARTIFACTS REPORTED IN TABLE III
Scale ⅓

copper produced from ores their composition will reflect not one unknown factor but two—the parent ore and the effect of the processes by which it was smelted. In these processes, the furnace conditions and the use of fluxes, in particular, will have affected the proportion of impurities in the metal produced; and there is only a very small body of evidence (none of it British or Irish) on which to base even surmises about Bronze Age smelting in Europe. There is even a third factor which has to be considered, and of unknown degree or extent in the case of coppers, and that is deliberate alloying (see below).

It is not intended to pursue the question of native coppers here. Only one artifact (No. 31; see below) has been found to be possibly of this type of metal; the remainder are of smelted copper. Now, the compositions of smelted coppers, even though the parent ores may prove difficult to trace, should ideally not be haphazard, and should be liable to repeat themselves, being based on certain processes which should naturally have tended towards standardization—eventually arriving at the selection of certain ores, the use of prescribed smelting processes, and even of prescribed alloys. Thus some standardization is to be expected; but exact agreement in compositions should not be insisted on, since primitive smelting cannot be compared with the highly controlled processes of a modern copper works.

So, if one could define a group of artifacts with a very definite composition, and one had good reasons through processes involved, one might be able to localize centres of manufacture within it.

The purpose of the survey undertaken below is simply to call attention to the grouping which appears to exist in the analyses at present available. Any deductions made from it are naturally tentative and—as the number of analyses is still small—may in the light of further facts prove erroneous, or require modification. This grouping is best seen when the quantities of 0·1 per cent or over of elements other than copper found in each analysis are plotted graphically (see figs. 3, 4 and 5). In the present state of knowledge, quantities of a lesser order can only rarely be shown to be decisive; although, when evidence about the ore bodies is available, the near or even complete absence of common constituents, as well as the presence of rare ones, may be of value for the relating of ores to artifacts, as Bromehead forecast (MAN, 1948, 3).

Copper arsenical alloys. The largest group is of those artifacts in which arsenic is the chief element besides copper (see figs. 3 and 4). It belongs in the main to the group of *Arsen-Kupferlegierungen* as defined by Otto and Witter, when dealing with Central European specimens in the *Handbuch der ältesten vorgeschichtlichen Metallurgie in Mitteleuropa*, and can be arranged in three sub-groups, of which the first appears to be the most significant:

(1) A sub-group is represented by a peak in arsenic of 2 per cent more or less, and minor peaks in silver and antimony not

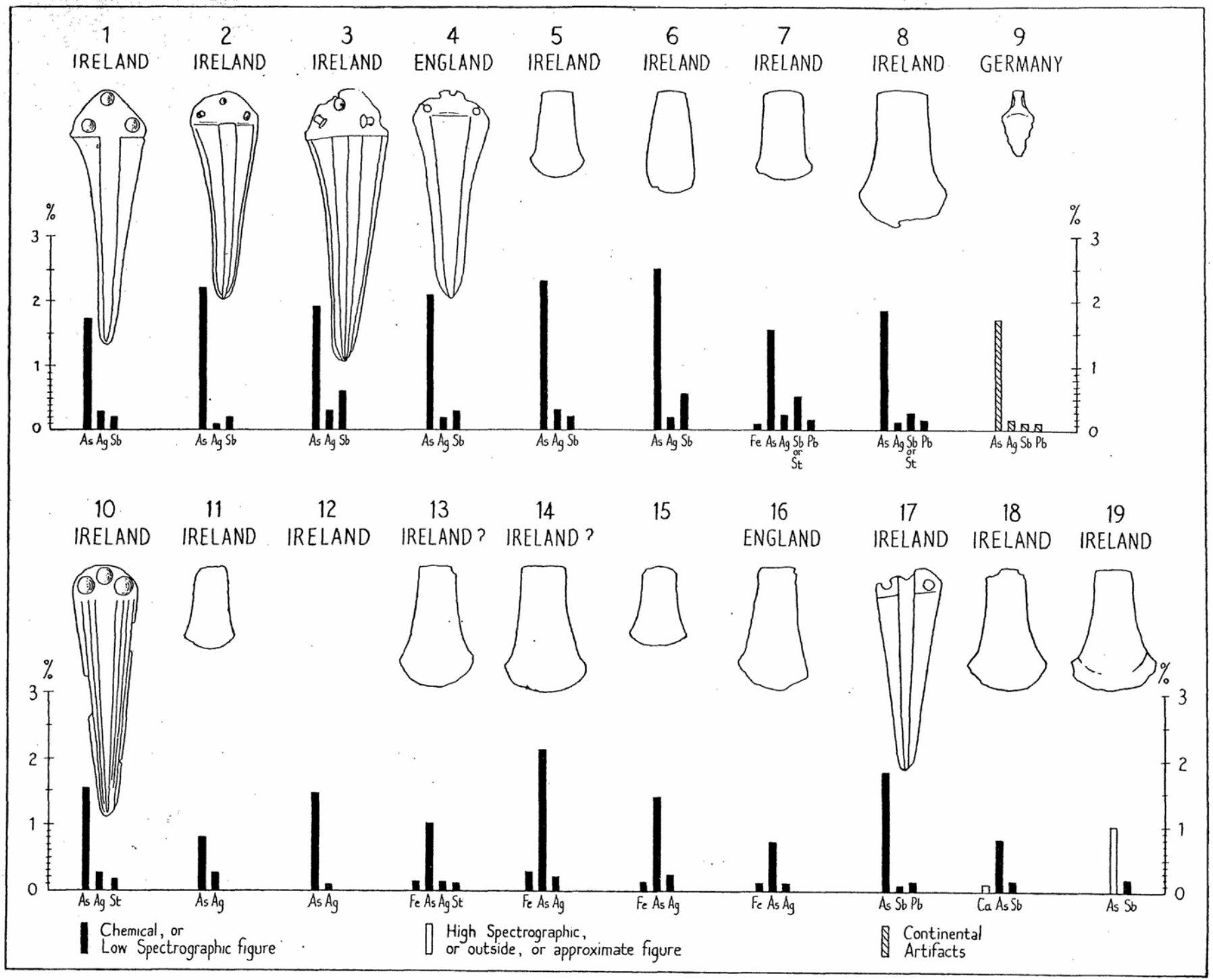


FIG. 3. COPPER ARSENICAL ALLOYS

Scale of artifacts ½; after various authors

together exceeding 1 per cent in the analyses so far available. It comprises: three Irish halberds and one English one (see fig. 3, Nos. 1–4), and two Irish flat axes (Nos. 5 and 6) and possibly two more (Nos. 7 and 8).

The only match for this sub-group in some 670 analyses of copper artifacts set out by Otto and Witter in the *Handbuch* is the fragmentary tanged knife found in a Beaker Culture grave at Buttelstedt, Weimar (see fig. 3, No. 9). Peaks in arsenic and minor peaks in silver and antimony occur in a metallurgically consistent series of metal-shafted and wooden-shafted halberds in the Dieskau I and II hoards from the Saale region (see *Handbuch*, AZ 379, 383, 385, 386, 387, 381 and 378); but the content of arsenic in each of these halberds is too high for them to match our sub-group. Another consistent series with the same features is to be found in analyses of ingot torcs from Bohemia and Moravia published by Pleiner (see *Archeologické Rozhledy*, Vol. V, 1953, p. 795), but the proportions of the elements do not agree with those in ours; and the same is true of a few other analyses showing the same features (see *Handbuch*, 577, 664, 688, 1080, 1082).

(2) Another sub-group is represented by a peak in arsenic (a little over 2 per cent is the highest), and a minor peak in silver. It comprises one Irish halberd (see fig. 3, No. 10), and six flat axes, Irish and English (Nos. 11–16).

(3) The third sub-group is represented by a lower peak in arsenic and a minor peak in antimony. It comprises one Irish halberd (see fig. 3, No. 17), and two Irish flat axes (Nos. 18 and 19).

Four examples of copper arsenical alloys cannot be placed in these sub-groups because of their excessive contents of arsenic (see fig. 4, Nos. 20, 21, 23 and 25). Nothing useful can be said about the Irish halberd (No. 20), but the other three are of interest. The implement from Argyle (No. 21) is quite a good match metallurgically with a wooden-shafted halberd in the Dieskau I hoard (see fig. 4, No. 22), and the halberd from Faversham, Kent, is a nearly exact match with another wooden-shafted halberd from the same German hoard (see fig. 4, No. 24). The tanged knife from Faversham (No. 25) can reasonably be compared with the Faversham halberd—especially since its apparently very high content of arsenic finds its seeming equivalent in yet another halberd from the Dieskau I hoard (see *Handbuch*, AZ 387: 7·60 per cent); it also has a small content of antimony. (It is unfortunate that its thinness and state of corrosion did not permit the taking of a sample for chemical analysis, and thus arriving at a precise figure for the arsenic content.) This knife and the Faversham halberd are likely to have come from the same brick-earth pit and to have been found at about the same time; their condition when they were first registered in the Ashmolean Museum suggested that they may have been associated.

Before leaving the copper arsenical alloys, it is worth

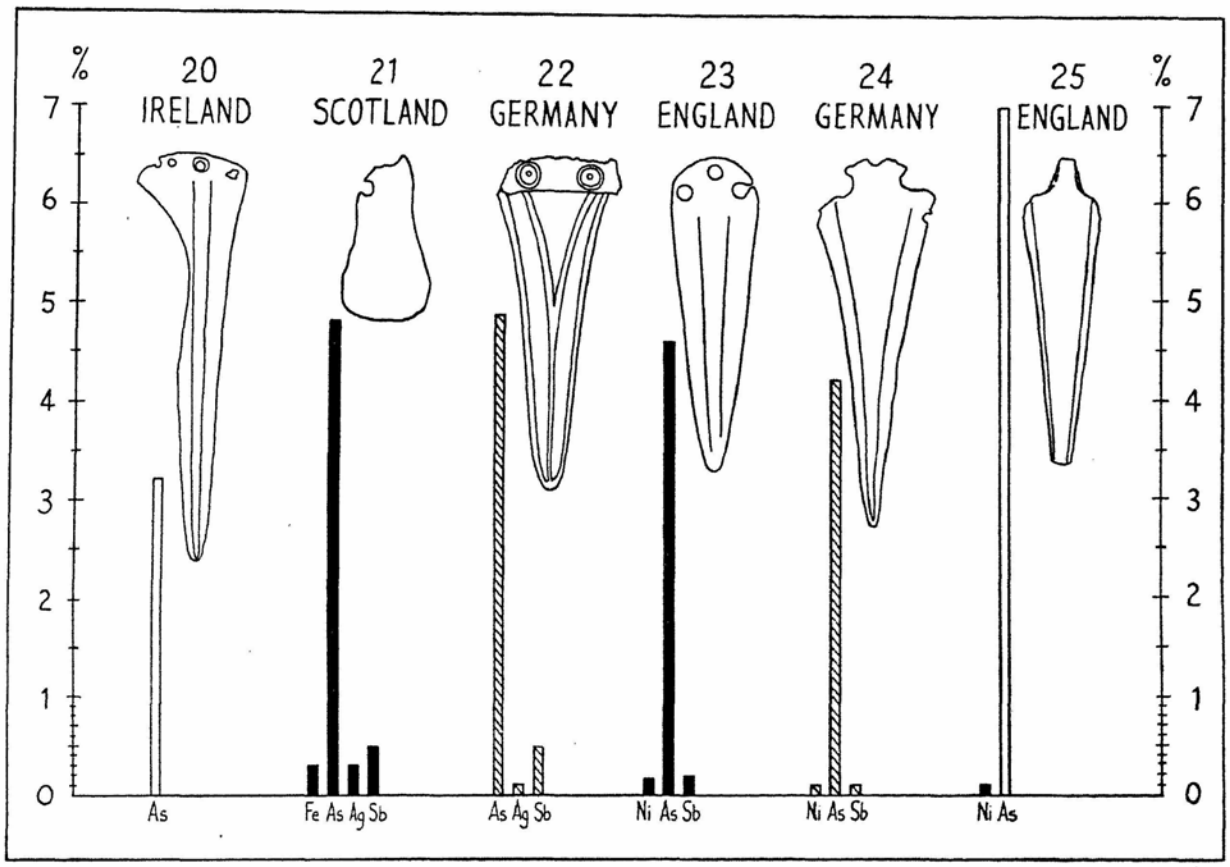


FIG. 4. COPPER ARSENICAL ALLOYS
Scale of artifacts ½; after various authors

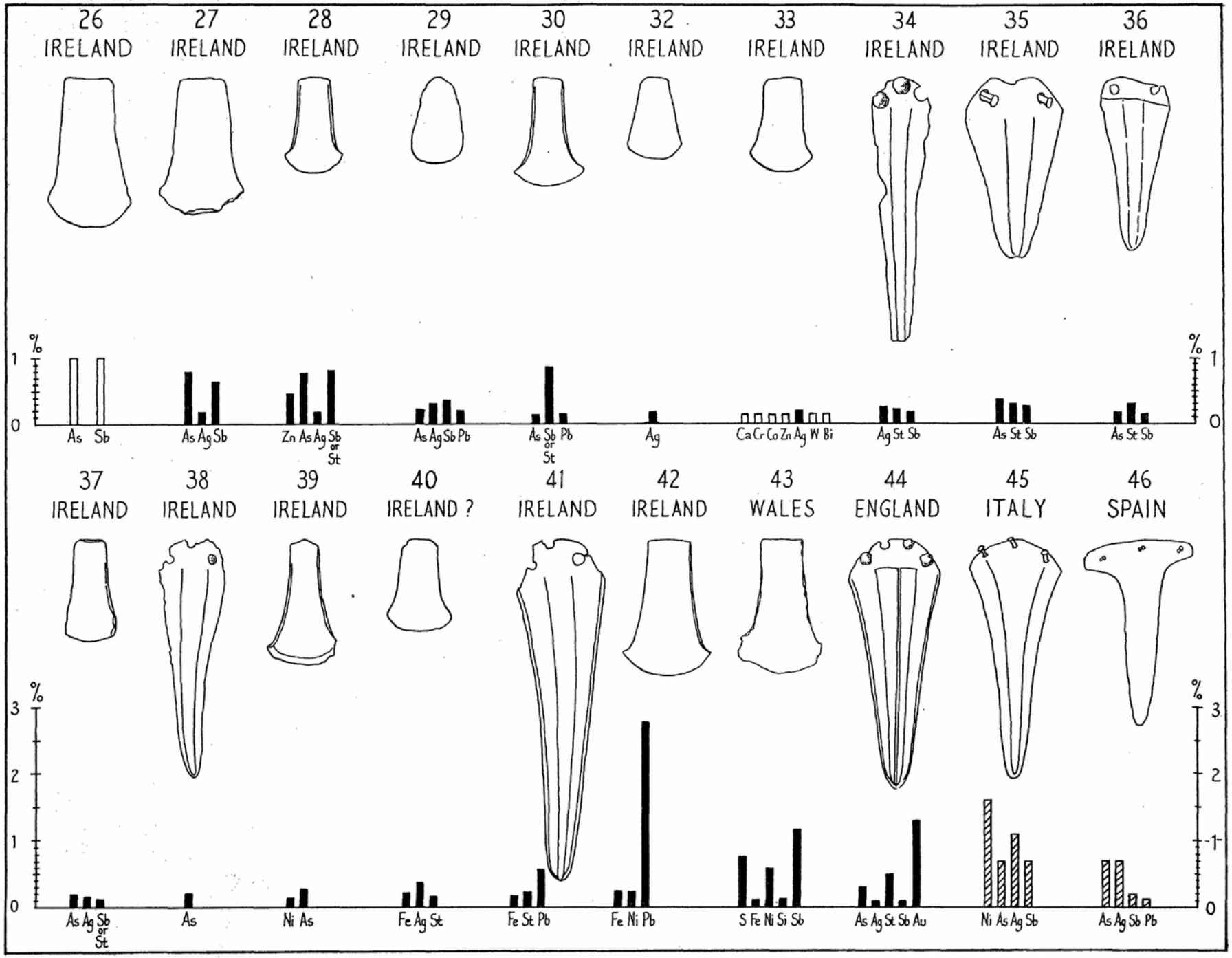


FIG. 5. FAHLERZMETALLEN AND OTHER COMBINATIONS

Scale of artifacts ⅛; after various authors

taking note of Otto's statement, in discussing a series of Early Bronze Age hoards from the Saale region including those from Dieskau (see *Jahreschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte*, Vol. XXXIV (1950), p. 96), that a chance production of alloys with high arsenic content, as the result of the simple smelting of copper ore containing arsenic, cannot be accepted. (Two examples of 7 per cent or over occur in the Dieskau I hoard.) In his opinion, it was a matter of deliberate production—perhaps through the addition of copper containing arsenic or arsenic ore itself to the smelted copper. In his view and Witter's (see *Handbuch*, 33), in Central Europe the use of copper containing arsenic led to the development of copper-arsenic bronze. The discovery began with the use of the native coppers of the Zwickau region, which contain arsenic. Later, in the Early Bronze Age, alloys were made by the addition of arsenic ore to smelted copper.

On the other hand, it seems reasonable that quite a high content of arsenic might have been produced by the straightforward smelting of an enriched arsenic-containing ore. Gowland, on the evidence of admittedly only a handful of analyses, in which the highest content of arsenic in any one implement was, however, 3·9 per cent, expressed the opinion that the presence of arsenic in prehistoric implements was 'undoubtedly the result of smelting impure copper ores containing it and not to (*sic*) the intentional addition of the metal to copper' (*J.A.I.*, Vol. XXXVI (1906), p. 30; and see also Witter, *Metall und Erz*, Vol. XXXIII (1936), No. 5).

Fahlerzmetalle (metals from grey copper ores). Only a few of the remaining Irish analyses fall into this major group of metals, as defined by Otto and Witter, and considered by them to have been smelted from sulphide ores. On the one hand, two Irish flat axes (see fig. 5, Nos. 26 and 27) and possibly another (No. 28) have about equal quantities of arsenic and antimony together with a small amount of silver; and, on the other hand, a single Irish flat axe (No. 29) and possibly another (No. 30) show a peak in antimony and minor peaks in arsenic (and lead), with some silver content.

Nearly pure coppers, and other combinations. The purest copper is found in an Irish flat axe (No. 31, not shown on fig. 5), but one cannot be certain whether it is native copper or not (see Voce, MAN, 1948, 17). Another axe is of nearly pure copper with a single small peak in silver (*cf. Handbuch*, Table 3*a*), and the axe from Dromore, County Down (No. 33) may also be similar. The remainder, with the exception of two flat axes (Nos. 42 and 43) and one halberd (No. 44), are also of nearly pure copper.

The exceptional analyses, together with a few others, show individual characteristics, the significance of which is not at present apparent. The lead content in a flat axe from Waterford (No. 42) is higher than that in any of the other artifacts, and the minor peak in zinc in the axe from Galway (No. 28, above) is also noteworthy.

The occurrence of nickel in the Faversham halberd and knife (Nos. 23 and 25, above) has already been noted. A minor peak in this element also occurs in the axe from Waterford (No. 41, above) and in another from Ireland (No. 38), and a higher peak altogether in the axe possibly from Merioneth, Wales (No. 43). This last analysis, with its particular combination of antimony and nickel, cannot be matched in the *Handbuch*. It is worth noting that another Welsh find—the halberd from Llanfachreth, Merioneth (O'Ríordáin, Wales, No. 3)—was found by Desch to have a nickel content of 3·59 per cent (I quote from information given to the Chairman by Miss L. F. Chitty); there is no higher figure for nickel in the *Handbuch*. The composition of the halberd from Manea Fen, Ely (No. 44) is also anomalous. The high content of gold—an element rare in any case in European early copper artifacts—is unprecedented.

General considerations. One feature which is obvious at once is that the group of copper arsenical alloys outnumbers the *Fahlerzmetalle* and nearly pure copper groups combined. Further work may or may not confirm this trend. Otto's thesis for Central Europe is that the use of nearly pure coppers began before that of the copper arsenical alloys, which in turn began before that of the *Fahlerzmetalle*, and in a general way this is illustrated by the *Handbuch*.

A technological fact of importance, which emerges from the analyses of the halberds, is the use in these islands of closed moulds for casting early copper artifacts; halberds with massive midribs like No. 3 are unlikely to have been made in any other way.

Deductions concerning centres of manufacture cannot be proved by so small a body of evidence, but a few provisional statements are, I think, worthwhile.

Irish manufacture. There cannot be much doubt on the evidence so far available that sub-group (1) of the copper arsenical alloys represents a specifically Irish feature. The halberd's are typologically evolved (according to O'Ríordáin's classification), and one at least (No. 4: Stoke Ferry, Norfolk) and possibly another (No. 3: Letterkenny, Co. Donegal) had Late Bronze Age associations—although it is hard to say whether these associations have any serious chronological significance. The fact that the Beaker Culture knife from Buttelstedt (fig. 3, No. 9) matches this sub-group metallurgically is interesting, and more British knives of this type should be analysed. (But satisfactory results may not be obtainable with present techniques, as these knives seem too thin for the drilling needed for chemical analysis, or too corroded to provide suitable material.)

Central European manufacture. The match between the halberd and the Beaker Culture knife from Faversham (Nos. 23 and 25) and the halberd from the Dieskau I hoard (No. 24) is interesting, since five other halberds from this Dieskau hoard (see *Handbuch*, AZ 379, 381, 383, 386 and 388) and one from the Dieskau II hoard (see *Handbuch*, AZ 378) show similar major peaks in arsenic and minor ones in nickel, and this combination seems to have been rarely found outside the Saale region. Typologically, the Faversham halberd is not well matched by either Irish or Central European forms, which suggests local manufacture; but that Central European metal, rather than Irish, was used to make both knife and halberd is suggested by the analyses.

High peaks in arsenic and minor peaks in silver and

antimony, like those found in the implement from Argyle (No. 21), occur in other halberds from Dieskau besides the one which matches it quite well; but since arsenic, silver and antimony combinations have been shown to be an Irish feature (see above), the suggestion in favour of Central European metal is less positive in the case of this implement.

Scandinavian connexions. Metallurgical evidence for British or Irish exports to Scandinavia is so far lacking. No significant matches can be made with over 40 analyses of copper artifacts published by Oldeberg (see *Metallteknik under Förhistorisk Tid*, Vol. 1 (1942), pp. 198*f.*).

Western European connexions. Evidence for connexions with the metal industries of France, Spain or Portugal is quite lacking owing to the scarcity of analyses. However, it is worthwhile to call attention, although it may have no relevance in this context, to the flat axe from Ireland (No. 39). In general shape it is quite like Breton axes (although it has a rather Central-European-looking pointed butt); its sides are bevelled and in this it resembles axes from the grave groups of Aylesford, Kent, and Ridgeway Barrow 7, Dorset, to which ApSimon has recently drawn attention as belonging to an early phase of Wessex Culture when connexions between Southern England and Brittany were active. (See *Inst. of Arch., Tenth Annual Report* (1954), pp. 38, 40; but note that the Bush Barrow axe does not show resemblance, since its edges are double-bevelled.)

Foreign analyses. A halberd from Etruria (see fig. 5, No. 45) belongs to the *Fahlerzmetalle* group, and its constitution matches those of a group from the Italian Lakes (see *Handbuch*, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, Z941, Z942), which show the same rather prominent peaks in nickel, arsenic, silver and antimony, although in differing proportions. The flat axe from Isola Virginia, Lake Varese (Z941), is quite a good match metallurcially; the others in this group are flanged axes.

The halberd from Ciudad Real, Spain (No. 46) also belongs to the *Fahlerzmetalle* group. In this it so far stands alone among the Spanish artifacts which have been analysed (see *Handbuch*, Z246, 261, 262, 264, 265), which all belong to the copper arsenical alloys group. None of these analyses show significant matches with Irish or British ones.

ABBREVIATIONS

Coffey (1) : *J. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XXXI (1901), pp. 265–79.
Coffey (2) : *Proc. R. Irish Acad.*, Vol. XXVII (1908), Section C, No. 2.
Coghlan : MAN, 1953, 150.
Gowland : *J. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XXXVI (1906), pp. 11–38.
Handbuch : Otto and Witter, *Handbuch der ältesten vorgeschichtlichen Metallurgie in Mitteleuropa* (1952). (It should be noted, in view of the remarks made above, that the analyses published in this work were made spectrographically.)
O'Ríordáin : *Arch.*, Vol. LXXXVI (1936), pp. 195–321.

APPENDIX

Ref. No.	*Artifact*	*Findspot*	*Publication reference*
1	Halberd	Ballina, Co. Mayo, Ireland	Table I. O'Ríordáin, Ireland 77; type 5
2	Halberd	Letterkenny, Co. Donegal, Ireland	Table I. O'Ríordáin, Ireland 127; type 5
3	Halberd	Ireland	Table I. O'Ríordáin, Ireland 69; type 5 (1927. 2830)
4	Halberd	Stoke Ferry hoard, Norfolk, England	Table II. O'Ríordáin, England, 3
5	Flat axe	Ireland	Table III (1433. 2316)
6	Flat axe	Ireland	Table III (1432. 2325)
7	Flat axe	Tyrone, Ireland	Coffey (1), p. 267, fig. 30
8	Flat axe	Ireland	Coffey (1), p. 267, fig. 34
9	Knife	Buttelstedt, Weimar, Germany	*Handbuch*, AZ 368
10	Halberd	Ireland	O'Ríordáin, Ireland 49; type 4. Coffey (2), p. 99, No. 5
11	Flat axe	Londonderry, Ireland	Coffey (1), p. 267, fig. 15
12	Flat axe	Ireland	Mitchell and Mitchell, *P.S.A.S.*, Vol. LXIX (1935), p. 424 (no illustration)
13	Flat axe	Ireland (?)	Gowland, p. 23, No. 3
14	Flat axe	Ireland (?)	Gowland, p. 23, No. 5
15	Flat axe	Chapel Fields, St. Margarets (Ireland or England?)	Gowland, p. 23, No. 4
16	Flat axe	Durham, England	Gowland, p. 23, No. 2
17	Halberd	Ballybogey Bog, Co. Antrim, Ireland	Table I. O'Ríordáin, Ireland 40; type 4
18	Flat axe	Ireland	Coghlan, Table I (OA 228)
19	Flat axe	Ballybay, Co. Cork, Ireland	*Handbuch*, AZ 263
20	Halberd	Ireland	O'Ríordáin, Ireland 133; various. *Handbuch*, Z 324
21	Uncertain use	Argyle, Scotland	Coghlan, Table I (OA 229)
22	Halberd	Dieskau I hoard, Saalkreis, Germany	*Handbuch*, AZ 385
23	Halberd	Faversham, Kent, England	Table II. O'Ríordáin, England 2; type 4
24	Halberd	Dieskau I hoard, Saalkreis, Germany	*Handbuch*, AZ 380
25	Knife	Faversham, Kent, England	Table III. O'Ríordáin, fig. 56, No. 3
26	Flat axe	Cork, Ireland	Voce in Coghlan, *Notes on the Prehistoric Metallurgy of Copper and Bronze* (1951), p. 111, No. 5
27	Flat axe	Ireland	Coffey (1), p. 267, fig. 22
28	Flat axe	Galway, Ireland	Coffey (1), p. 267, fig. 45
29	Flat axe	Ireland	Table III (1431. 2317)
30	Flat axe	Ireland	Coffey (1), p. 267, fig. 39. (It seems likely that the figures for this analysis were entered again by mistake for fig. 27.)

APPENDIX—*continued*

Ref. No.	*Artifact*	*Findspot*	*Publication ref.*
31	Flat axe	Ireland	Vocc, MAN, 1948, 17, Table III, No. 1
32	Flat axe	Ireland	Coffey (1), p. 267, fig. 2
33	Flat axe	Dromore, Co. Down, Ireland	Coghlan, Table I (W.G. 1526)
34	Halberd	Birr 'hoard,' Offaly, Ireland	O'Ríordáin, Ireland 84; type 5. Coffey (2), p. 99, No. 1
35	Halberd	Mallow, Co. Cork, Ireland	O'Ríordáin, Ireland 15; type 3. Coffey (2), p. 99, No. 4
36	Halberd	Ballyboley, Co. Antrim, Ireland	O'Ríordáin, Ireland 23; type 3. Coffey (2), p. 99, No. 2
37	Flat axe	Cork, Ireland	Coffey (1), p. 267, fig. 14
38	Halberd	Bellanamallard, Co. Fermanagh	Table I. O'Ríordáin, Ireland 74; type 5
39	Flat axe	Ireland	Coffey (1), p. 267, fig. 41
40	Flat axe	Ireland (?)	Gowland, p. 23, No. 1
41	Halberd	Hillswood hoard, Co. Galway, Ireland	O'Ríordáin, Ireland 100; type 5. Coffey (2), p. 99, No. 3
42	Flat axe	Waterford, Ireland	Coffey (1), p. 267, fig. 26
43	Flat axe	Possibly Merioneth, Wales	Wheeler, *Prehistoric and Roman Wales* (1927), p. 127; Grimes, *Prehistory of Wales* (1951), fig. 58, No. 2
44	Halberd	Manea, Ely, Cambs., England	Table II. O'Ríordáin, England 7; type 6
45	Halberd	Etruria, Italy	Table II. O'Ríordáin, Italy 3
46	Halberd	Nr. Ciudad Real, Spain	Table II. O'Ríordáin, Spain 18

Three additional analyses are not taken into account. It is difficult to be certain from illustration or description what type of Irish artifact was analysed by J. A. Phillips (*J. Chem. Soc. Lond.*, Vol. IV (1852), p. 277). Pollok (reported in Coffey (2), pp. 98f.) could not agree with Mallet's analysis of a halberd from Roscommon (*Trs. R. Ir. Acad.*, Vol. XXII (1855), p. 323), and this also throws doubt on the analysis of a flat axe reported in the same paper.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

The Social Structure of an Assamese Village. *By M. C. Goswami. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 22 October, 1953*

22 The society of the plains people of Assam presents a section of the Indo–Aryan culture of North India. The plains culture differs from that of the hill tribes which surround the plains people. Investigations were carried out by the lecturer in both the groups after the last war, and the lecture dealt with the plains villages of Upper and Lower Assam.

In describing the 'social structure' of an Assamese village he used the term as meaning the web of relationships existing between persons and groups of persons in the same village and within a wider area. These relationships are governed by (*i*) the ties within the elementary or the joint family, (*ii*) the wider kinship relations by blood and marriage, (*iii*) the caste group, (*iv*) the organization of the *khel* (section, division) and (*v*) the *satra* (monastery) institution, of which the prayer hall (*nam-ghar*) is a replica in each village. The discussion concentrated on the last two aspects only.

The most important social unit in an Assamese village is the *khel*, which may include persons belonging to different castes. Its members meet together for social and religious gatherings, at which they share meals or religious offerings in a common place and at the same time. Within the framework of the *khel* system, however, the traditional caste rules of separate eating and endogamous marriage are maintained.

Unlike caste, a *khel* group can break up. Fission and fusion are characteristic features of a *khel*, which maintains unity in the intervals by following the advice of its acknowledged leaders. Its exclusiveness is limited to life inside the village, outside which members of the opposing *khel* of the same village, when they meet, mix freely, except in the case of excommunication for serious offences such as incest or illegitimate births.

Members who violate any of the restrictions imposed by a *khel* on its members are immediately excluded from the group till they re-enter by atonement or by submission to fines; an alternative is to merge in another *khel* or form a new one. One of the features of *khel* grouping is that in all the crises of a person's life, such as birth, marriage and death, fellow members of the *khel* have to be entertained to a feast or prayer assembly.

In each village there is at least one prayer hall; there may be more. The opposing *khel*, however, may share one prayer hall, which is then maintained by common effort; the social solidarity of the whole village is manifest on occasions when the combined efforts of all the *khel* are necessary for the performance of a village festival. Whereas the caste system forms nearly 'watertight' compartments, the *khel* system cuts across this rigid compartmentalism by unifying different castes in one social group.

The *satra* institution is another interesting feature of Assamese social organization. The followers of the Vaishnavite sect of Hinduism are required to undergo an initiation ceremony (*sharana*) before or after marriage. The four principles accepted in this initiation rite, and binding upon the initiates, play a vital role in their social life. The authority of the *satradhikar* (pontiff) is undisputed among his disciples, which explains why this institution is often called 'a state within a state.' Minor injunctions to the initiate demand strict obedience to the rules of decency and decorum.

Uninitiated persons are not allowed to take part in the ceremonial life of the community. Initiation, therefore, is a universal practice in rural society. There is a feeling of brotherhood among the disciples of the same preceptor in all social relationships; but a closer tie is established among persons who are initiated by the same preceptor at the same time and place. They are known as *Hari-bhakat* (devotees of God) and consider themselves as siblings, bound by consequent exogamous rules. This may be called spiritual brotherhood, and its bonds extend over three generations, overriding caste barriers.

Equilibrium in the social structure of a village is greatly disturbed by any occurrence of illegitimate sex relations. In order to remedy the irregularity the offending parties must invite all fellow members of the *khel* group, including the members of the extended family (*bangah*), to take part in certain ritual

ceremonies (*nam-kirtan* or/and *giyatik bhoj-bhat diya*). The emphasis put on the inclusion of the genealogical near relatives (*bhagi-giyati*) has structural significance, since in the case of a death even in an offending family, it is the fellow members of the extended family who bear the responsibility for cremating the dead, and they might otherwise omit attendance at certain feasts regarded as necessary to the happiness of the departed. Members of the extended family who are outside the *khel* group have also the obligation of attending the cremation; but they do not attend the mortuary rites.

Anthropological Blood-Grouping in South-East Asia. *By P. H. A. Sneath, M.A., M.B. (Cantab.) Summary of a communication to the Institute, 4 February, 1954*

23 Four aboriginal tribes in Malaya and Borneo were studied in association with Dr. I. Polunin of the University of Malaya, as part of the programme of anthropological blood-grouping organized by Dr. A. E. Mourant. Blood samples were collected from the settlements and were tested for the *ABO, MNS, Rhesus, P, Lutheran, Kell* and *Duffy* groups and for the sickle-cell trait. Specimens of saliva were also tested for *ABH* secretion. The more important results are summarized in the table, in which the salient blood-group features of the main racial types of man are noted for comparison. About 100 samples from each tribe were tested.

The Negritos of Malaya. The high incidence of the *Rhesus* gene R_0 (*cDe*) supports the belief that the Negritos and Africans are descended from a common stock. The sickle-cell trait was absent, but there is some doubt whether this trait is a safe criterion of African ancestry. A more serious objection to an African origin for the Negritos is the low frequency of R_0 and the absence of the trait in the Andaman Negritos, recently reported by Lehmann and Ikin (personal communication).

The Malayan Senoi. The racial affinities of the Senoi have been much discussed, and some have suggested that they are related to the Veddas or to the Australoids. The blood groups of the Senoi are quite different from those of the Australian aborigines; the latter lack the genes *B* and *S* and have low *M*, while the Senoi possess considerable amounts of all three. There are few data on Veddoid blood groups. The groups of the Senoi are similar to those of Mongoloids, and this strongly supports the theory that the Senoi are closer to the Mongoloids than to any other race.

The Aboriginal Malays. The blood groups confirm that these people are Mongoloids, being similar to those of most peoples of Malaysia.

The Land Dayaks of Borneo. The blood groups of the Land Dayaks were found to be of the Malaysian type.

Variability in Blood Groups of Settlements. Great variation was found in blood groups between settlements of the same tribe. It was noted in all four peoples, and is presumably due to settlement endogamy (known to be common in Land Dayaks and Aboriginal Malays). Although this lessens the value of blood-grouping as a means of tracing racial ancestry, it may throw light on the way in which races arise: for instance, the suggestion that the American Indians lack blood group *B* because they are descended from a few small tribes who, by chance, lacked the gene is supported by examples of the virtual absence of common genes in some settlements which we studied.

The variability is thought to be due largely to genetic drift, though doubtless other factors are also responsible. The possibility of such variation, usually ignored in blood-group work, should always be considered in surveys of this area (see Polunin, MAN, 1952, 104).

A full account of this work is to be published.

TABLE I. RACIAL FREQUENCIES OF BLOOD-GROUP GENES AND FREQUENCIES IN FOUR ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

System	*Gene*	*Caucasoids*	*Australoids*	*Negroids*	*Mongoloids*	*Negritos*	*Senoi*	*Aboriginal Malays*	*Land Dayaks*
ABO	*A*	*High* (0·3)	*Moderate*	*Moderate*	*Moderate*	0·15	0·05	0·12	0·21
	B	*Low*	*ABSENT*	*High* (0·3)	*High**	0·09	0·24	0·20	0·31
	A_2	*Moderate*	*Absent*	*High* (0·06)	*Absent*	0	0	0	0
MNS	*N*	*Moderate*	*HIGH* (0·9)	*Moderate*	*Low*	0·27	0·28	0·21	0·33
	S	*HIGH* (0·3)	*ABSENT*	*Moderate*	*Low*	0·14	0·09	0·03	0·01
Rh	*r* (*cde*)	*HIGH* (0·4)	*Absent*	*Moderate*	*Absent*	0	0	0	0
	R_0 (*cDe*)	*Low*	*Moderate*	*HIGH* (0·6)	*Low*	0·27	0·01	0·01	0·07
	R_1 (*CDe*)	*Moderate*	*Moderate*	*LOW*	*HIGH* (0·8)	0·63	0·93	0·94	0·85
	R_2 (*cDE*)	*Moderate*	*Moderate*	*Low*	*Moderate*‡	0·10	0·07	0·04	0·08
Duffy	Fy^a	*Moderate*	*High* (0·9)	*Low*	*High*	0·5		0·7	
Sickle-cell Trait		*Absent*	*Absent*	*High*†	*Absent*	*Absent*		*Absent*	

**Absent in America* †*Also in Veddoids* ‡ *High in America* (0·4)

The figures in parentheses after "High" show the average gene frequency of the gene in that race which possesses the highest frequency.

SHORTER NOTES

Hereditary Friendships and Inter-Tribal Sex Relations between Todas and Mudugas. *By Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

24 During recent investigations into the blood groups of certain South Indian communities Dr. H. Lehmann and Miss M. Cutbush[1] established a high incidence of the sickle-cell trait among such populations of Veddoid racial features as Irulas, Kurumbas and Panyans. This trait, which had hitherto been mainly associated with African races, was not found among any of the more

advanced Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese and Telugu-speaking Hindu castes, but among the Todas of the Nilgiris an incidence of 3·3 per cent. was established. Compared to the incidence of 30 per cent. among Irulas this is not a high percentage, but even a low incidence of sickle cells among a population considered by most anthropologists as of North-Indid or Mediterranoid race poses a problem. Dr. Lehmann suggested that the Todas were likely to have 'received the sickle-cell trait from older Southern Indian communities,' but in view of the alleged social isolation and strict endogamy of this much studied tribe it did not seem easy to explain in what manner such an inflow of Veddoid blood could have occurred.

In the course of fieldwork among the aboriginal tribes of South Malabar in the first half of 1953[2] I discovered, however, a system of hereditary friendship ties providing for inter-tribal sex relations between the Todas of the Nilgiris on the one side and Mudugas and Kurumbas of Walavanad Taluq on the other. This system, which could well account for limited miscegenation between these tribes, seems to have hitherto escaped the notice of anthropologists. While W. H. R. Rivers and other observers mention the ritual and economic relations between Todas and Kurumbas, there is no indication that any of them was aware of the peculiar social and sexual relationships involved in traditional friendships between individual Todas and members of certain forest tribes inhabiting the western slopes and foothills of the Nilgiris.[3]

The information on which the present note is based was obtained mainly from the Mudugas of Pottikal, but men from other villages corroborated the evidence, and it appears that many Mudugas and Kurumbas maintain ceremonial friendships with Todas.

Both Mudugas and Kurumbas are primitive shifting cultivators living in small settlements of little permanency. Their economy is complementary to that of the Todas. While the latter are principally buffalo-breeders, both Mudugas and Kurumbas are agriculturists who grow mainly *eleusine coracana*, *panicum miliare* and pulses.

Many of the village headmen (*mupam*) have traditional Toda friends and these friends visit them at least once a year, and on each visit stay for several days and sometimes as long as a fortnight. The Muduga host is expected to vacate his home for the entire time of his friend's visit, but the wife remains in the house and the Toda visitor assumes the role of husband.

Sasta Mupam of Pottikal, my main informant, had a visiting relationship with three Toda brothers of Periamand,[4] and his father had maintained the same relationship with their father. It was usually after the harvest of the pulses that one or even two of these brothers came to Pottikal. Sasta entertained them as lavishly as he could afford. Of Sasta's two wives one was rather old and no longer attractive, and he said that for this reason he left only his younger wife in the house. If two of the Toda brothers came at the same time, they slept with her in turn.

The three Toda brothers had one wife in common, and when Sasta Mupam paid his annual visit to Periamand, he would be entertained by his friends and accommodated in their house. In the evening the oldest of the brothers would say: 'You may go in, younger brother, our wife is waiting for you and you may sleep with her,' and to his wife he would say: 'My brother has come, allow him to share your blanket.'

The Mudugas realize that venereal disease is—or rather was until recently—rampant among the Todas. But although some Mudugas have been infected, there is the belief that as long as they cohabit only with the wives of their hereditary friends they run no risk of contracting the disease. 'The danger of getting this disease,' they say, 'arises only if people of the wrong castes cohabit. The heat produced by such intercourse causes illness. But no ill effect results from the intercourse of men and women permitted to cohabit by established custom.'

This statement clearly reflects the Mudugas' belief in the legality of the temporary 'lending' of wives to ceremonial friends.

Visits between Toda and Muduga friends are usually an occasion for the exchange of gifts. Mudugas present their Toda friends with such agricultural produce as mustard seed, pulse or millet, and once in several years the Todas reciprocate such gifts with the present of a buffalo calf. Several Muduga and Kurumba *mupam* have at one time or other received a buffalo calf from their respective Toda friends.

The Mudugas invite their Toda friends to weddings and to their principal religious feasts, and on such occasions the Todas nowadays bring gifts of sugar, rice and coffee, commodities which they buy in the Ootacamund bazaar. They partake in the worship, and the Mudugas even allow them precedence. Similarly Mudugas are permitted to enter the stone enclosures of Toda shrines and in turn are given precedence at the *puja*. 'We have so much mutual respect,' explained my Muduga informants, 'that we grant each other these privileges.'

The institutionalized sexual intercourse between Todas and Mudugas, though limited to comparatively short periods once or twice a year, must in the course of several generations have led to some measure of miscegenation, which, however, receives no social recognition. The Mudugas, like many other Indian aboriginals, believe that isolated sexual acts are unlikely to lead to pregnancy, and therefore do not reckon with the possibility that children born to Toda or Muduga wives may be the offspring of their husbands' ceremonial friends. Anthropologists appraising the Toda community's racial composition, on the other hand, will have to take into account an inflow of blood from the surrounding forest tribes. The slight incidence of the sickle-cell trait in the blood of Todas can perhaps be explained by such miscegenation, and the discovery of a system of mutual wife-lending practised by Todas and Mudugas may thus help in the solution of a genetic puzzle. To the social anthropologist it may be of interest that the men of a community as determined to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity as the small Toda tribe grant the privilege of periodic access to their women to neighbours of strikingly different racial make-up and cultural background.

Notes

[1] 'Sickle-Cell Trait in Southern India,' *Brit. Med. J.*, Vol. IV (1952), p. 404; 'Sub-division of Southern Communities according to the Incidence of Sickle Trait and Blood Groups,' *Trans. R. Soc. Trop. Med. and Hyg.*, Vol. XLVI (1952), No. 4, pp. 380–3.

[2] These field investigations were greatly facilitated by a generous grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, as well as by the cooperation of Shri K. Raman Unni, M. A., of Kuttikode, South Malabar, now Lecturer in Sociology, Gujerat University.

[3] Rivers explicitly stated: 'The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas' (*The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 641).

[4] I have not been able to correlate Periamand with any of the Toda settlements listed by Rivers; for after my stay among the Mudugas I did not have an opportunity of making further inquiries among the Todas.

University of Edinburgh Department of Social Anthropology: Memorandum on Research. *Communicated by Dr. K. L. Little*

25 The Department of Social Anthropology of the University of Edinburgh is conducting a programme of research into racial and cultural contacts between Britain and West Africa and the West Indies. Completed projects include: a study of the coloured community of Manchester (E. B. Ndem);

Colonial students in London and in one of the 'older' universities (A. T. Carey and Sheila Webster); the coloured social *élite* in London (Violaine Junod); the coloured population of Stepney and colonial immigration into Britain (Michael Banton); the Negro and Moslem group on Tyneside (S. F. Collins); and the tribal organization of Freetown (Michael Banton). Studies in progress include: social mobility in Jamaica (S. F. Collins); new forms of leadership and social change in a Gold Coast and a Nigerian community (A. T. Carey and Tanya Baker); and a mining community in the Sierra Leone Protectorate (J. Littlejohn).

REVIEWS

AFRICA

The African Mind in Health and Disease: A Study in Ethnopsychiatry. *By J. C. Carothers. Geneva (World Health Organization), 1953. Pp. 177*

26 Any cross-disciplinary work that uses anthropological materials must be of concern to anthropologists. Where the work is published under the highest auspices, as in this case, the subject one that has broad practical implications, and the anthropological materials used with an obvious lack of competence, the resulting study must not only be of concern to anthropologists, but must also give them concern.

As I read this book, the question that occurred to me again and again, as an anthropologist, was whether before publishing it the World Health Organization had followed the practice common to publishers of submitting the manuscript to authorities in the fields of which it treats—psychiatry, ethnography, dietetics and tropical medicine—for comment on the validity of the data. In view of the newness of this cross-disciplinary field and its possible impact on a situation already marked by serious tensions, such a procedure would have been logical.

As far as anthropology is concerned, this point would seem to be critical. For though Dr. Carothers is a psychiatrist, his thesis in major part turns on an argument that is essentially ethnographic. As he phrases it, '. . . It is a main theme of this monograph that African culture has developed on such lines as to reduce the exigencies of living to a minimum, and that the integration which the rural African apparently achieves is founded on the continuing support afforded by his culture and has but little independent existence in himself' (p. 110). The question of the competence of his anthropological data became the more pertinent when I saw that, in his Preface, he named only one anthropologist in the list of those whose aid he acknowledges, a student of physical anthropology, and that no ethnologist was included. His bibliography, moreover, shows a striking absence of recent ethnographic reports on Africa which treat, in detail, of the institutions and beliefs from which so much of his argument concerning 'African mentality' derives. Among the names of those who have published such works, but are absent from the bibliography, are those of Ashton, Evans-Pritchard, Fortes, Gluckman, Griaule, Krige, Little, Mercier, Mayer, Paulme, Schapera and M. Wilson. Other students, such as Richards and Nadel, are represented by titles that are not their principal ethnographic contributions.

Dr. Carothers's thesis, if it is divested of its psychiatric terminology and is recognized as lying on the level of cultural (learned) rather than innate (biologically determined) characteristics, is not unfamiliar to those of us who have been concerned with unravelling the knotty problem of the significance of racial differences. He rejects the racialist explanation, whereby the Negro is held to have failed to achieve the standard of the civilizations of other races because his innate equipment, as manifest either in brain weight or in complexity of convolution of the brain, did not permit him to do so. His argument rather derives from cultural factors, to the degree that the only word I can find to describe his position is the neologistic term 'culturism.' That is, it is culture, not race, that handicaps the African, making of him, not a second-rate human being, but a second-rate performer on the cultural stage. The potentialities of the African are not denied; these, presumably, await the cultural changes in the patterns of health measures, nutritive conventions and social initiative that will bring him up to those who today live under these more favourable conditions.

Let us examine further the critical position of the anthropological materials used in developing Dr. Carothers's position. In pages that follow the one on which the preceding quotation occurs, he elaborates his thesis by relating African behaviour to the development of the brain, in terms of its growth or failure to develop in response to culturally determined stimuli. Thus, on pp. 155–9, where he quotes his own work and that of various other students, he cites Tooth as follows: 'A characteristic feature of the African mental make-up is the ability to deal with factual events, so to speak, at second hand. . . . Unlike more civilized peoples, he is governed more by emotion than intellect—indeed the exploitation of crude emotion is a prominent feature of his everyday life. . . .' This follows a citation from an earlier paper by Carothers himself: '. . . except in so far as the African's ritual training mitigates some of the more socially flagrant symptoms (*e.g.* rudeness and tactlessness), and except that the African shows no lack of verbal ability or of phantasy, the resemblance of the leucotomized European patient to the primitive African is, in many cases, complete.'

The conclusion that follows is an extension of the statement, given on p. 105, that 'for full development of both aspects of intelligence [*i.e.* impersonal and social, p. 104], both early infantile and later childhood experience must follow certain lines and that neither of these lines is followed, early or late, in Africa.' Thus, turning again to p. 157, we learn that, 'The main function of the frontal lobes seems to be the integration of stimuli arriving from other parts of the brain (thalamus and cortex). . . . When integration is lacking, the frontal lobes would be relatively idle since they alone subserve no other function. The African, with his lack of total synthesis, must therefore use his frontal lobes but little, and all the peculiarities of African psychiatry can be envisaged in terms of this frontal idleness.' This is obviously a restatement, directed toward Africa, of the discredited 'strait-jacket' theory of 'primitive' society, under which such societies, held to be static because of their extreme conservatism, suppress all individuality, and produce a series of social automata.

With the validity of Dr. Carothers's psychiatric argument turning on the ethnographic materials, the fact that his picture of 'African' society, or of the development of the 'African' child, quite suppresses the wide range of differences in social behaviour and institutions that mark the cultures of the continent, assumes considerable importance. Where his ethnographic generalizations do have validity, they tend to hold only for Eastern Africa, with which, I gather, he is acquainted. It simply is not true, however, that 'in the main, African societies are patrilineal and patrilocal' (p. 44), nor does the phrase that follows 'though other possibilities occur' lessen the force of the positive statement. His citation from Raum on formal education in African societies, given on the next page—'Nothing in the choice of subjects suggests that the pupils are children from the age of six onwards'—refers to the Chagga, and to them alone. To present it as a generalization valid for all Africa is seriously to distort the intent of Raum's careful research. Of the training of children in general, we read: 'Coercion is little used' (p. 46). But in West Africa and elsewhere I have seen children reprimanded, ridiculed and subjected to corporal punishment. 'Initiation ceremonies' (p. 47) are not universal for Africa, as is claimed. I tried to find Dr. Carothers's reference in the work of Rattray cited to support this statement, but since no page references are given by him, it was somewhat difficult to ascertain the particular passage in this two-volume work on the peoples of the northern Gold Coast—a work far inferior to Rattray's classic volumes on the Ashanti, which are not referred to—from which the information had been drawn.

One could comment at much greater length on the quality of the

picture of 'African' culture which Dr. Carothers draws. 'Contemporary initiates form a . . . club' (p. 47) only in certain areas of the continent; the 'slight degree of specialization' (in economic pursuits, ascribed on p. 49), is not true of West Africa or the Congo; an African religion no more has 'boundaries which are obscure and difficult for Europeans'—provided that these Europeans have adequate training to study such a subject—than has any theological system for one who comes to it from the outside. Generalizations of this sort are the more difficult to understand in the light of Dr. Carothers's own recognition of the fact that 'There are in Africa not one, but many cultures' (p. 42), or of his further statement: 'The subsequent description may give the impression that African culture is entirely odd, alien to anything one knows in the Western World. Such an impression would be false, for much of African life is just like life anywhere. . . . Indeed, some of the peculiarities themselves would not be recognized as alien by certain elements in Europe.'

One cannot but wonder at this ambivalence, especially since it continues to be manifest throughout the monograph, leading always to a 'loading' of the argument and, at times, to a disregard, undoubtedly on the unconscious level, of obvious contradictions. Thus, on p. 158, where citations from the conclusions of certain psychiatrists regarding various aspects of 'African' mentality from 'several parts of Africa' are given, we are specifically told that 'on the whole, the writers had little or no knowledge of each other's work.' Yet a long quotation from Gallais and Planques shows them citing Aubin, whose contributions are recounted at length by Dr. Carothers on pp. 153–5.

The study of the problems that underlie situations of tension is a legitimate and important subject for scientific investigation; yet, just because they are in an area so charged with emotion, it would seem the part of wisdom to safeguard any statement of findings by submitting them to the most careful scrutiny by scholars of the highest competence in all fields involved. It is thus more the pity, as internal evidence suggests, that W.H.O. did not submit the manuscript before publication, after the manner of other scholarly bodies, to experts in the various fields drawn on to ascertain the validity of the data on which the findings rest. For where, as in Africa, stakes are high and tempers are short, anything this side of the best scientific knowledge will accelerate existing tensions and make their resolution the more difficult. MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

Nupe Religion. *By S. F. Nadel. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1954. Pp. 288. Price £1 5s.*

27 This is a sequel to *A Black Byzantium* (1942). Professor Nadel describes the indigenous religion of this largely Islamized Nigerian people, regarding Islam as an intrusion. In indigenous Nupe belief the Supreme Being, *Sokó*, is the most basic concept but because of his aloofness men do not approach him directly (only Muslims can do that) but through ritual acts at customary places that are not temples. Nature spirits are believed in but receive little attention, apart from the sacred Jebba rock and 'Father Niger.' Ancestors are invoked, and Tsoede the legendary first king of Nupe is such a 'man-become-deity' for the whole nation that his cult is 'a State religion superimposed upon a pre-existing creed.'

Two systems of divination are used: the *eba* consists in throwing strings of shells, like one form of the Ifa divination of the neighbouring Yoruba; the *hati* divination is Muslim, with patterns drawn in the sand. Witchcraft belief is strong. Witches' shadow souls (*fifingi*) seize a victim's life soul (*rayi*) which is eaten at night at a communal open-air meal. Witchcraft is imaginary, yet all Nupe towns have a 'good' official female head of witches, Lelu, who controls the others.

Details are given of twin cults, and solemnizations at birth, marriage and death. One would have liked more particulars of the tribal marks on 'cheeks and forehead,' because of the mystery of the Esie statues which have marks at the corners of the eyes. Nadel does not mention these remarkable stone images, discovered in 1934; they are in Yoruba country but not far from Nupe. Some writers think that they are Nupe and others Yoruba.

Islam entered Nupe in the eighteenth century and with the Fulani conquest became the state religion, helped on by British rule. Both Muslims and non-Muslims call God Sokó and think of him as remote, but Muslims pray in the Nupe tongue to Sokó for rain and good harvests. Only three Muslim festivals are observed, and at New Year there is some licence. Conversion is easy as it demands little change. Nadel dismisses Christianity as insignificant, its converts strangers or unstable individuals. This is true in Bida itself, but in thirty villages outside Bida there are churches of indigenous farming families.

In an epilogue on religious 'typology' Nupe religion is called conservative, pedestrian and non-messianic, though deep anxieties are revealed by the witchcraft fantasies. But can anyone safely say, even after years of fieldwork, 'never does the worshipper face his god in solitude'? Altogether this is a most important, comprehensive and fascinating study of a key people in Nigeria.

E. G. PARRINDER

Commerce and Conquest in East Africa. *By Cyrus T. Brady, Jr. Salem (Essex Inst.), 1950. Pp. 245, illus., bibliog.*

28 This breezy but well-informed historical travelogue will put the amateur of Africa in the way of a good deal of useful knowledge as well as enjoyment.

WILLIAM FAGG

EUROPE

Bondehuse og Vandmøller. (Farms and Water Mills in Denmark during 2000 Years). *By Axel Steensberg. København (Hassing), 1952. Pp. 325*

29 The reputation of the Danes for preserving and recording the history of their material culture is well known. Indeed a previous book of Dr. Steensberg's made a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of harvesting implements. Now this volume provides the results of a careful survey of certain old farm and water-mill sites.

Site by site Dr. Steensberg and his colleagues, with meticulous care, have managed to trace previous occupations and as a result have contributed substantially to our knowledge of domestic rural buildings and the habits of the people whose homes they were. The work illustrates in some detail the methods developed in Denmark for excavating the sites of dwellings by scraping away layers of each site until a clear profile can be obtained of each occupation. By this technique successive occupations have been traced back as far as the middle ages and sometimes earlier. The results of the work are well and ably presented; there are numerous photographs and profile plans which demonstrate clearly the techniques employed. Dr. Valdemar Mikkelsen has contributed a special chapter dealing with the results of pollen analysis on one of the sites.

The text though in Danish has a good English summary in addition to an expanded English caption of each illustration. These together make it possible to obtain a clear idea of the methods and results without a knowledge of Danish. They are the work of an English archæologist, Mr. J. Golson, whose name deserves mention in the English text.

It does not belittle the value of Dr Steensberg's work to say that one of the most important effects on British readers should be its challenge. One is tempted to enquire if we should not in this country pay more attention to the less spectacular and more mundane sites. We know pathetically little about the development of the British farm steading between Saxon times and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Old rural buildings are being demolished every day to make room for new, and as modern buildings arise to suit new methods of husbandry the opportunity of examining the ground beneath them disappears. One cannot help regretting the inevitably lost opportunities of wartime when old pastures ploughed for the first time in decades revealed beneath their surface the outlines of long-forgotten dwellings.

At the present time the Deserted Mediæval Village Research Group is applying the Danish technique at Wharram Percy in Yorkshire. There would seem to be many opportunities for other

societies to apply the same technique, particularly where part of a farm steading is undergoing reconstruction. A stronger link between archæologists and farmers would seem to be desirable. But there is an urgent need to learn more of the rural buildings and life of the past before the planner, the plough and the bulldozer remove the evidence for ever.

Dr. Steensberg is continuing with his researches and intends to supplement his valuable work later on. Readers of this book with their appetites whetted will await eagerly the results of his further work. In the meantime they might usefully consider the advantages of extending his techniques more widely on this side of the North Sea. J. W. Y. HIGGS

Manuel de Folklore français contemporain, Vol. I, No. V, Part 3. *By Arnold van Gennep. Paris (Picard), 1951. Pp. xxviii, 2137–2543. Price 1,300 francs*

30 In his preface M. van Gennep gives the text of the law of January, 1951, designed to encourage the study of dialects and folklore in universities and schools. He welcomes it chiefly for its appeal to teachers in the rural junior schools, who are more closely in touch with genuine folklore than those engaged in higher education.

The text deals first with customs of the hay and corn harvests, especially the last load and the last sheaf, and the cross which is planted in spring in the middle of the cornfield, and is the subject of rites when the reapers reach it. Specimens are also given of some widespread folktales, such as that of 'the prodigious mower.' Gargantua or a saint in disguise is engaged to mow a field next day. Late in the afternoon he is still sharpening his scythe, but when reproached quickly mows the whole field and goes on to mow down the trees round.

A long and interesting section deals with transhumance, and particularly with the customs observed when the animals leave the villages for the mountains. The last section lists the saints who, in different parts of France, are invoked to protect the domestic animals.

There are 19 maps showing the incidence of customs in various districts and departments.

M. van Gennep, perhaps unfortunately, intersperses his text with statements of his own theories and criticisms of the theories of others. He tends to go beyond his evidence, as when he claims a neolithic origin for customs which, on his own showing, are unrecorded before the end of the eighteenth century. But this is a minor criticism of a work which will be a monument to the veteran author's learning and assiduity. More than 90 printed sources are cited, besides innumerable private communications. RAGLAN

Objets domestiques des Provinces de France dans la Vie familiale et les Arts ménagers. *By Georges-Henri Rivière and Suzanne Tardieu. Paris (Éditions des Musées Nationaux), 1953. Pp. 62*

31 This is the catalogue of an exhibition (17 April–11 October, 1953) organized by the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires and held in the museum's galleries in the Palais de Chaillot, Paris. The exhibition is based on results of research on the domestic equipment of the French people carried out by the museum for the past 15 years.

The collections are arranged along conventional lines under headings of Family Life, The Household and Domestic Duties (which include the minor domestic crafts), with separate sections dealing with chests, cupboards, seats and beds and also measuring devices. They are formed in part from objects in the museum's own collections or borrowed from other sources, and in part from the museum's 'Service de Documentation.'

At the end of the catalogue is a useful list of public collections containing objects within the scope of the exhibition. The eight pages of half-tone plates are good but one would have liked to see more, as well as a less economical treatment of the text. The few line blocks are weak and the most interesting, that of the types of oil lamps, is not keyed up to the catalogue.

Anyone wishing to study the material side of European ethnology will find the catalogue useful, and there is much of interest in the editorial portions. THOMAS W. BAGSHAWE

Château-Gérard. *By H. H. Turney-High. Columbia, S. C. (U. of S. Carolina P.), 1953. Pp. xviii, 297, 5 maps, 14 tables. Price $5.50*

32 The author is aware that 'his audience will be almost exclusively American.' He could certainly expect little credit in Europe for his statements that Cæsar was 'a scoundrel of the deepest hue' and that the witches played 'dirty little tricks against humanity,' not to mention his shocking outburst against social security for old age (p. 284).

Dr. Turney-High spent several months in a Walloon village which he calls by the pseudonym 'Château-Gérard,' probably on account of some sad stories in the chapter 'Sex, Marriage and the Family,' typical of the aftermath of a war and enemy occupation. The various statistics and the lengthy story of the Templars and the Order of Malta do not match the otherwise too popular approach. I would have liked to hear more about 'the Perron of Lièges' and a substantiation of his view that the Druids sacrificed fewer human beings than is generally believed. For a folklorist there is nothing 'odd' about the Celts and the Indians of Honduras sharing the same belief in thunderbolts; its worldwide distribution has been abundantly demonstrated in the last 50 years.

I found the following preparation for invoking a demon especially interesting (p. 230): 'First one catches a frog and kills it . . . then encases the body in a metal box in which [are] punched a number of small holes. This [is] placed on an anthill, so that the ants enter the holes to eat the flesh away.' Later on the skeleton is used for divination and protection. In Bavaria, adders starved in a special pot were left on an anthill and the clean vertebræ were strung on a cord and used for curing diseases. I wonder whether those vessels with holes, which have been found in Crete, and whose purpose has not yet been ascertained, also served for preparing snakes for some magical rite? E. ETTLINGER

Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde, Part I, Fasc. 2. *Edited by Paul Geiger and Richard Weiss. Basel, 1953. Pp. iv, 117. 16 maps*

33 Since Professor Paul Geiger's lamented death, Professor Richard Weiss alone is responsible for the 12 remaining issues of this important Folklore Atlas, the completion of which will take another six years. From now on the assistants, Fräulein E. Liebl and Dr. W. Escher, sign their own maps and commentaries.

The latest fascicle, of equal rank to the previous ones, records the answers to the questions on Swiss food, a most timely investigation in view of the levelling influence exercised by the publication of regional recipes through the wireless, cookery books and women's journals.

We learn that home-made bread and communal baking ovens disappeared more or less rapidly about the year 1940 and that bakers' shops are on the increase. The traditional round loaf is still more popular than the more recent oblong loaf whereas white bread is steadily displacing brown bread. The daily consumption of the smaller varieties of bread like rolls, *croissants*, *Bretzeln*, etc., is confined to those wealthy districts which are influenced by town fashions. On Friday or Saturday no meat is eaten; the Sunday joint is nowadays taken for granted everywhere. Among the most popular special dishes for festivals are various kinds of fruit bread, whipped cream, goat's flesh, mutton and lamb.

The distribution of a relevant ancient custom, which died out during the present century, is shown on the last map, namely the parading of an ox or bull during Passion Week before it was slaughtered for the Easter meal. E. ETTLINGER

An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects. *By Angus McIntosh. U. of Edinburgh Ling. Surv. of Scotland Monograph 1. Edinburgh (Nelson), 1952. Pp. xii. 122, maps. Price 7s. 6d.*

34 Professor McIntosh introduces the general reader to practical problems of dialectology, problems of description and comparison very similar to those confronting the anthropologist today. He discusses the dependence of present-day phenomena upon historical factors, and he shows a keen awareness of the common ground between linguistics and anthropology, first in advocating the need

for accompanying studies of the distribution and provenance of material objects by a similar embracing study of the names for the objects, and secondly in his discussion of the correlation between dialect variations and differences in social groupings.

He also discusses the problems consequent upon the issue of questionnaires, a research method particularly useful to the study of word geography, as well as techniques for the fieldwork which should follow up the questionnaire. Professor McIntosh condemns distribution maps as far as the linguist is concerned, on grounds both of expense and of the apparently unavoidable tendency of cartographers to overcrowd their maps. It is, however, doubtful whether lists of grid references, which he recommends in their place, provide a satisfactory alternative. They presuppose a complete familiarity with the system improbable among foreign readers, and lack the lucidity and graphic quality that simple maps possess.

This little book, a stimulating indication of an expansion of academic interests in Scotland, is worthy of the anthropologist's attention.

IAN WHITAKER

OCEANIA

Explorers of the Pacific: European and American Discoveries in Polynesia. *By Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck). Honolulu (B.P. Bishop Mus. Spec. Publ.* 43), 1953. *Pp.* 125. *Price* $1.75

35

This posthumous contribution by the noted Pacific ethnologist is a brief synopsis of the principal European voyages of exploration and discovery in the East and Central Pacific. The author points to the fact that in spite of the early establishment of European trading posts in the Malay archipelago and the western fringe of the Pacific, Oceanic or trans-Pacific exploration did not come from that direction. Only when Columbus had brought the Europeans to America, where they found the eastern gateway to the Pacific, did Portuguese and Spanish sailing ships swarm into the great South Seas which they traversed westwards in their entire length with the trade wind in their back. First Magellan, who made the first Oceanic discovery when he landed in the Marianas of Micronesia in 1521, then Loyasa's Spanish expedition which followed Magellan's course from South America to the European settlements in the Philippines. Saavedra followed suit in 1527 when he entered the Pacific from the coast of Mexico and sailed straight to the Philippines, but he failed when he subsequently attempted to force a return voyage to Mexico across the Pacific, as his sailing vessel was pushed back by the contrary winds. A number of other Spanish sailings followed down-wind from Mexico to the Philippines, and in 1565 Arellano and Urdaneta succeeded in making the first return voyages by sailing far north into the high latitudes between Hawaii and the Aleutians, where a westerly wind (and current) helped them back to North America. The early voyagers from Mexico became the discoverers of a number of islands in Micronesia, even those nearest the Asiatic coast, but they failed to sight any Polynesian or Melanesian island owing to the route they followed, westwards in the empty ocean span between Hawaii and Central Polynesia, and eastwards in the high latitudes above Hawaii. In the meantime other Spaniards had advanced from Panama to the Pacific slopes of the Inca Empire, and in 1567 the first Mendaña expedition left Callao in Peru and sailed directly into the heart of Melanesia, landing in the Solomon Islands. The second Mendaña expedition left Payta in Peru in 1595 and landed in the Marquesas Islands of Polynesia. To return to base in Peru after their respective discoveries of Melanesia and Polynesia, the crew of both Mendaña expeditions had to take the long way home all around the North Pacific, reaching North America like the voyagers from Mexico, with westerly winds high above Hawaii. As a result of these successful voyages from Peru, the Viceroy was ordered to provide Quiros with two ships which left Callao in 1605 and sailed directly into the Tuamotu Archipelago, where several islands were discovered before the caravels continued deeper into Polynesia and discovered the Tokelaus and finally the New Hebrides of Melanesia.

While these initial Oceanic discoveries in Melanesia and Polynesia were achieved by the Spaniards from Peru, a number of British and Dutch vessels crossed the Pacific in the course of Magellan from the tip of South America to Guam or the Philippines, among them Sir Francis Drake when he circumnavigated the globe in 1577–1580. But in deliberately making their crossing north of the equator none of them sighted Polynesia until a Dutch expedition under Le Maire in 1606 kept further south and ran into hitherto unknown atolls in the northern Tuamotu Archipelago, and subsequently the northern Tonga Islands and Futuna on the way west to Melanesia and New Guinea. So far all sailings into the Oceanic island areas had been from American waters. In spite of the vigorous trade and activity of the old European colonies inside Indonesia, not one of the European nations managed to enter the South Seas from that direction until the middle of the seventeenth century. The South Pacific acted as a one-way escalator to European ships until Tasman in 1642 followed the newly explored but generally unknown coasts of Australia and thus discovered Tasmania, from where he came across to New Zealand and the southern and middle Tonga Islands, before he returned while completing the first circumnavigation of Australia. After Tasman's voyage no discoveries were made in the South Pacific until another Dutchman, Jacob Roggeveen, ran into Easter Island on his way from South America in 1722, and continuing his course he discovered several of the Tuamotu Islands as well as part of the Samoan group. After Roggeveen no further exploring expeditions to the South Pacific took place until the second half of the eighteenth century, when British navigators again entered the Ocean, also from the American side, among them Byron in 1765, who discovered part of the Cook group, and Wallis, who made the more important discovery of Tahiti in 1767. From 1769 to 1779 Cook culminated the European discoveries in the Pacific by criss-crossing the Ocean on his three voyages, the last of which resulted in his most important discovery as he ran into the Hawaiian group in 1778, leaving but less important groups to be discovered by the later generations of Pacific explorers.

Buck continues with a synoptic treatment of subsequent British, French, Spanish, American and Russian voyages, into the middle of the nineteenth century. Although nothing is added to already known facts of Pacific exploration, the author has produced an excellent little reference book that will be popular and helpful to anyone engaged in Pacific research, and if criticism may be levelled, it would be at his proportionate treatment of subject matter. Although he may offer two or three pages on one nineteenth-century American voyager whom he admits to have added little to our knowledge of Polynesia, yet the author deals with the first pioneering Mendaña expedition on half a page. Individual Russian traders of last century are devoted pages, including superfluous details like prices and weights of Japanese merchandise, whereas the famous Spanish navigator Sarmiento de Gamboa who was directly responsible for the initial discovery of Melanesia and Polynesia is not even mentioned in the book. Sarmiento devoted years to the study of traditional history in Peru, and as navigator he was especially interested in the news which the Spaniards got from the aboriginal population concerning native merchants, explorers, and even soldiers on board a large Inca flotilla, who had all visited inhabited islands far out in the open Pacific by means of the local sail-carrying balsa rafts. The Viceroy of Peru considered Sarmiento as the ablest connoisseur on this subject, and in 1567 Sarmiento finally obtained the consent of the government to set out to search for the said islands, on the condition that the Governor's nephew Alvaro de Mendaña acted as commander of the expedition. This was the beginning of European exploration in Melanesia and Polynesia, and should not be omitted from a monograph on this very subject. Pre-European exploration of the Pacific is not dealt with, and it is therefore to say the least beside the point when the author in his introductory remarks again denies the seagoing ability of the balsa raft by repeating his obsolete claim of 1938 and 1945 concerning the vessels of the Pacific coast of the Americas that lacked the qualities to venture 'beyond sight of land' before the arrival of Europeans. It was indeed Sarmiento with his study of the balsa rafts and their alleged itineraries to distant Pacific islands that led to the successful Melanesian–Polynesian exploring expeditions from Peru.

THOR HEYERDAHL

Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands. *By Aarne A. Koskinen. Ann. Ac. Sc. Fenn., Series B, Vol. LXXVIII, I. Helsinki,* 1953. *Pp.* 163. *Price* 800 *mk.*

36 The missionaries followed very closely behind the discoverers in the Pacific, and were themselves the discoverers in a number of cases. They were usually the first to settle for any length of time in the islands and to publish accounts of them. This gives the works of the early missionaries, especially in Polynesia, a very special value, since the progress of Christianity and the decay of the native cultures were there very rapid. It is as an aid to the evaluation of these accounts that this book is important.

Dr. Koskinen writes as a historian. He does not discuss the native cultures, nor does he tell the story of individual missions or missionaries. He traces the development of missionary activity in general terms, mentioning particular individuals or incidents only by way of illustration. In Polynesia the nature of the social system compelled the missionaries to work closely with the chiefs, for if the chief could be converted a mass conversion of his people was likely to follow. Since settled conditions were essential for the success of their work, the missionaries inevitably became involved in local politics. Their influence with the Christian chiefs, and their disapproval of much in the Polynesian way of life, led them to become not only powerful advisers but legislators as well. For a time there were in Polynesia a number of independent theocratic kingdoms, which the missionaries in effect governed through the Christian chiefs. The author shows that in most cases the missionaries did not desire annexation by a European power, but when annexation seemed inevitable they not unnaturally tried to ensure that it should be by their own home country. Dr. Koskinen examines the influence of missionaries on their home governments, which seems often to have been exaggerated. He also analyses the relations of the missions with each other, with the native authorities and with the other groups of white men with their often conflicting interests.

The material is largely drawn from Polynesia, since the missions arrived later in Melanesia, mostly after the period of annexation had begun. In Melanesia they met much greater difficulties. These are discussed very adequately: the multiplicity of languages, the endemic state of war, the small size of the social units, the usually limited power of chiefs, the fact that Melanesians generally suffered more severely than did the Polynesians from the depredations of blackbirders and sandalwood traders. The author perhaps underestimates the importance of the fact that the Polynesians already believed in great and powerful gods, and therefore found it easier to accept the idea of one omnipotent god than did the Melanesians with their multitude of local and ancestral spirits. If the Polynesian Io, the supreme creator, was really a pre-contact conception this affinity was yet closer; though the author shows the difficulty with which even the Polynesians comprehended the moral and ethical basis of Christianity.

As far as one can judge without going to all the sources, which are mostly missionary and consular reports, letters, resolutions of native governments and so forth, the account given is fair and impartial as between sects and nationalities. The book is copiously documented and includes an extensive bibliography. Its importance to ethnology, though indirect, should not be underestimated.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Grammaire de la Langue tahitienne. *By R. D. Lovy and L.-J. Bouge. Publ. de la Soc. des Océanistes No. 2. Paris. (Musée de l' Homme),* 1953. *Pp.* 96

37 This little book, which has been published with the aid of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer and the Commission du Pacifique-Sud, is a lucid and clearly printed introduction to the Tahitian language. It is arranged in 26 lessons all of which are precise and easy to follow. Each lesson is accompanied by a brief vocabulary and apposite examples, many of them from historical sources. One of these examples discusses the ancient calendar of the Society Islands and is followed by a table giving the names of the various nights of the lunar month. Also included are a number of conversational phrases. To anyone desiring to learn Tahitian this little handbook will be of the greatest assistance. J. D. FREEMAN

Calédoniens: Répertoire bio-bibliographique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. *By Patrick O'Reilly. Publ. de la Soc. des Océanistes, No. 3. Paris (Musée de l'Homme),* 1953. *Pp. ix,* 305

38 A *D.N.B.* of New Caledonia may be expected to provide some interesting reading. This volume does not disappoint. The majority of the entries refer to traders, planters, professional men and administrators; but those referring to native personalities, missionaries, anthropologists and adventurers are of wider interest. This is a useful reference book. B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses und das Klubwesen in Mikronesien. *By Erhardt Schlesier. 's-Gravenhage (Mouton),* 1953. *Pp. vii,* 208

39 This is an ethno-sociological treatise: it does not discuss architectural forms but sociological phenomena. The concept 'men's house' has played a great role in literature for half a century, since Heinrich Schurtz's book *Altersklassen und Männerbünde.* However, several investigators—such as P. W. Schmidt, R. Thurnwald, and R. H. Lowie—have shown that the term 'men's house' covers various things, different as to function and origin. The Author has undertaken an analysis of the 'men's house' in Micronesia, utilizing the literary sources bearing upon the subject. His analysis results in the pointing out of several fundamentally different types of the 'men's house': house of assembly, bachelor's dormitory, club house, work house, boat house, council house, cult house. A common origin or a common evolutionary scheme for these phenomena is not apparent. The analysis ends in a refutation of the concept 'men's house' for Micronesia, and a warning against any attempts at culture-comparison of 'men's houses' in different parts of the world, as long as the term 'men's house' is not replaced by less ambiguous designations.

The analysis of the ethnological literature is done with care and discretion. However, it is hardly correct to say of the women in Palau: 'die Arbeiten . . . auf dem Felde verrichten die Frauen jeweils allein' (p. 166). Krämer says that several women work together in the taro patch when a great part of the field has to be replanted after a festival (Krämer, *Palau,* Vol. III, p. 51). Krämer's illustration shows a group of women working together in the taro patch. Kubary mentions the old custom of dancing the taro disease out of the land, which was done by the women jointly, led by a priestess (Kubary, *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Karolinen Archipels,* Leiden, 1895, p. 160), Kubary says also that the Palau women are called 'mothers of the land' not only because they bear the children but also because, by their agriculture, they produce the most important part of the food; he thinks that this fact has contributed not inconsiderably to the preponderance of the female influence in Palau society (*op. cit.,* p. 159). The author has neglected to take notice of this opinion of Kubary's when discussing the origin of the strong social and political position of women in Palau.

GUDMUND HATT

The South Seas in Transition: A Study of Post-War Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in Three British Dependencies. *By W. E. H. Stanner. Sydney (Australasian Publ. Co.) (U.K. agents: Harrap),* 1953. *Pp. xiv,* 448, *maps. Price £2 5s.*

40 In his preface, Dr. Stanner states that he wrote his book after short visits to New Guinea, Fiji and Samoa, completing the original text in 1947, with some later corrections bringing it up to date in 1950; further, he would have liked to have re-written the text in 1953, and to have had the assistance of specialists to make detailed studies of problems that were beyond his reach. The dependencies Dr. Stanner has described are among the most rapidly developing in the Pacific. Because of this and because Dr. Stanner had to cover the large area so quickly, yet aimed at a thorough study of wide problems, the reader will be disappointed at omissions. From the viewpoint of 1953, one would like to see an analysis of the South Pacific Commission, not in terms of its formal organization, but of its operation and achievements. One would hope for a general analysis of culture change in New Guinea, and not merely a portrayal of cargo cult, however interesting; for cargo cult is but a single result of widespread change that includes commercial, religious,

artistic and political manifestations. For such omissions, any author faced with current publication delays can be readily forgiven.

Dr. Stanner writes as an anthropologist with a background in economics and colonial administration. This enables him to put forward challenging and stimulating hypotheses. There is hardly an assumption affecting 'practical anthropology' that he does not question. This is all to the good; but sometimes his scepticism lacks consistency, and he overlooks points that he ought to consider before he gives himself over to pessimism. This is especially evident in his treatment of economic issues.

His basic analysis of Melanesian economics is naïve. He holds that Melanesians found that 'it was unnecessary to "economize time" or progressively to provide "capital" for future security' (p. 12). This is either caricature or undisciplined terminology. In a later chapter (p. 326) he describes the way in which Samoans 'skinned their customers alive' during the war, and thus they showed 'a deplorable unfamiliarity with some of the very best textbooks on native economics.' I should have expected Professor Firth's theories of primitive economics to have saved Dr. Stanner alike from his terminological confusion and from his surprise at Samoans behaving like normal people, confronted with a new situation in which they are stimulated to economize in non-traditional ways. The ability to handle the war-time market was characteristic of all Pacific peoples, and applies just as much to the Melanesians as to the Samoans. This point, coupled with the rapid post-war development of co-operatives and other forms of business enterprise in New Guinea, must affect our reading of such over-statements as the following: 'While there is, perhaps, little to choose between the basic problems of transculturation and development in the two areas, at their worst, it would seem that while the Fijian natives have at least some not unfavourable prospects, in New Guinea there appear to be none' (p. 258). (My reading is that Dr. Stanner implies 'no prospects,' not 'no unfavourable prospects,' for New Guinea.) Dr. Stanner's treatment of the labour question loses much of its point because he is unable to admit the possibility of peasant economic development; or to recognize that this is in fact an important reason why Melanesians are becoming less eager to work for indenture; or to draw conclusions from his table on p. 138, which shows that from 1946 to 1948 casual labour was nearly equal to, and sometimes exceeded, indentured labour in private employment. Similarly, in assessing the system whereby Fijians are encouraged to obtain exemption from communal obligations, and thus become peasant farmers, he does not consider adequately whether the alternative of community development might not have been more effective.

His rejection of the United Nations charter carries scepticism to extremes. His statement that 'The more "comprehensive" the things for which a symbol stands the less meaningful the symbol is for human action' ignores such symbols as 'Workers of the World, Unite' and such events as the invocation of the Charter by Samoans to achieve political ends.

Dr. Stanner was very close to political events in New Guinea at various periods, and, I feel, has not been able to achieve complete detachment in some of his judgments. It is too soon to say who shall have the final word about the relationship between the Minister of Territories, his Department, the New Guinea administration, and the Australian School of Pacific Administration. I feel that he has been too cavalier in his dismissal of Dr. Mair's arguments, which can be supported by much recent history. It is interesting to note that his criticism of the New Zealand administration of Samoa, and his assessment of the Australian administration of New Guinea, run along parallel lines; yet he condemns the former, and remonstrates with the critics of the latter.

It would be surprising if I could not find more to disagree with in a tightly packed book of over 400 pages, especially when Dr. Stanner has the knack of provoking argument, and presents ideas in an over-written style which puts the reader on the offensive. But it would be unfair if I left the impression that the dominant tone is polemical. There are original accounts of numerous topics of anthropological interest: among these the discussion of cargo cult, of the Fijian system of administration, of Samoan temperament, and of psycho-cultural techniques of analysis are important.

To sum up, Dr. Stanner has presented a social analysis of the three territories during the immediate post-war years. He combines stimulating essays on special subjects with a wealth of information culled from Government reports. His book will long be a standard reference on the period and his ideas are worth arguing about.

CYRIL S. BELSHAW

L'Art autochtone de Nouvelle-Calédonie. *By Jean Guiart. Noumea (Éditions des Études Mélanésiennes), 1953. Pp. 49, 65 figs. 2 colour plates, 1 map*

41 The purpose of this small book is to foster the surviving native arts of New Caledonia, especially woodcarving, and to encourage their adaptation to modern conditions. The greater part of it is concerned with a summary of the regional variations of style. The island is divided into five areas and principal points of difference between the local styles are analysed. The author believes the masks to be an introduced form. If this is so they were thoroughly assimilated by 1870, when a specimen was presented to the British Museum by J. L. Brenchley with the information that it was worn during the 'Satumaha'; 'the man who wore this mask was tabu . . . and could strike others without being liable to receive blows himself.' The book is well illustrated and will be of value in the study of New Caledonian collections. B. A. L. CRANSTONE

CORRESPONDENCE

Webs of Fantasy. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 304; *also* 1953, 152, 229, 281; 1954, 19

42 SIR,—Lord Raglan's notions of what social anthropologists think and do are so fantastic that they need hardly be taken seriously were it not that they may mislead persons less well informed than himself. It would be possible, though tedious, to deal separately with every one of his 11 indictments of social anthropologists. But since they amount, in sum, to the charge that social anthropologists ignore the ethnological evidence for the diffusion of cultural characteristics, and unduly favour evolutionary theories of independent development, the matter can happily be dealt with more summarily.

The truth is, of course, that social anthropologists have long ago ceased to concern themselves with questions of this sort at all. As innumerable books, articles and broadcasts have stressed in recent years, what they do is to study human societies and cultures as they exist at the present time, with the primary object of finding out what they are like and how they work. Social anthropologists are not really interested in reconstructing the history, or the prehistory, of customs and beliefs in societies which have no history, although of course where historical material is available and helps to explain the social significance of some existing feature of the culture which they are studying they gladly take account of it. Thus the part played in the contemporary social life of an African people by cattle may be a matter of great importance to a social anthropologist. But since there is in most parts of Africa an almost complete absence of knowledge or even of tradition as to when, how or whence the domestic cow was introduced, the answer to this question, if there is an answer, is of no concern to social anthropologists. The interest and importance of questions of this kind, which deal with the remote origins of things and not with their contemporary social significance, are not here in dispute. But they are questions for ethnologists, not for social anthropologists.

It is, then, untrue that contemporary social anthropologists favour evolutionary rather than diffusionist theories of cultural origins. They are not at all concerned with either type of theory, and they regard the consideration and evaluation of these hypotheses as somebody else's problem. And it is manifestly unreasonable to blame social anthropologists for taking no part and little interest in controversies which are none of their professional business. There

is much to be said for social anthropology, and there is much to be said for ethnology, but there does not seem to be anything at all to be said for confusing these two quite different fields of enquiry.

Institute of Social Anthropology, J. H. M. BEATTIE
University of Oxford

Cranial Deformation in Ancient Egypt? *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 242, 306

43 SIR,—I was interested in Mr. Aldred's letter concerning the so-called cranial deformation in ancient Egypt. Though I entirely agree with Mr. Aldred that there is no proof of such deformation to be found in Egypt, I think that a more simple explanation would cover the facts. It is not an explanation that would occur to a man, for I think that it was simply a fashion of hair-dressing. In this method the back hair is coiled at the back of the head, usually over a pad. The front hair is then combed smoothly back from the face and over the pad, under which the ends are tucked. If the hair is fine and soft, and is heavily oiled (as is the custom of Oriental women), it lies flat and close to the head showing all the modelling of the skull, and there is the slight overhang above the nape so characteristic of the heads of Amarna women. As to the little princesses, in the art of ancient Egypt little girls are always represented as miniature women. Setekhy I of the XIXth dynasty, who had no connexion with the Amarna usurpers, is shown in one instance with the Amarna type of head where it seems to be a form of hair-dressing. This method of hair-dressing was not uncommon in England before the First World War. A modified form of it is customary among Tamil women of the Madras Presidency.

London, W.C.1 M. A. MURRAY

Ex Africa semper aliquid . . .

44 SIR,—Though I have no wish to speak disrespectfully of any continent, I must confess to feeling somewhat dismayed when looking through the pages of MAN to find that like Mrs. Jellyby it has 'fixed its fine eyes on Africa again.' No doubt Africa is a very worthy continent, but so are all the others. Why, then, this favouritism? Europe, though the smallest, has as many problems and offers as much information as the largest. Surely Malinowski's dictum that 'Europe is too complicated for the anthropologist' is a challenge rather than a ban. In Europe there are systems of government, of kinship, of religion, of agriculture, of speech, of culture, as varied as any in Africa. Of course it is more exciting (not to speak of its being more expensive) to go to Africa than to stay at home, but if knowledge is the aim of the student he can acquire it in Europe in any part of his own homeland. Who has studied the racial problems of the British Isles as carefully as those of Africa? To take one example, why are the tinkers of Ireland so utterly despised that no Irish man or woman will marry one of them?

Therefore in the humblest way, and with the utmost respect, approaching to awe, towards Africa, I suggest that we should occasionally study the Light, rather than the Dark, Continent.

London, W.C.1 M. A. MURRAY

45 SIR,—The latest number of MAN, with its long article on 'Circumcision among the Tiv,' must make many people wonder whether all is well in the study of anthropology. This article is only a pointer to the way things appear to be moving in the anthropological world. The science seems to be shrinking before our eyes, and its exponents to be burying their heads in the sands of Africa. What is happening to the study of Asia, the Americas, Australia and, above all, Europe?

The most remarkable discovery of recent times, the clay-covered skulls with cowrie-shell eyes found in ancient Jericho (precisely similar to those of recent New Guinea), does not appear to have disturbed the placid surface of anthropological thought; although it would have provoked a storm of speculation before the last war. Nobody seems to be interested in the rapidly increasing evidence for migrations from Asia into North America, thousands of years before such things were supposed to have taken place.

Anthropology is the Study of Man, not of African Man alone, his psychology and his material culture and so on, but of all men everywhere and at all times. Anthropology, like charity, begins at home. If Europe is too difficult for our professional anthropologists, others will have to tackle it.

Cambridge T. C. LETHBRIDGE

Note

The Honorary Editor is grateful for the opportunity of testifying that MAN admits no limits narrower than those of humanity itself and has no bias towards any particular group of men, or for that matter any particular kind of article, unless it be the kind which by linking two or more branches of our science helps to foster its unity as well as its diversity.

MAN, like other scientific periodicals, should be representative of current work, in so far as this has reached the point of being prepared and offered for publication. (Sometimes an editor may act as a gadfly to research workers, in order to precipitate this last stage of the work, but the practice is one that should be used with discretion.) Readers may be assured that recent issues of MAN have fairly represented the material, ready for publication, which is available to the Honorary Editor. Of the 25 principal articles published in the 1953 volume, exactly two-fifths were concerned with Africa. Whatever the partisans of Europe—and the Honorary Editor is one of them—may think of this proportion, the partisans of Africa—of whom he is also one—might with some show of reasonableness retort it is less than fair to the proportion of anthropological fieldwork which is actually being devoted to Africa.

The story is a little different if we consider only articles illustrated by plates, which have perhaps especially caught the eye of our distinguished correspondents. Slightly over half of these were in 1953 devoted to African subjects, these again being fairly representative of those submitted. The Honorary Editor would like it to be known that, whereas good material of other kinds is always plentifully to hand, suitable 'plate articles' are generally in short supply: sometimes the dearth is absolute and (as for this issue) he must put all else aside and write one himself. He would have thought these often the easiest articles to produce, and he would like to encourage those who have good photographs of anthropological interest to document them with a suitable text and submit them for consideration.

He feels that Mr. Lethbridge has perhaps a little overstated his case if he implies any criticism of Dr. Bohannan for the shortcomings of non-Africanists. But, while contributions will continue to be welcome from all continents and oceans, and on any branch of anthropological and related studies, he will be especially glad to receive contributions to the study of the British Isles, equally in the physical, the material and the social spheres, all of which the Royal Anthropological Institute is concerning itself to develop at the present time. (He would have been glad, for instance, to publish Mr. Lethbridge's views on the Lough Erne sculptures described by Mrs. Ettlinger in MAN, 1953, 53; his last brief contribution—1941, 37—pleasantly held a balance between Fiji, Egypt and Saxon England.)

He has been perturbed on occasion by a kind of scientific Jacobinism, which in recent years has led the discoverers of some of the most spectacular anthropological and archaeological phenomena to entrust their accounts to the popular press or to the *Illustrated London News* or *Life* magazine, while neglecting their duty of presenting them to their colleagues through learned journals such as MAN. He does not feel that there is any question of competition between MAN and these more exoteric periodicals, nor does he claim invariable priority for MAN—although he does not think that the editors of those publications would regard themselves as 'scooped' by prior publication in these columns—; but he does feel that all important developments in or bearing upon anthropological science should find some place here, in communications by the principals concerned. He would, moreover, emphasize the utility of MAN as a vehicle of controversy and discussion about such new facts or interpretations; many lively and valuable debates have indeed found a place here, but some subjects have been surprisingly conspicuous by their absence.

The Honorary Editor, in conclusion, thanks readers of MAN for their forbearance in face of the six months' arrears of publication, and assures them that every effort is being made to improve matters. —ED.

(*a*) SIR JOHN MYRES AT THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES, LONDON, 1934

(*b*) SIR JOHN MYRES AT ZIMBABWE
The Conical Tower in the Elliptical Temple. Left to right: Professor Fleure, Professor Myres, Miss G. Caton-Thompson, Mr. G. R. Carline. Photograph by H. J. Braunholtz, 10 August, 1929

(*c*) SIR JOHN MYRES AT ZIMBABWE, INSPECTING AN EXCAVATION IN A MIDDEN BEFORE THE MAIN ACROPOLIS WALL
At the Winch, Miss K. M. Kenyon. Photograph by H. J. Braunholtz, 12 August, 1929

JOHN LINTON MYRES: 1869–1954*

46 My tribute to John Linton Myres is brief, because there is so much to be said of him by others who knew him and his work better than I did.

I need only refer here to his great services to the Royal Anthropological Institute, as exemplified by his work in various roles as Honorary Secretary, as founder and Editor of MAN, as President of the Institute, as Huxley Memorial Medallist, as Honorary General Secretary of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. His achievements in these ways, as in the more general fields of the science of man, have been well described by Professor H. J. Fleure in an article in honour of Myres five years ago. All Fellows of the Institute have benefited much by the labours of Myres, and remain in his debt.

Here I wish to add a more personal tribute.

I knew J. L. Myres for well over a quarter of a century, and my admiration for him, as a man as well as a scholar, grew with the years. As a junior colleague, both in the academic world and in the Institute, I respected his scholarship and benefited from his advice. What impressed one in particular about Myres was that his mind did not age. When past eighty, he appeared as capable of absorbing new ideas, either of scholarship or of organization, as his younger colleagues were of putting them forward; indeed, his own share in framing such ideas was often not negligible.

In my earlier years in anthropology, Myres was already something of a legend. There were tales, possibly apocryphal and certainly embroidered, of his feats of intelligence work in the Eastern Mediterranean in the First World War. There were similar tales, of a more substantial kind, of his combative prowess in the learned societies. I knew him only as an elder statesman of the Institute, a meticulous Editor of MAN, a tireless worker for the International Congress. He was always trenchant in criticism and fertile in expedient, a counsellor of ripe and wise experience. Always, too, he was warmly appreciative of the work of younger men—when it was good—and extraordinarily sensitive and sophisticated in his judgements of work apparently outside his own field. But then his own field was so vast. No scholar nowadays can be encyclopædic, but Myres gave the impression that he was. Withal, he was a modest man, bearing his load of learning lightly.

My last memory of him is of a swathed figure, with a nobly bearded head, sitting at his table in his study at Oxford, patiently working at the decipherment of Minoan script, expressing temperate satisfaction with his results, with the same old twinkle of enthusiasm in his eyes. I like to think of him so.

RAYMOND FIRTH

47 I first met Sir John in 1909 when he was Professor of Greek at Liverpool. A discussion of British physical types of men led him to agree that as Mendelism seemed valid for all plants and animals it must surely hold for man, though we could not go far in research as we lack breeding controls. Granted Mendelian inheritance, he thought physical traits might persist for ages in a proportion of a population especially if it were isolated and inbred. This brilliant excursion into a field of study far from his own illustrates the freedom and rapidity of his thought. His introduction to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, a study of Mediterranean geomorphology, is another illustration, in this case harking back to the geology he studied concurrently with classical Mods. to prepare for archæological fieldwork.

As a man of affairs Myres conducted and won, in co-operation with Sir Horace Lamb, the fight for resumption of relations with colleagues from ex-enemy countries in the British Association for Advancement of Science after the First World War. And a few years later he founded the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences and carried on there the same successful fight against national prejudice and for freedom of discussion. Those who accompanied him in these efforts could realize the value of his prestige in continental circles.

As a university examiner in Classics, History, Geography, Anthropology and perhaps other subjects Sir John showed special skill in diagnosing promise, afterwards more than fulfilled in several cases, far beyond the actual performance in an examination. He studied the candidate's written work, formed an idea of the personality concerned and framed his *viva voce* examination accordingly.

Myres's concept of human geography included study of man and environment together without too much setting of one in opposition to the other. It was not conquest of nature or conquest by nature but mutual adaptation, not study of power and its changes so much as study of the common life. On one occasion a study of ancient Greek life as, *inter alia*, a jamless civilization was seriously relevant as well as bright with wit. His love of interpretative discussion made Myres a most valuable champion of human geography as a form of humanist education in schools and universities, and he was held in high honour as a leading geographer.

The most picturesque episode in Sir John's life was his work as Intelligence Officer among the Ægean islands in the First World War. He acquired a unique knowledge of topography and small-craft navigation as well as of the Greek islanders and their ways. He used a great deal of this experience in his *Geographical History in Greek lands* (1952), a most characteristic title and discussion. But in addition to all this, he became so well known that, when he revisited the Ægean in 1937, a Cos fisherman at once recognized him and beckoned him aside from our little group to ask him whether his presence meant that war was coming; he replied 'Yes, but not for 2 or 3 years.' His combination of stark realism with high idealism made his comments on current affairs vital and very fresh.

His mind could play like summer lightning over almost every part of the wide fields of humanist studies and even when one of his hypotheses might have to be dropped one felt that it had stimulated constructive thought. But over

* *With Plate C. For a portrait of Sir John taken in his garden in* 1946, *see* MAN, 1953, *Plate L (November issue, published in April,* 1954), *or* 1949, *Plate I (July).*

and above all this brilliance, the splendid quality of his friendship in difficult as well as easier places is gratefully acknowledged by a wide circle of fellow workers.

H. J. FLEURE

48 John Linton Myres's career must make every American admire the flexibility of British tradition and its effect in moulding men in the full-round. Myres was active in classical scholarship, in archæology and history, in geography and anthropology. His first trip to the Near East, he once told me, if I remember correctly, began by being directed largely at geological objectives. He organized museums, standing committees, and congresses; he was long general secretary of the B.A.A.S., and, hardly relieved of that, took on the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences and carried it through its most difficult years before, during and after the Second World War.

An outstanding quality was his sympathy—intellectual sympathy toward ideas and curiosity as to knowledge, affective sympathy to persons. It was this that made him so indispensable when studies or people or groups were to be brought together: he was actively open-minded. And with that went his eminent fairness, his sense of balance in larger situations.

It was our privilege to have him with us twice in Berkeley, in 1914 and 1927, as visiting Sather Professor of Classical Literature. He made innumerable friends, he was extraordinarily stimulating, and he became a landmark and a memory. Here was a man every one in a university community might get something from: he was not the first historian with whom I could talk history, but the first one who spoke anthropology to me.

Perhaps I shall be pardoned one reminiscence from each of his visits.

In 1914, he gave a lecture course in ancient history to a large group of undergraduates, perhaps 200 in number. It was then a new kind of ancient history for us—about Greeks indeed, but also about Minoans and Cypriotes, of strange unheard-of peoples in Asia Minor, of Thracians and Scythians and beyond; their migrations and subsistence and the geography and vegetation that their mode of life depended on. The young barbarians, male and female, listened with fascination, though, between his British English and his beard, they professed inability to understand much of what he said; and, it being the first time they had heard of the steppe and the grasslands, they affectionately nicknamed him 'Grahss.'

In 1927, he was sole dinner guest at my home. The two older children presented themselves before and after the meal; and he told them a story. Then they held out their hands to say goodnight. The eldest went on; the next, age four, let his hand linger in that of Sir John while he stared at him—then suddenly tugged one long bellrope pull at the beard and scampered upstairs. After which Sir John and I resumed discussion of the number of spokes in the Assyrian war chariot.

The last period during which I saw Sir John was at Oxford in 1946, when, although literally bowed with illness, he deftly steered the Council of the International Congress through its problems concerned with the place of the next session.

A. L. KROEBER

49 The appreciative notices of Sir John Myres's work for the Royal Anthropological Institute which have appeared in MAN on several occasions—on his seventieth (1939, 88) and eightieth (1949, 95) birthdays, on the centenary of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1943 (1944, 4) and on the golden jubilee of MAN (1951, 4)—are probably unparalleled in our history, and bear testimony to the exceptional services which he rendered to anthropological studies and to the Institute in particular. The mere catalogue of his offices—as Honorary Secretary, founder of MAN, Vice-President, Honorary Editor of MAN, President, and Huxley Memorial Medallist—speaks for itself, and it is perhaps unnecessary to reiterate in detail the sterling quality of his work in these various capacities. Certainly the Institute can rarely have been served with such devotion or distinction, and his eminence in the related disciplines of ancient history and archæology shed additional lustre on anthropology and widened the scope of its influence. For an anthropological or evolutionary outlook was inherent in all Myres's work, and he deliberately applied it to the interpretation of history and culture.

It is clear that Myres made a deep impression on the Institute from his first entry into its affairs. Sir Hercules Read in his Presidential Address in 1901 commended 'the restless energy and resource of our talented Secretary, Mr. Myres,' and Sir Arthur Keith in a later Presidential Address[1] on the Institute's history recognized Myres's inspiring influence at the turn of the century. This influence was renewed and sustained for some 30 years after he re-entered the Institute as an elected Vice-President in 1921. His scholarship, lively mind, keen wit and administrative skill were effectively shown at our Council and lecture meetings. His speed and industry enabled him to get through double the work of most men; it was not unusual for him to drop in at the Institute and review several books for MAN in a morning. He was perhaps happiest in his work for International Congresses, which he espoused with the utmost vigour and determination. The successful inauguration of the Prehistoric and Anthropological Congresses in London in 1932 and 1934 was largely due to his personal efforts, and their continuing good fortune to the solid foundations of which he was the principal architect. He had to steer his way diplomatically through formidable obstacles, but his strategy was equal to all occasions. He had a deep faith in their cultural and scientific value, and spared no pains to ensure their success. The second Anthropological Congress at Copenhagen in 1938 undoubtedly owed much to his enthusiastic co-operation with Professor Kaj Birket-Smith and the Danish Organizing Committee. I well remember arriving at the Congress offices at Copenhagen University on a swelteringly hot Sunday morning, and seeing Myres almost submerged by papers and enquiries, but completely unruffled and beaming benevolence on all comers. He maintained a lively interest in this Congress to the end,

and was delighted to hear my report on its IVth meeting at Vienna when I visited him at the end of 1952.

In 1929 I had the good fortune to travel on the same boat (the old *Kenilworth Castle*) with Myres to the South African meeting of the British Association, of which he was then General Secretary. He made a point of getting into touch with the other passengers, many of whom were geologists on their way to an international congress, and such was his talent as a 'mixer' that he must have made nearly everybody's acquaintance during the 17 days' voyage. His sixtieth birthday occurred on the day we passed the Canaries. But I only discovered this later; nothing was said about it at the time, so far as I am aware. We were both guests of the Cape Town University Club at luncheon, where Myres made a delightful speech, and I have never been more conscious of an inferiority complex than when I was called on to speak after him!

After the Johannesburg session the late G. R. Carline and I joined Myres on the road journey northward to Zimbabwe. We visited the Bavenda location of Senthemule near Louis Trichardt, where Myres conversed with several of the elders, and arrived at the mining town of Messina in the evening after a somewhat exhausting day. Myres, however, turned out again after dinner to deliver an open-air lecture in the park on 'Metals in Antiquity,' which lasted for some two hours under the moonlight. Such was his resilience. Next day, after going down 2,000 feet into a copper mine, we were driven by Miss Kathleen Kenyon in the Zimbabwe brake as far as the Lundi River. It was late at night when we arrived at the small rest house and it was full up. Myres slept on two chairs, Carline and I on the floor, while Miss Kenyon occupied the lounge. On reaching Zimbabwe next day Myres made a personal inspection of the elliptical temple, the acropolis, and the excavations carried out for the British Association at his suggestion by Miss Caton-Thompson with the assistance of Miss Kenyon and Miss Norie. Problems of interpretation were discussed on the spot, and Miss Caton-Thompson's conclusions doubtless owed something to his views.[2] In South Africa he gave strong support to the development of archæological research, and the subsequent establishment of the Archæological Survey, under Professor C. van Riet Lowe, was probably helped by his advocacy. In the following year (1930) he organized a special Zimbabwe exhibition at the British Museum, writing the Catalogue and doing much of the 'donkey work' himself. The plaster casts of Zimbabwe objects now in the Department of Ethnography are those which Myres secured for the exhibition.

Apart from the breadth of his learning, Myres was remarkable for his seemingly inexhaustible energy, and the speed at which he worked. In controversy he was a formidable adversary, and few who had the temerity to engage with him came out unscathed by his rapier thrusts. But though, where points of fact or accuracy were in dispute, he gave no quarter, there was no malice in it. Indeed, he was the most genial of men, always prompt to answer enquiries with helpful advice. In judging character and motive he was apt to be too generous, sometimes giving credit where it was not deserved. His own definition of a gentleman was 'one who puts more into life than he gets out of it,' and he was himself a shining example of this principle. He never allowed personal matters to interfere with official duties. On one occasion he took the chair at a meeting of the Institute, without betraying the severe emotional stress under which he was suffering at the news of his son's death in Rhodesia. During his Presidency he regularly attended the Institute's dining club, where he delighted to entertain his companions with amusing anecdotes told at characteristic high speed. One needed some mental agility to keep pace with him; but the point, if one was quick enough to get it, was worth the effort.

H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ

Notes

[1] *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XLVII (1917), p. 25: 'It is clear that some spirit with some power of vision has appeared in the Institute: some driving force. . . .'

[2] In *The Zimbabwe Culture* (Oxford, 1931), p. viii, Miss Caton-Thompson describes Myres, who wrote the foreword, as 'the *deus ex machina* of the expedition.'

50 Among the primitive Caribou Eskimo west of Hudson Bay there is a word called *ihumataq*, signifying the headman of the camp. Literally it means 'he who thinks'—*i.e.* for the rest. Sir John Myres was pre-eminently a man who thought for others. His manifold interests covering all fields of the study of man, combined with his unrivalled ability for organization and his equally unsurpassed skill in carrying out negotiations in a spirit of both reality and friendliness made him not only the real founder but also the proper leader of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

It was at the first session of the Congress in London in 1934 that I first met Sir John and got an impression of his fascinating personality, but it was not till the next meeting in Copenhagen in 1938 that I had the opportunity of closer contact, when it was my privilege to co-operate with him as one of the secretaries general. His foresight, his indefatigable powers and unselfish helpfulness contributed more than anything else to its success. And after the Second World War he restored the broken connexions by arranging the meeting of the Permanent Council in Oxford.

More competent judges than I will appraise his high scientific achievements. However, although primarily interested in the antiquity of Greece he continued the best traditions of British science in not restricting his interests to his own narrow field. He was fully aware not only that Greek civilization should be viewed on the background of the eastern Mediterranean but that in the last issue all civilizations stem from the same Tree of Knowledge. This deeply founded understanding, which is not too often met with among classical scholars, resulted in the establishment of the Anthropological and Ethnological Congress, the importance of which becomes increasingly clear, and it will for all future time secure him the gratitude of anthropologists and ethnologists all over the world.

He was, indeed, the Man Who Thought for all of us!

KAJ BIRKET-SMITH

51 My first personal contact with 'J. L. M.' was in 1905 when I was Assistant Keeper in the Ashmolean Museum and, for much of the time, left in sole charge of it. Quite inexperienced and woefully ignorant, I found the task of cataloguing was often too much for me, and learnt to turn to Myres for information and advice, which was invariably forthcoming, and in full measure. The extent of his knowledge seemed to me almost incredible, as, for example, when he corrected the alleged provenance of a vase by remarking that the clay of which it was made did not occur in Cyprus but was found in some other Greek island, when he cited parallels from African folklore or, with a disconcerting jump from archæology to physical anthropology, would pour out statistics about cranial measurements; it was not always easy to follow him (witness the undergraduate who, about this time, cut Myres's lectures on the grounds that he could not take down coherent notes from a man who regularly pronounced 'proto-Cycladic civilization' as words of one syllable) but it was extraordinarily inspiring; there was nothing of the dry-as-dust in all this erudition; it was all intensely human, and Myres himself relished it all with such sincere enthusiasm.

The whole-hearted way in which he threw himself into whatever he was doing was most attractive. When, in the First World War, his irregular exploits won for him the nickname 'the black-bearded pirate of the Ægean' he might easily have run foul of the professional authorities, but his enthusiasm smoothed away all friction. A senior French naval officer once showed me a letter he had just received from his younger brother, commanding a torpedo boat based on Mudros; the writer described 'the narrowest escape he had had in the war.' 'We were off the Turkish coast,' he said, 'and sighted a queer-looking craft and started to overhaul her, but as we came up she opened fire and nearly sank us, but luckily recognized us just in time. It was Professor Myres. We had had a narrow squeak, but one cannot bear ill will against so eminent an archæologist if, rendered rather short-sighted perhaps by application to his studies, he should mistake our torpedo boat—a genuine antique, as you know—for something that he might legitimately add to his collection.' The incident might have been a serious one, and that it could be taken thus lightly was striking evidence of the impression that Myres's enthusiasm could make even on the victims of it.

It was the same with the part which he played in securing those reforms that made possible the development of the Ashmolean Museum. Arthur Evans planned the unification of the Antiquarium and the Picture Galleries and fired the first shots in the campaign, but Evans, who loved a fight and invited opposition, could never have won the Visitors over to his point of view. It was Myres who, himself convinced of the value of the scheme, could convince all but the most obstinate and at last, though still in a minority, carry his motion by a bluff which amused even those who were beaten by it. His support of Evans at that time was not the least of his services to Oxford.

LEONARD WOOLLEY

52 It was in the spring of 1903 that I first met Sir John Myres, when I was assisting at the excavation by the British School at Athens of Palaíkastro, a Minoan town site on the east coast of Crete. About Easter we had a short visit from Myres, and the Director of the School asked him to undertake the examination of a small Minoan sanctuary on a peak called Petsofá, overlooking the plain of Palaíkastro. Much was found, and in due course published by Myres in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*. Myres was then in his early prime, and what was so very striking in him was his extraordinary vitality and the eager quickness of his way of working. He had already made his mark in Cyprus, and this was not his first work in Crete. He had explored the west end of the island which was then to some extent a *terra incognita*, hardly visited by archæologists since Pashley some 40 years before. He was also the first man to work at the pottery found by peasants in the Kamáres Cave on Mount Ida, and brought to the Candia Museum, the pottery which since Evans's research has come to be called Middle Minoan.

In the years before the First World War I saw not much of Myres. In the war I met him often, for it was he who, serving in the R.N.V.R., brought me in his trawler from Athens where I was working in the British Legation to Astypalaia, where he presented me to the Senior Naval Officer, and I was found a niche in the R.N.V.R. Intelligence Service in the Ægean. The several voyages which I made with him would hardly add much to these reminiscences.

It was in the years after my appointment to the Bywater chair at Oxford that I saw most of Myres. What, if any, part he may have had in my election I of course do not know, but when I came to Oxford in the spring of 1920 he showed himself always a very good friend. He put me up for some time in his house; he lent me his room in New College to take pupils in; in every way he made things easy for me. In all this I could always see what was so characteristic of Myres: his burning zeal for the furtherance of learning in all its branches.

In the last years of his life I had a good deal of talk with Myres, especially from the time when he was beginning his study of the tablets found at Knossos by Sir Arthur Evans. My own pleasure in the triumphant progress recently made in their interpretation has always been a little damped by the hope which I always had that this achievement would fall to the lot of Myres; in this slight regret I am sure that a man so generous as Myres would have had no share.

The alert ingenuity of mind which was for me always such a feature of Myres showed itself a great deal in his conversation. He would often bring together facts which to his less instructed listener seemed, at least at first sight, to have very little connexion with one another, and he was often in this way hard to follow. Yet later consideration showed that most of this proceeded from the extraordinary learning of a man with a profound conviction of the fundamental unity and reconcilability of all knowledge. It is easy enough to see why one was often rather drowned in the flow of this multiplicity of ideas. I have

only known one other teacher whose talk had the same value. It was only to the simple man who wanted a direct and simple answer to a plain question that Myres may have seemed not very satisfactory. The situation was of course rather like a man asking a very generous Kroisos for sixpence, and feeling puzzled by a flow of treasure of the very existence of which he had had no conception. And of course he expected that everybody ought to want to know everything. He once told me that he always had taught the Greek alphabet 'by means of palæography.'

Myres seemed to know most things, but I suppose that Greek history and geography in the widest sense of the word lay closest to his centre. In the study of geographical problems he could feel the link between physical science and humanism. His favourite region must, I think, have been the Ægean, and in the Ægean, perhaps especially the Dodecanese, and of the Twelve Islands perhaps the sponge-fishing island of Kalymnos, where he had gone in early days with his Oxford friend W. R. Paton: Paton who married and died in the islands.

R. M. DAWKINS

53 The passing of Sir John Myres will be deeply and widely mourned in South Africa. Although he visited the Union only once—with the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1929—his contacts with and interests in South Africans and their peculiarly difficult domestic problems had been close and influential for many years.

Scores of South Africans benefited from their discussions with him at Oxford and returned home deeply inspired by his teachings. The great influence he wielded continued unabated to the end.

Historians, classical scholars, archæologists, social anthropologists and others all turned to him for advice and guidance and no one ever left him in any mood other than one of gratitude, admiration and respect.

When he visited the Union in 1929, he found local archæologists in the throes of an awkward metamorphism. The classical terms adopted by the French school of prehistorians had been found to be misleading and often inapplicable to local cultures and a new terminology had been devised. Sir John soon realized how necessary and valuable the break was and unhesitatingly threw his weight on the scales with local workers—urging them to solve their own problems in their own region and in their own way before they seriously set about long-distance correlations. He was greatly inspired by the prehistoric wealth of the Union and in turn inspired local prehistorians to greater efforts.

His interest in South Africa's multi-racial society was equally great and it was largely due to him that the South African Institute of Race Relations was established on its present basis, as indeed it was also largely due to him that the Archæological Survey and the Classical Association were founded.

He was a distinguished scholar, a great humanitarian and an inspiring friend.

C. VAN RIET LOWE

54 To men of a later generation Cicero appeared to be *non homo sed eloquentia*, not a human being but Eloquence itself. Perhaps to those who never came in contact with his vigorous personality, Sir John Myres may seem *non homo sed historia*, *historia* in its full ancient sense of enquiry not only into past events but into any and every subject under the sun. It might be the structure of the Homeric poems; it might be the huge and tangled question of who the Greeks were; it might be the social and other effects of living in a forested area; it might be the best ways of teaching geography or one of the kindred subjects. Whatever it was, his wide erudition provided him with materials for discussing it and his endlessly active mind stirred his materials after the fashion of the Hermetic Creator until 'there flashed upon the surface of the mixture a certain matter more subtle, purer and more transparent than that from which it was produced.' He seemed never to stop thinking, certainly not while he wrote or when he was lecturing. The result was not always so trimly tidy as those reached by men of less intellectual vigour; but it never was dull and never failed to be suggestive. One might disagree with him on all manner of points, but one always learned from him, new facts often, new ideas always.

It is not without significance that he devoted much loving attention to the study and elucidation of Herodotos. They were kindred spirits, the insatiably curious Ionian and the English don who looked like one of the first Elizabeth's fantastic gallants. It was the desire of both 'that the things wrought of men be not blotted out by time, neither works great and marvellous performed of Greeks and barbarians be without fame,' and to fulfil that desire, both alike were diligent to know whence the doers of those works came and in what surroundings they lived, also how they reacted to their surroundings and what manners and customs they used. So both were anthropologists in the fullest sense, which meant that both were historians and both geographers, with all that those three activities imply. We may have many very estimable scholars in various branches before we see another Myres.

H. J. ROSE

55 I first met Professor Myres late in 1940, when he very generously gave me informal tuition in ethnology. His way of teaching was not tuition in the usual sense, for he loved to make his classes a battle of wits, with no respite or quarter given on either side. One had to counter a continuous bombardment of incisive questions, extravagant suggestions and startling analogies, all delivered with a characteristic upward throw of the head and flashing sideways glance. An hour of this left a student exhausted, but he had the reward of feeling that he had been led beyond familiar territory, and whole new landscapes lay open for exploration before him.

This same stimulating and occasionally mischievous style was apparent in Sir John's lectures, and in his writings too he would now and then throw out a preposterous idea, just to see where it would lead. Even Haddon once fell victim to such a dart, when he took seriously a suggestion

that the Mongols had flat noses through drinking milk, as children, direct from the udders of the mares.

Sir John once told me that he felt he was better employed teaching than writing; though no one could accuse him of neglecting his duties to publication. Certainly he was never happier than when sharing directly the pleasure of discovery, especially with beginners. A lady who kindly helped to read to him in his last few weeks knew no Greek; so he taught her the Greek alphabet and phonetics and he told me with evident delight how rapidly she was progressing, and how enjoyable he was finding these extempore classes.

Perhaps his genius had freest rein in his regular Friday morning lectures in the Ashmolean. He liked to reserve 9 o'clock for these, since once started, he almost always went on over the hour, and sometimes until nearly 11. He used fairly full notes, but his delivery was fresh and spontaneous; at least, I attended the same sets of lectures two or three times, and they were always different. His wit was light and unexpected: from the Homeric shield, he was led to describe a kind of Scots target with a pistol concealed in the boss; this, however, was not thought a fair weapon; 'like an auto-bowling bat, it was not quite cricket.'

His written style was allusive, spare and sinewy, and his arguments sometimes deceptively simple and abbreviated. For behind all his brilliant and apparently effortless conjectures, which have so often been later proved correct, lay a patient assessment of detail, and perhaps repeated experiments with sketch maps, in addition to the resources of his vivid memory, which he once told me he had carefully trained when a young man. Faced without warning with a new question, he could after a moment's reflection recall aptly and unerringly references, names and events from half a century ago.

He was a searching and wary critic, but his review of others' work was invariably charitable, and I never heard him speak an unkind word against anyone. He always tried to understand scholars in the light of their time and background, as in his appreciation of Gladstone's Homeric scholarship in his inaugural lecture at Liverpool; and in one of his lectures on Ægean archæology he delighted to point out how close Gardner's reconstruction of Odysseus' palace was to the plan of King's College. His strongest criticism would be tempered with humour; once, after laboriously unravelling a book of anthropological measurements, he found that they added nothing to the conclusions reached, by much less exhausting methods, by a scholar of an earlier generation. 'Still,' he said with a laugh, 'I suppose it's something to have it confirmed to the millionth part of an inch!'

Many will recall with gratitude the sincere welcome and old-fashioned courtesy of 13, Canterbury Road, and the fund of good humour and unhurried hospitality. For this we have also to thank Lady Myres, whose gentle care sustained Sir John for so long, and Miss N. Llewelyn-Davies, their devoted companion for 30 years. It was good that so many visitors from all over the world were able to call there in the last few years. Each one must have felt spiritually refreshed through the experience, and usually also better informed, for Sir John's study was to the last a clearing house of learning. He kept pace with every development in the wide sphere of his interests, and as late as 25 February he asked for news of an approaching international congress.

He had a simple humility. Even his last books and papers were sent off with as much diffidence as by a young student, and he was quite ready to have them rejected. He was most generous with his time, and would give it gladly to anyone who wanted to share his interests. He was touchingly proud and pleased whenever someone wished to meet him, and he once, I believe, arranged for talks on Egyptology with his taxi-driver, who had mentioned that this was his hobby.

Sir John always looked for and brought out the best in his students and colleagues. Comparisons were quite alien to his nature. For him, every person, institution or subject had particular virtues which he wished to appreciate, and from which he tried to learn. The wide and lasting influence of his work on the course of humane scholarship is ensured by the high respect and personal affection in which he was held, as much in Manchester as in Oxford, and in Ankara as in Berkeley.

W. C. BRICE

56 No one stands in such a need of humility before Myres's noble shade as his successor in the Honorary Editorship of MAN. There may well be other criteria by which its Editors can be measured, but the most obvious, and surely the most unflattering to them, is that of comparison with its founder. To know, so far as they can, and be inspired by his mind is their best resource; they need not fear to be thought unadventurous, for who could hope to outdo Myres in originality? Indeed it is precisely for that quality that his inspiration will be of the greatest utility to us. It is partly for that reason, and not only to honour his memory, that so much space is given—doubtless for the first and last time in MAN's history—to so many obituary notices. Let MAN's newer readers learn, by these presents, what Myres meant to MAN, and be ever watchful for any attrition under his successors, in the interests of some temporary fashion, of the ideals which he set for it. This is no sentimental subservience to the dead: as the foregoing notices sufficiently testify, he saw the relations of things better than his contemporaries; with extraordinary foresight, he established in MAN—and more generally in the Institute itself, whose policies his counsel so strongly influenced—one of the chief means by which the anthropological sciences in this country successfully withstood and turned to advantage the stresses imposed upon them by the increasing and salutary specialization of their several related studies. In his account of 'A Century of Our Work' (MAN, 1944, 4) at the Institute's Centenary Meeting in 1943, he told how, when he was working for the foundation of MAN, he was disconcerted to find how many of those who offered financial support made it conditional upon some subject being excluded; he knew well that no theoretical preconceptions could be allowed to limit the growth of the science of man, and that no editor and no council was competent to set such limits to MAN's field. He saw too

that no degree of specialization need be regarded as excessive provided only that it was not regarded as exclusive and self-sufficient but as an avenue of advance on behalf of a unified science. He, more than any other, thus 'held the ring' for the valuable developments of theory and practice of twentieth-century anthropology. And, as is the common fate of those with a genius for moderation, his influence was sometimes taken for granted by those who supposed their progress to be entirely due to their own merits.

His own life and work decisively broke the general rule that specialists must be narrow and generalists shallow. It was I think the extraordinary reconciliation in him of the two capacities, his power of startlingly deep penetration into almost any subject, which combined with his Zeus-like appearance to make us who knew him in his later years think of him as in some way superhuman; but it was in truth an intensification of humanity. His very existence was to the last a considerable force in anthropology, and a void has been left at the centre which others, less well equipped, must strive to fill. Πειρατέον βοηθεῖν.

WILLIAM FAGG

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

The Historical Traditions of Buganda, Bunyoro and Ankole. *By Dr. Roland Oliver, Lecturer in African History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 3 December, 1953*

57

The lecturer said that the peoples of southern and western Uganda were unique in East Africa in claiming a remembered history of 25 to 30 generations. That was a claim which could not just be ignored; it meant much to the people who made it; their self-respect was vitally concerned in it. It was a problem towards which a historian of East Africa must define his attitude.

Dr. Oliver made a detailed comparison of the traditions of the four 'treaty states' of Uganda—Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole. He showed from community of legend that 500 to 600 years ago all these states were comprised within a single kingdom, ruled by a Hamitic dynasty called the Bachwezi, to whose agency most of the well-known social and cultural features which mark off these peoples from the surrounding Bantu tribes of the eastern Congo, of Kenya and Tanganyika, are attributed. The considerable town site of Ntusi and the earthwork fortifications of Bigo in western Uganda belong to this period, and archæological investigation may be expected to contribute much to our knowledge of this interesting civilization.

Dr. Oliver said that the break-up of this larger kingdom must be attributed to a substantial invasion of the region about 500 years ago by a group of the Nilotic Lwoo people who still inhabit a large part of the Northern Province of the Protectorate. These invaders conquered the northern half of the older Bachwezi kingdom and established the principalities of Bunyoro and Buganda in something like their present form. Though the southern half of the Bachwezi kingdom was never permanently conquered, it was for nearly two centuries the scene of devastating raids by the new rulers of Bunyoro, and all that survived the military impact was a small nucleus of the present principality of Ankole.

For about 10 generations after this cataclysmic event, that is from the late fifteenth to the mid eighteenth century, the predominant power in the whole region was the originally Nilotic Babito dynasty of Bunyoro, whose territory at this time stretched in a great crescent round the still small and unimportant principality of Buganda. About the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Buganda started to expand at the expense of Bunyoro. The Baganda were much aided by their geographical position on the shores of Lake Victoria. They were able to monopolize the trade with the east coast which started at about this time. During the nineteenth century, when Arab caravans penetrated to the region bringing guns and other imports, the expansion of Buganda was much accelerated. The Baganda likewise gained by being the first tribe in this region to receive European missionaries, who did much to prepare them for friendly relations first with the Imperial British East African Company and later with the Protectorate Government. At the time of the European occupation the Baganda were the allies of the British, furnishing military levies and even native administrators for the pacification of other parts of the Protectorate, and they secured a substantial increase of their territories in the process. Nevertheless, said the lecturer, they had never tried to invent a historical foundation for the dominant position they now occupied; their traditions were compatible generation by generation with those of the neighbouring states; and this was the strongest proof of their overall reliability.

SHORTER NOTES

Carved Wooden Doors of the Bavenda. *By James Walton, F.S.A. With five text figures*

58

The Bavenda of the Northern Transvaal are of particular interest to students of archæology and anthropology in southern Africa. A number of their cultural features are closely related to those of the builders of the Zimbabwes, whilst others have a southern limit marked by the Zoutpansberg, the present mountain home of the Bavenda. The Venda carved door, *vhoti*, is a typical example. Today such doors are rare, but a number are still scattered among the various museums, the finest I have seen being one of a group of three in the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria (Cat. No. 35,750), obtained from Sibasa (fig. 1).

This door, which measures 4 feet 7 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, was adzed from the outer rings of a tree trunk, thus avoiding the use of the sap wood, and it retains the curvature of the trunk. It was hung by means of two projections, the upper one passing through a hole in the lintel and the lower one rotating in a depression in the threshold. All the early wooden doors noted from Lake Tanganyika to the Zoutpansberg employed the same method of harr hanging which appears to have originated in either the Mediterranean or the Near East. It is commonly employed for field gates and barn doors in the Highland Zone of Britain, it was known in ancient and Etruscan times[1] and it occurred in the Near East as far back as 4000 B.C.[2] It appears to

have spread south with the Bantu wave which halted at the Zoutpansberg, for I am not aware of any solid wooden harr-hung doors among the peoples to the south.

The Sibasa door is richly carved with a series of interlacing bands of grooves, enclosing a number of sets of concentric circles. One harr projection is decorated with crocodile's teeth (fig. 1*a*) which have a protective significance. Writing of a Venda chief, who alone was entitled to use a carved wooden door, Stayt says: 'His sleeping hut is sacred and used to be protected by a stuffed crocodile. The presence of this creature was kept a close secret and it was never seen by any but his nearest relatives. It is

FIG. 1. VENDA DOOR FROM SIBASA
Transvaal Museum, Pretoria, No. 35,750

FIG. 2. VENDA DOOR
After Stayt, The Bavenda, *Plate XVI*

said that today the sleeping quarters of one or two chiefs are still guarded in this way. The true significance of this crocodile could not be ascertained, but the crocodile is closely associated with Venda chiefs, and regarded by them as a sacred object.'[3] Again Stayt writes: 'In speaking of or to the chief many curious euphemistic expressions are used, his most ordinary actions and possessions being described in a peculiar and roundabout way. His door or hut is called "the crocodile."'[4]

The concentric ring patterns occur in every instance (fig. 1*b*) and they are depicted on a door photographed by Stayt at Tskikobakoba's Kraal, where he discovered three examples[5] (fig. 2). These concentric circles are described by the Bavenda as the 'eyes of the lion' and are certainly inscribed on the doors as a protection against evil intruders. The pattern is not confined to doors, for Van Hoepen has recorded it from a wooden drum,[6] and it is also found on a monolith standing on the surrounding wall of Milaboni's Kraal. The suggested Arab origin of the concentric pattern as recorded in the Congo[7] is of interest in this connexion, for this pattern only occurs on Venda doors and not on doors of similar construction farther north. Now, among the Bavenda are pockets of Lemba, a group of craftsmen who have for centuries been the potters, iron-workers and wood-carvers of the Bavenda. They have distinctly Semitic features and they have often been regarded as descendants of early Arab traders who were isolated by the Portuguese and took refuge in the kingdom of Maungo, probably the Rusapi district of Southern Rhodesia.[8] There they acquired the language of the Bavenda and other tribes with whom they associated whilst at the same time they retained many of their own characteristic cultural features. The unusual designs on these Venda doors, including the concentric-ring pattern, may possibly be attributable to the Lemba. The only other pattern on the Sibasa door is provided by two engravings of axe heads (fig. 1*c*).

Further north the Hera fashion similar harr-hung doors from *mashuma* wood and an example from Buhera, north-east of Fort Victoria, is preserved in the National Museum, Bulawayo (fig. 3). This is rather larger than the Venda doors, measuring 5 feet by 1 foot 11¼ inches, and it is decorated with a series of triangles and diamond patterns. Mr. K. R. Robinson has recorded similar doors from the Sabi Reserve together with doors which have no other decoration than a pair of protruding bosses, probably representing breasts.[9]

The Mambwe of Northern Rhodesia, a little to the south-east of Lake Tanganyika, formerly used a door of the same type, represented by an example in the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria (fig. 4). This door, which measures 4 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 1 inch, served as the gate to Kawimbe Mission compound and is decorated by a single central raised boss. The lower harr rotated in a hole in the threshold which was provided with a drainage hole to permit the escape of collected rain water. The upper harr passed through a hole in the lintel, *lyema*. The door frame was completed by two door posts slotted at each end to accommodate the threshold and lintel. These door posts, made from *namunsi* wood, were toothed along one or both edges (fig. 4). They were particularly prized and were usually handed down from father to son.

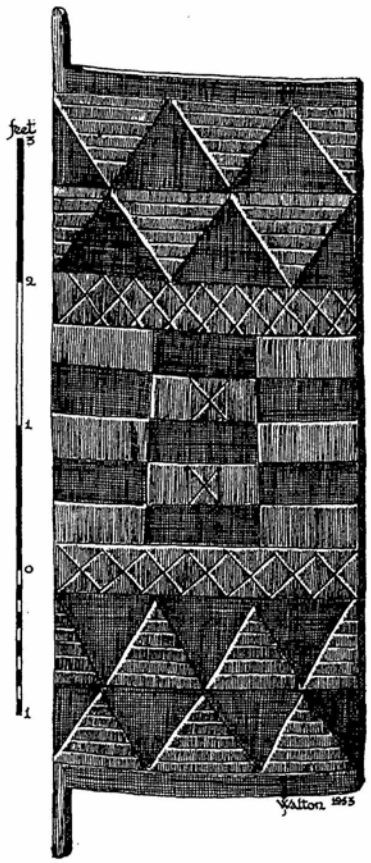


FIG. 3. HERA DOOR, BUHERA, S. RHODESIA
Bulawayo Museum

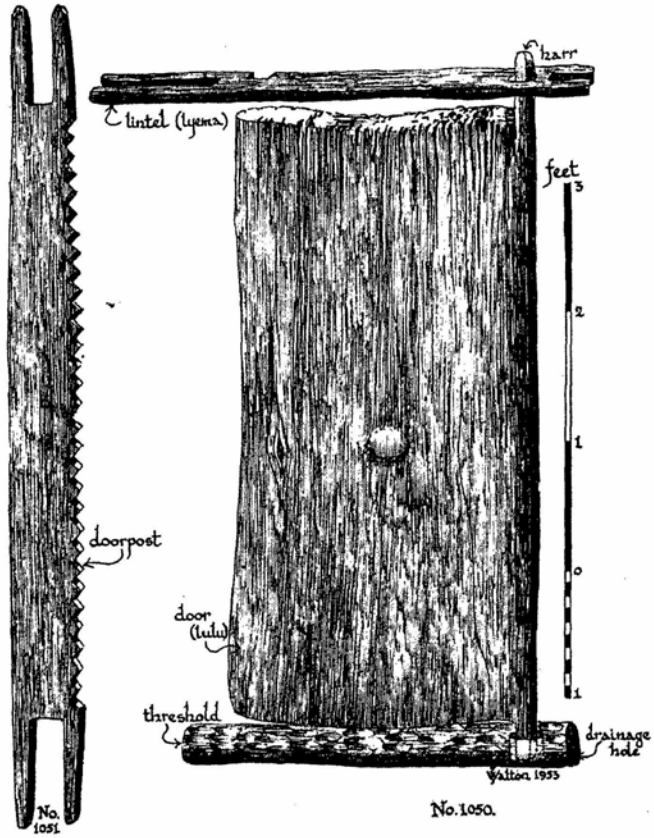


FIG. 4. MAMBWE DOOR AND DOOR FRAME, KAWIMBE MISSION, N. RHODESIA
Transvaal Museum, Pretoria

The harr-hung wooden doors carved from the perimeter of a tree trunk represent a continuous cultural tradition from Lake Tanganyika to the Zoutpansberg, where the different pattern probably represents an alien Lemba intrusion. They are not found to the south, which indicates that the wave which brought this type of door did not penetrate far into Northern Transvaal. Whether such doors are found north of Lake Tanganyika towards the source of origin of harr-construction I have not been able to determine.

Another type of harr-hung door is represented by a second Mambwe example in the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria (Cat. No. 1052). This is composed of a number of palm-leaf stalks joined together (fig. 5*a*). The end one, constituting the harr style, is longer than the others and the projecting ends serve as the harrs on which the door rotates. Junod has also described a Ronga door from Rikatla made from the leaf stalks of the *mimale* palm, *Raphia vinifera* [10] (fig. 5*b*). These apparently represent a regional modification of the wooden harr-hung door necessitated in the first instance by the nature of the materials available.[11]

I wish to record my thanks to Mr. Roger Summers of the National Museum, Bulawayo, Mr. K. Radcliffe Robinson, Mr. R. F. Kennedy of the Johannesburg Library and Mr. S. P. Malan of the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria, for allowing me access to material in their collections and for illustrations and comments.

Notes

1 Iorwerth C. Peate, *The Welsh House*, 1944, p.184.

2 Sir Leonard Woolley, communication in the *Minutes of the First Meeting of the Vernacular Architecture Group*, May, 1952.

3 Hugh A. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, 1931, p. 204.

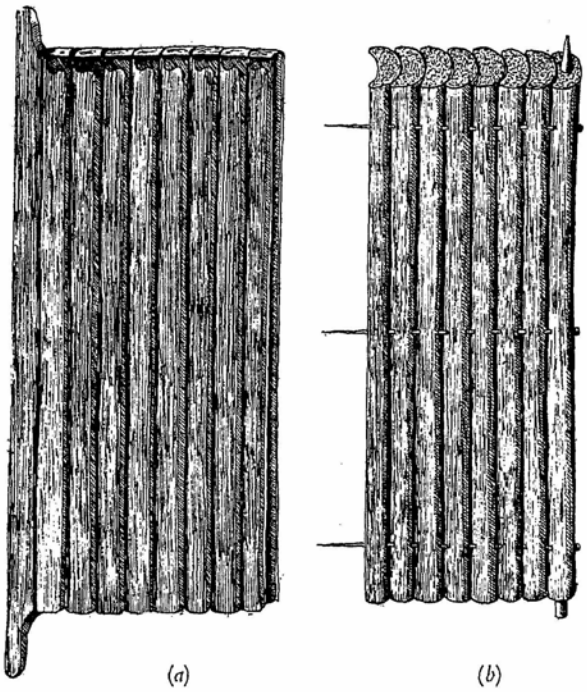
4 Stayt, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

5 Stayt, *op. cit.*, p. 55 and Plate XVI.

6 E. C. N. Van Hoepen, 'Die Oog Van Die Leeu,' *Argeologiese Navorsing Van Die Nasionale Museum, Bloemfontein*, Part 1, pp. 63f.

7 William Fagg, Note 5 in Sir John Myres, 'Concentric Circle Ornament On Vessels Of Wood From The Taurus.' MAN, 1952, 262.

8 J. F. Schofield, *Primitive Pottery*, 1948, p. 75.



(*a*) (*b*)

FIG. 5. HARR-HUNG PALM-LEAF DOORS
(*a*) *Mambwe door, Transvaal Museum, Pretoria, No. 1052;*
(*b*) *Ronga door, Rikatla, after Junod*

9 K. R. Robinson, verbal communication to the author.

10 Henri A. Junod, *The Life Of A South African Tribe*, Vol. II, 1927, p. 109.

11 Mr. William Fagg, British Museum, writes: 'For this type of palm-leaf door among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia, see Dr. Audrey Richards's account in MAN, 1950, 162, fig. 4. It should be added that "harr-hung" doors of carved wood are in common use among most, if not all, of the Sudanese tribes of the Guinea Coast and the Western Sudan, some of the finest, in point of artistic ornament, being found among the Dogon, Bambara, Senufo, Baule, Yoruba, Ibo and Balumbo(?) tribes; see for example Griaule, *Arts of the African Native*, London, 1950, figs 50–53. Among the more westerly of these tribes the door is normally fitted with a lock of the type common to most of the Moslem peoples and those in contact with them; the ornament is, however, usually anthropomorphic or zoomorphic, and the users pagans. The Yoruba are, of course, the door-makers *par excellence*, all their doors being harr-hung, and some having a height of as much as 10 or 12 feet and a width (two leaves) of about 10 feet; the ornamental sculpture, in high or low relief, of the best examples puts them in the front rank of African art works. It is the Ibo doors of the Awka region of Nigeria, however, which approximate most closely to those studied by Mr. Walton, their ornament (unlike that of Yoruba doors) being almost exclusively geometrical, with concentric circles and lozenges as favourite designs; in this case there appears to be little reason for assigning a Moslem origin to them.'—ED.

A Prehistoric Industry from Palmyra. *By H. T. Norris. With a text figure*

59 The flint implements reproduced are specimen examples of types to be found at Palmyra to the south of the Homs road. The site is on a hillside, east of the track which connects the sulphur baths with the tomb of the Three Brothers. To find a prehistoric industry in the world-renowned city of Zenobia would seem incongruous were it not for the fact that Tadmur has been since earliest times a centre for different desert tracks and a water point.

The industry is concentrated in an area of approximately 30 square yards. Blades and points can be collected in handfuls and all are unpatinated and fresh in appearance. The vast bulk of the implements appear to be blades, thin, with a little secondary working on the edges. Most of the specimens were broken but must have once terminated in a point (Nos. 1, 2), and probably the two points (Nos. 7, 8) were parts of knife blades. No. 9 appears to be developing a rough tang at its base and was probably some form of javelin head. No. 6 is part of a more typical blade but is much thicker than the average. No. 10 is a beaked

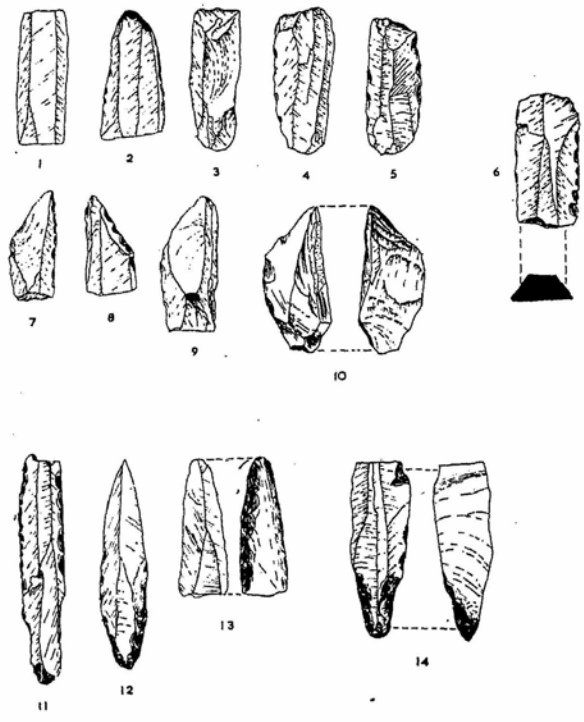


FIG. 1. BLADES, ARROW HEADS AND BURIN FROM PALMYRA
Scale : ½

burin. Nos. 12, 13 and 14 are particularly well preserved examples of javelin or arrow heads. In all the examples part of the bulb of percussion is retained at the base and there is considerable secondary working on both faces. In No. 13 the under face is curved in profile and has received secondary working down one edge.

The Palmyra site is unstratified and any assessment of age can only be made by comparison in typology. The industry is not unlike other Syrian desert industries. In Rhotert's *Transjordanien*, for example, illustrated examples are very similar to those of Palmyra. No. 10, Palmyra is similar to Rhotert, p. 96, 4. The fine points and tangs Nos. 11–14 are not unlike the specimens illustrated in Rhotert, p. 103, 2, and on p. 114. The blades, however, might be anything between the upper Palæolithic and the Bronze Age. The tanged blades are almost certainly Neolithic or Bronze Age. The similarity of the Neolithic–Bronze Age types of blades and points and tanged javelin or arrow heads over a considerable area of desert in Syria and Jordan would suggest some distributional tie-up. If such can be obtained when more sites are known, at least some knowledge of relative value will have been achieved.

Village Architecture in South-Western Asia Minor. *By W. C. Brice, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. With three text figures*

60 The three figures may illustrate the ingenious use of timber in rural architecture in south-western Turkey, as seen in 1949. The walls of the rough sheep barn near Çine (fig. 1) are

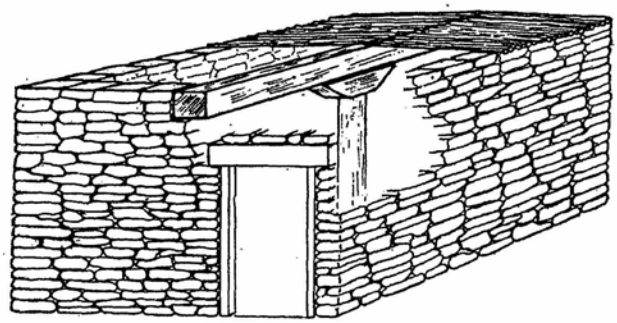


FIG. 1. SIMPLE HUT, MARSYAS VALLEY, CARIA
Constructed of gneiss, timber and branches

constructed of slabs of the local tabular schistose rocks, while the roof is of boughs and branches, laid from opposite walls, and meeting on a heavy wooden beam. This beam in its turn rests on opposite walls, and is supported in its middle by a timber post set up in the centre of the room. A wooden wedge is placed between the post and the beam, to spread the support.

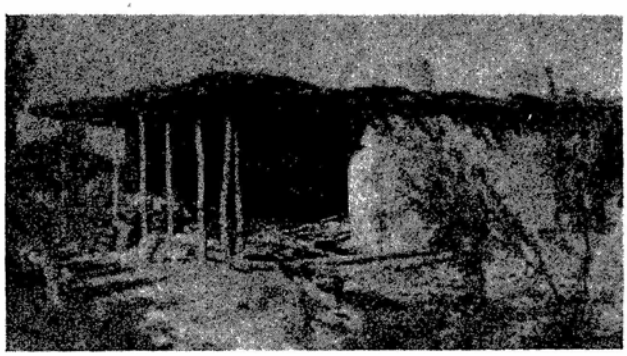


FIG. 2. HOUSE AT PAMUKKALE VILLAGE, PHRYGIA
Constructed of mud-brick walls and flat roof supported by beams

FIG. 3. GRAIN STORE SHELTER, CARIA
Constructed of pine logs and boughs; in Erküz village about 10 miles west of Marmatis, at the base of the Cnidian Chersonese

Figure 2 shows a house at Hierapolis, in south-west Phrygia. The flat roof is supported on beams, and advances over a vestibule, where it is carried partly on two *antæ* of the house wall, and partly on a timber 'colonnade.'

Figure 3 is a photograph, taken in Caria, of a rough shelter intended to protect a farmer's wooden chest, in which grain is stored for the winter. The pine beams are arranged in a simple eaved structure of ridge pole and rafters, which serves well to throw off the rain.

May we see in these examples the crude rustic prototypes of, respectively, the pillar and capital; the portico; and the ridged roof?

Two Hittite Stelæ from the Anti-Taurus Mountains. *By Ahmet Dönmez, Turkish Department of Antiquities, Ankara, and W. C. Brice, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. With three text figures*

61 The first stele which we here illustrate (figs. 1 and 2) was found near the small village of Aghabeyli, some eight hours' march to the north-east of Marash. The road is a regular pack trail over the

FIG. 1. HITTITE STELE, AGHABEYLI VILLAGE
Dimensions: 91 × 68 × 15 centimetres

Ahir Dagh, and Aghabeyli lies in the southern foothills of the next range of the Anti-Taurus, the Engizek Dagh. We were kindly escorted there in June, 1947, by Oghuz Bey, a Marash schoolteacher, who first told us of the stele. About 200 yards before the village the track from the west crosses the cemetery, on a low spur of the mountain range. The stele was first discovered about 1932, buried face upwards at two paces to the north of the track, on the summit of the spur, near a small cypress tree. Several shaped stones of rough conglomerate have been found in the same area, and are set up as gravestones. When we went, the stele was lying under the verandah of a house in the west of the village. It stands about three feet high, and is rather crudely fashioned from a hard marble or crystalline limestone. The relief has suffered from weathering, especially to the left, so that it is impossible to make out the exact attitude of the hands of the female figure. The theme is an adoration scene, with a seated mother goddess facing three priests. These are bearded, and have their hair arranged in 'buns' at

the nape of the neck. Each wears a long belted cloak, with serrated fringe, and shoes that are round-toed. The attitude of the priests resembles that shown on a relief from the Processional Entry at Carchemish (C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish,* Part II, Plate B22*a*), while from the same series a match is seen for the seated position of the goddess, though not for her headdress (Part II, Plate B19*a*).

FIG. 2. HITTITE STELE, AGHABEYLI VILLAGE

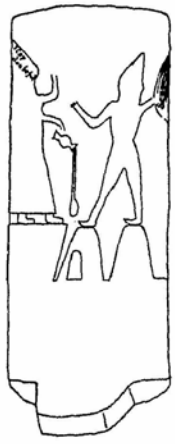


FIG. 3. HITTITE STELE, ATABEY VILLAGE
Dimensions: 150 × 60 *centimetres*

For our record of the second stele (fig. 3), we are indebted to the Director of Education at Malatya, who took us to see it in July, 1947. It lies in a house at the eastern edge of the village of Atabey, about 300 yards to the south-east of the confluence of the Tohma Suyu and the Euphrates, but was originally found on a steep-sided mound or *tell,* in the fields about 200 yards to the south-east of the village. This stele stands about five feet high, and is squarely cut from a hard stone. The relief has been weathered very low, and would not photograph. The details are obscure, but as the sketch shows, the general outline, of the scene of a libation to a god of the mountains, is fairly easy to distinguish. The deity wears pointed sandals, while the shoes of the adorant have rounded toes. The attitude of Teshub, standing on the twin mountains of Khasis and Nanish, is familiar from Yasili Kaya and elsewhere. The lightning trident and thunder hammer, which he usually brandishes, seem to have been lost owing to weathering.

Horniman Museum Lectures, October–December

62 The following free illustrated lectures of anthropological interest have been arranged for Saturday afternoons at 3.30 p.m. during the last quarter of 1954 at the Horniman Museum, London, S.E.23: 16 October, The Revd. A. M. Jones on 'African Music'; 23 October, Dr. K. P. Oakley on 'Piltdown Man'; 30 October, Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, C.B.E., on 'The Potter's Craft in Africa'; 6 November, Mr. H. St. George Gray on 'The Lake Villages of Somerset (Glastonbury and Meare)'; 13 November, Professor F. E. Zeuner on 'The Camel and the Elephant'; 20 November, Sir Harry Luke, K.C.M.G., on 'Easter Island'; 27 November, Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.B.A., on 'Malay Folk Song'; 11 December, Dr. D. Diringer on 'The Origins of the Alphabet'.

British Association for the Advancement of Science, Section H, Oxford, September, 1954

63 The programme drawn up for Section H, under the Presidency of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, at the Oxford meeting includes some highly interesting titles in the archæological field. The Presidential Address is devoted to the urgent need for archæological research and conservation in the British colonies (a problem vigorously brought to attention at the valuable African History Conference at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, in 1953); and this is to be followed up by two papers on archæology in Ethiopia. Recent techniques developed to aid the archæologist are to be reviewed, as are the Sakkara excavations. The archæology of the Oxford region is given very full coverage in the meetings as well as the excursions. There are two papers on physical anthropology. A paper on the Museum of English Rural Life at Reading will help to keep the need for conservation of our vanishing folk culture before the public; and there are two papers on oral folklore.

It has, however, been noted with some concern that social anthropology and ethnology (other than British) are conspicuous by their absence from the programme at so important a centre of these studies at Oxford. Whatever the reason for this, there is room for wonder whether sufficient efforts have been made to maintain a proper balance between the two halves of Section H this year; this is surely a basic duty of the sectional officers, whatever their own interests may be. The arrangements proposed for 1955 will be a matter of considerable interest and should be made known early in the appropriate quarters.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Herodotus, Father of History. *By John L. Myres. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1953. Pp. viii, 315. Price £1 10s.*

64 Readers of this journal, long familiar with the writings of the late Sir John Myres, may well have been struck by the affinity of his mind in spirit and scope with that of Herodotus. There is the same wide-ranging and serious curiosity, the concern with causes limited to no single field or point of view, and the gift for lucid and never didactic expression. It is, therefore, peculiarly appropriate that we should have had at last from Sir John's pen a book on Herodotus and one in which, thanks to his exceptional

sympathy for his subject, Herodotus emerges as a scholar and an artist comparison with whom need no longer be an ambiguous compliment.

The book's title is meant rather more literally than one might suppose. This is not a general appreciation of Herodotus; it presumes familiarity with the histories and a serious interest in the problems they present. Although there is much that the non-specialist will find valuable for understanding the matter of the histories (Chapter One, The Man: His Life and Travels; Chapter Three, The World of Herodotus, especially the pages on geography and cartography), Sir John's chief purpose was to examine Herodotus's claim to the title of the 'Father of History' by means of an analysis of the literary structure of his work. 'When we understand the structure of his book, we may learn from it *how* it was composed, and perhaps even *why*' (p. 64). This structure, which has often been thought to be wayward or at best mutilated at its source or in its tradition, shows, he believed, the consistent application of the same principles as can be found in other artistic media of the fifth century and results from 'a habit of mind rather than an artifice or *memoria technica*. He was seeking for causes, for significance and values, and it was as natural to him to group his characters and incidents in this way as to a contemporary sculptor or painter' (p. 87). 'History is only one of the historical sciences which study the sequence of events. It is also one of the liberal arts . . .' (p. 66). Thus Sir John was primarily concerned with the artistic side of historical writing, seen in the context of the other arts of Greece; the heart of his book is some 30 pages devoted to 'The Structure of the Histories' (Chapter Five) followed by a long tabular analysis. This is not easy going and were there not signs in contemporary anthropology of a realignment with the humanistic studies, and perhaps therefore a greater concern with the anthropologist seen as an artist, one would be inclined to say that, for all its interest, this is one of the author's less important books for the anthropologist. Sir John saw parallels to the structural principles of the histories in Attic drama and in plastic art. The former parallel is often enlightening, particularly in the use of 'heroes.' The latter, with its concern with 'pedimental composition' and illustrations to show how sections of the histories would appear translated into architectural sculpture, goes perhaps too far. Balance and contrast, rise and fall, certainly are employed by both arts, but also to a great extent by all art in all ages, while the equally essential differences between historical writing and static, architectural composition tend to be obscured. One feels that there is a forcing of the evidence in seeking everywhere the forms of visual art and that the results may not always be worth the author's, and reader's, efforts. The detailed geometry of the tabular analysis goes beyond what one expects from a habit of mind. This is not to deny the considerable value of the tables for giving at once a detailed and an overall view of the ordering of the material and for the frequent revelation they provide of what is central and crucial.

The second half of the book consists of historical notes to the histories, a select commentary given unity by the constant underlining of Herodotus's search for causes. It is worth repeating the linked objectives which Sir John twice quoted from the historian's prologue:

> '1. Men's deeds have intrinsic value for Man, and are worth saving from oblivion.
>
> 2. Great deeds are no monopoly of any people: there is an "other side" even to the Persian Wars.
>
> 3. Such deeds are not chance occurrences; they spring from motives, which may be ascertained. The present has its causes in the past, and the past has value for the present as a guide to the future' (p. 66).

These three points are equally applicable to the world of nature (remarkable phenomena are of intrinsic value, of universal occurrence, and play a part in a sequence of cause and effect). Sir John's deep knowledge of Greek lands contributed much to the elucidation of problems of geography and topography, and nowhere more successfully than in the discussion of the great battles. But as both historians knew, 'the supreme cause in history is human choice and will' (p. 135). We read Herodotus for his application of this threefold idea of history to man. 'On Herodotus's formulation of it, and his own achievements, rests his claim to be the "Father of History"' (p. 66). M. H. JAMESON

Trois Problèmes d'Ethnologie Maritime. *By C. Nooteboom. Publicaties van het Museum voor Land en Volkenkunde en het Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik.' Rotterdam, 1952. No. 1. L. en V. 1. Pp. 16, 6 plates*

65 Two of the author's three problems relate to the same subject, but to different aspects of it. In his discussion of 'L'Origine des Proues bifides' the author calls attention to the wide distribution of this structural feature, which occurs especially in Eastern Asiatic coastal waters, but also in certain parts of Africa and Oceania, as well as in ancient Scandinavia and the Mediterranean. It presents itself in a variety of forms, and in a number of types of canoes and small vessels. The origin of the feature is attributed by the author to the method of overcoming the difficulty of extending added washstrakes to the ends of dug-outs, without carrying the hollowing-out of the log so far as to weaken the structure. The ends of the washstrakes are therefore brought together, either by convergence or by addition of a crosspiece, so that the canoe may be said to have bifid endings, one above the other at each end. By a variety of modifications in the form, proportions and relationships of these endings, mainly at the 'front end,' the many different forms of the bifid prow have been produced. The author makes out a very good case for his theory, and one need not reject his suggestion that the origin of the feature is so 'natural' that the possibility of polygenesis cannot be ruled out.

The author's second problem 'La Signification de la Proue bifide' takes him into socio-religious territory, and his conclusions cannot even be outlined. He is especially concerned with the relevant structures in vessels of Eastern Asia and its islands, and particularly those in which the bifid prow can be identified as representing an animal's open jaws—a snake, a dragon, a fish, or a mythical creature. Such animals may be associated with socio-magical practices, such, for example, as initiation, and the bifid prow may thus acquire an importance greater than its functional significance.

With the third problem, we return to technology, and it is described by the author as a study in diffusion. 'Quelques Types de Voiles de l'Asie orientale' deals with the variation in form, construction, fittings and attachment of the rectangular or 'square' sails of Eastern Asia—of Japan, Korea, North and South China, Indo-China and Indonesia. The author defines five types of these sails, obviously related to one another as a result of diffusion. He is, however, unable to find evidence 'de diffusion centrifugale ou de développement centripétal,' such as should occur on Wissler's theory of concentric or centrifugal diffusion. The author discusses in detail the interrelationships of his five types of oriental sails, and he adheres to the idea of 'reciprocal diffusion', 'qui est en vérité une pénétration mutuelle de formes voisines, dans le cours de leur évolution.' H. S. HARRISON

The Proper Study of Mankind. *The Rede Lecture, 1953. By A. D. Gardner. C.U.P., 1953. Pp. 30. Price 2s. 6d.*

66 Professor Gardner uses Pope's famous essay not only in his title but frequently in the body of the lecture, which emphasizes the contrast between the eighteenth and the twentieth century, keeping all the while a warm appreciation of Pope's humanism touched with pantheism. The emphasis throughout is on continuity from the earliest times and the simplest molecules or their constituents to the most complex activities in thought and action of men. Dualism of mind and body is cast aside, and philosophies dealing exclusively with cognition are treated as superannuated. H. J. FLEURE

Size and Morale: A Preliminary Study of Attendance at Work in Large and Small Units. *London (Acton Soc. Trust), 1953. Pp. 44. Price 3s. 6d.*

67 This short study is based upon the belief that the impact of certain social problems of industry varies significantly and directly with the size of industrial units. The first enquiry, focused on the coal industry, disclosed that at the lowest estimate there was

a 'size effect' which demanded investigation. The authors acknowledge that 'there is need for much more detailed investigation and that the study under review may best be regarded as a preliminary glance at a massive, detailed and far-reaching process of social discovery, requiring a much wider application of attention and effort . . . it calls for the co-operation of academic expertise'.

Such matters as size and attendance; size and accident rate; size and production rate were investigated and the studies showed that, as a general rule, 'workers go absent for one reason or another proportionately more frequently in large concerns than they do in small concerns.' This trend is particularly noticeable in the coal industry, fairly marked in the industrial group, and just discernible in the commercial undertakings studied. Nevertheless the authors acknowledge that size is not the final determinant, that distance to work, communication within the working unit, as well as less directly observable things—leadership, pride in craft, boredom, morale and so forth—must be studied. This preliminary study should be of great help to those who are concerned with what Elton Mayo described as the human problems of an industrial civilization.

ROBERT R. HYDE

The Smith: The Traditions and Lore of an Ancient Craft. 68 *By F. W. Robins. London (Rider), 1953. Pp. 160, 9 plates, 12 text figs. Price 15s.*

The author's interests are varied, for he has already written of lamps, of water supply and of bridges. This present work is in the main a compilation of facts from printed sources such as can be found in a good library, sources at times compilations in themselves, the whole somewhat of a tabulation.

As the object of the book is to cover the 'Traditions and Lore of an Ancient Craft' it seems strange that the author has, except for one solitary reference to MAN, made no use of this, the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* or, of course, the main source, *Folk-Lore*. And what an opportunity has been lost for first-hand research!

In dealing with his subject the author seems to have had in mind the smith as a blacksmith but, as well might be understood, he has been entrapped in the network of branches of the smith's trade—farrier, coppersmith, goldsmith, silversmith, gunsmith, locksmith, scythe-smith, sickle-smith, and tinsmith or whitesmith, though some are not mentioned. Certain of the illustrations have more connexion with the practical side of the smith's life than with his traditions and lore.

On p. 44, quoting from Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, the author tells us that 'The classical smith made tools, fellies and naves of wheels (etc.).' Nowadays the wooden fellies or felloes and naves or hubs are essentially the products of a worker in wood, the wheelwright. On p. 79 the author states that when blacksmiths hang horseshoes on their doors for luck, they fix them with the points downwards. Actually in Bedfordshire, for instance, one can see them hung with points either upwards or downwards according to the particular whim or superstition of the smith. It would have been interesting to have a little more information as to the age of the Gretna Green smithy's connexion with informal marriages (p. 132). Finally, on p. 105 we are told that Thomas Tompion the famous clockmaker started his career as a blacksmith in Buckinghamshire. This should of course be Bedfordshire.

Despite these slight criticisms the author has performed a useful service in adding something to the scanty literature on the histories of occupations and has in the foot references provided a bibliography which will be found of value to anyone wishing to study the history of the trade and in particular its traditions and lore.

THOMAS W. BAGSHAWE

The Science of Society: An Introduction to Sociology. *By* 69 *Jay Rumney and Joseph Maier. 2nd. edn. London (Duckworth), 1953. Pp. 208. Price 9s.*

This is a revised, re-edited and expanded version of the senior author's *The Science of Society* published in England 15 years ago. It was and still is an important contribution to the literature of a historically oriented sociology of social institutions. Moreover, it adequately incorporates, in both text and bibliography, the literature of the past 15 years relevant to this approach.

Within the framework of their theory (the book is largely a well illustrated presentation of theory), the authors offer a systematic introduction to sociology which includes a consideration of all major sub-fields. To the extent that their treatment is systematic and internally coherent, the work stands as a comprehensive statement of the authors' sociology. All this is done in less than 200 pages of clear, concise writing, equally clear to both novice and initiated.

After presenting a combined statement on the materials and methods of sociology, which covers the range from interview to historical data, the authors quickly move to the relationship between history, biology, psychology and sociology. For them 'Social facts seem to be of a reality *sui generis*, for the elucidation of which a science of society is necessary.' Except for the physical limitations imposed, the biological is primarily relevant to sociology insofar as its consequences are differently evaluated in different cultures. The sociologist is interested in mental processes for 'the light they throw on the nature and development of social phenomena.' In this connexion they place the work of Freud, Tarde, McDougall and others in the perspective of their own approach. History is necessary for the sociologist insofar as it increases the known range of societies and the experiences which they offer to men and, hence, helps him to avoid facile generalizations based only on contemporary societies and experiences. To approach completeness sociology must understand and explain the institutional structures and their combinations in all known societies.

In selecting the concept of institution as central to their approach, the authors are faced with two problems: (1) to attach institutions to concrete behaviour and (2) to articulate institutions to a concept of society. The second problem is handled without serious difficulties. The closest approach they make to concrete behaviour is through the concepts of folkways and mores, but these do not play a part in their definition of an institution. Institutions are defined as 'clusters of accepted and enforced usages governing the relations between individuals and groups.' If they had introduced the concept of role, or an equivalent term, and had attached a psychological component to it, they could have made the nexus between concrete action and institutional structures. Their early discussion of psychology plays no part in their institutional analysis which constitutes the major part of the work.

The institutional complexes which they introduce and treat as central are the economic, the political and the familial. In the discussion of each, the major interpretative approaches to each of these institutions are presented. For Capitalism, for example, the works of the Webbs, Hobson, Sombart, Marx and Weber are contrasted and compared; on class structure the recent works of W. Lloyd Warner and C. Wright Mills are included. Religion, education and recreation are treated as secondary institutions whose 'function . . . is to preserve and fortify the other institutions of society.' These are the 'social cement' which give the social system an appearance of consistency. Given the place of sanctions and forms of social regulation in their interpretative system, this functional division of institutions works out very well.

The last chapter is a study of the history and development of sociology which places in clear perspective the contributions, as affected by time and place, of all major continental and American sociologists. It serves to complete the book as an introduction to sociology and reminds the reader that this is its basic intent.

ARTHUR J. VIDICH

Culture Change: An Analysis and Bibliography of Anthropological Sources to 1952. *By Felix M. Keesing. Stan-* 70 *ford, Calif. (U.P.) (London Agent: Cumberlege), 1953. Pp. 242. Price £1 8s.*

Stanford University has recently embarked on a programme of studies of social change within which an anthropology group is undertaking a general inventory and analysis of the field of culture change to assess the extent and soundness of present knowledge and to plan further lines of research. This bibliography, the first of a Stanford Anthropological Series, has been designed to indicate the development of theory and method by anthropological workers and to list the more important publications in this sphere. The bibliography is arranged chronologically and begins with 20 works

between 1820 and 1864, eight in 1865 and so on annually up to 228 in 1952, totalling over 4000 references. It is preceded by a survey which begins in an interesting vein though without saying anything new, but, as the yearly total of sources mounts, it peters out into a catalogue which tells the reader very little more than he learns from reading the titles of the works in question. Between the two comes an assessment of the present situation of culture-change studies which groups and discusses the problems involved.

British readers will regret the uncritical nature of much of the chronological survey and wish that instead the space had been used for the annotation and criticism of the works in the bibliography, including reference to the contributions to be found in some of the general works listed there. The first part of the bibliography includes a number of historical works and there are occasional references to archæological publications and ones concerned with material culture; but especially in the twentieth century the list is restricted to the works of professional anthropologists. The restriction can be justified but it means that no place is left for many relevant works. It prompts a question which will be no stranger to Professor Keesing but is bound to be raised in the reader's mind: can we study culture change effectively without the collaboration of economic historians and sociologists—to mention workers in only two associated disciplines? In West Africa, for example, the pressure of European culture has been determined by the policy of the metropolitan powers as much as by the content of their cultures. The course of cultural change is affected by the change in the economic position of the classes which set cultural norms. We may hope that the Stanford programme will also experiment in the collaborative study of particular regions.

MICHAEL BANTON

Adam's Ancestors. *By L. S. B. Leakey. Fourth edition, completely rewritten. London (Methuen), 1953. Pp. xi, 235, 32 plates, 33 text figs., folder. Price 21s.*

71 Leakey is to be congratulated on producing a rewritten edition of what must be by now a classic in its field, and on again taking the risk of writing a textbook on the palæolithic age and human evolution at a time when knowledge is advancing perhaps more rapidly than in 1934. The findings on the Piltdown skull in 1953, for example, contradict those of 1950, when dating by fluorine content was still in the experimental stage. The news that the jaw and tooth were of considerably later date came out just after the book did, yet Leakey's general conclusions are little affected, and may perhaps be a measure of the book's quality.

Despite a smaller format, the new edition contains more information and illustrations than the first.

The introductory chapters tell how the study of palæolithic man developed, and how skeletal remains are preserved and found, followed by an account of early man's environment, in which the climatic changes of Europe and Africa are correlated. The next two chapters cover a subject peculiarly Leakey's own, the use and manufacture of stone and bone tools, in which he has considerable practical experience and the ability to analyse the methods used.

The next three chapters, on the Lower, Middle, and Upper Palæolithic, make a bold attempt at synthetizing cultural development in stone industries over a wide range of time and space. The reader will find it lucid and helpful, though much compressed, and the tables are useful. To complement the survey there is a short chapter on palæolithic art.

The numerous discoveries of fossil apes and 'near-men' in Africa called for fuller treatment of human evolution than in the earlier book, and Leakey marshals his facts to give an orderly picture of what may have happened. He considers that the heavy brow ridges, ape-like jaws and other features formerly thought primitive are in fact specialized, and that the truly primitive ancestral relation is, so to speak, featureless, capable of developing apewards or manwards, and that the human stem separated as early as the Miocene.

The final chapter reviews the whole, and stresses the vast gaps in our knowledge. Except in the Near East, little is known of the Palæolithic in Asia, and in Africa and even Europe there is wide scope for further excavation, study, and re-examination of existing material.

Three small corrections may be suggested. In the otherwise good family tree it is confusing to find sub-families branching straight off from a super-family without an intermediate family stage. The caption of Plate VII (*b*) should read 'German,' and the captions of Plate IX (*c*) and (*d*) should be transposed. It is perhaps a pity that Plate IX and fig. 33, with their complementary subjects, are not on facing pages, like their counterparts in the first edition.

This is a worthy successor to the first edition, lucid, readable, full of information, and good value for the price.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

CORRESPONDENCE

Concentric-Circle Ornament. *Cf.* MAN, 1952, 262; 1953, 52; 1954, 58. *With a text figure*

72 SIR,—In the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum there is a wooden folding spoon (1914. 6–19. 5) similar to three of those illustrated by Sir John Myres (MAN, 1952, Plate M *d–f*). This was given by Miss M. E. Durham and was obtained in 1904 from an Albanian gendarme, by whom it was made, at a post on Lake Presba, at the junction of modern Albania, Yugoslavia and Macedonia. As the drawing (fig. 1) shows, the upper side of the handle is decorated with incised concentric-circle ornament, with central dot, bordered by double and single lines of dots. The underside is undecorated. Sir John Myres's suggestion that the concentric-circle ornament was applied to the weak point, the hinge, to give it magical strength, would not seem to be borne out by this specimen. The circles do not appear on the hinge, where indeed there is not room for them; and the greatest concentration appears at the wider part of the handle, not at the weakest part, the neck. In fact one has the impression that the placing of the ornament was governed by considerations of æsthetics and convenience.

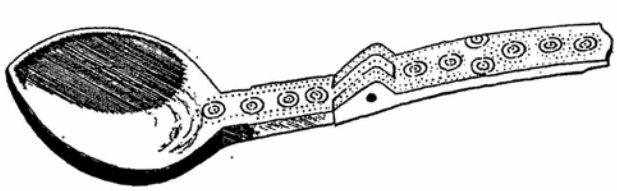


FIG. 1. FOLDING SPOON FROM LAKE PRESBA (SCALE: ½)

It may perhaps be of interest to illustrate one of the possible origins of this ornament: the human eye. In wood carving in the Gulf region of Papua the eye is represented by a central solid circular area surrounded by one or more concentric circles, all in relief; and this motif frequently appears divorced from a recognizable body. Perhaps it may have had a similar origin in other areas.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Department of Ethnography, British Museum, London, W.C.1

Note

Mention should also be made of the incidence of the concentric-circle and circle-point ornaments in ancient Egypt, which has not previously been cited in this discussion. See especially T. Devéria in G. Maspero (ed.), *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, Vol. V, part 2, Plate V (facing p. 82). According to Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, it is found from the New Kingdom, probably about 1250 B.C. (or somewhat before the Protogeometric period in Africa, *c.* 1000 B.C., to which Sir John Myres traced the first appearance of the design in the Ægean), through to Coptic times, of which it is especially characteristic. It normally occurs (as in Negro Africa) on ivory and bone objects. It is also found at Mohenjodaro; see for example a small ivory bone object in the Oriental Antiquities Department of the British Museum (1939.6–19.336); and again in ancient American art.

The Honorary Editor has also received a letter on this subject from Mr. L. Segy of New York, drawing attention to an article by

himself in *Zaïre*, Vol. VII (1953), No. 1, in which he holds that the purpose of this ornament is to add power to objects. He expresses scepticism about the suggestion that lost upholstery nails may sometimes have been a contributory factor (see MAN, 1952, 262, note 5). But a small Bajokwe chair in the Torday collection from the Belgian Congo in the British Museum (1910. 4–20. 597) shows the effect very clearly, all the nails having been removed from the forward surfaces of the two front legs, while the forward surface of the back of the chair remains covered with them. Arab coffee mortars as used by the Congo slavers are sometimes decorated with these nails.—ED.

Jars Built without a Wheel in the Hazarajat of Central Afghanistan. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 131. *With a text figure*

73 SIR,—I was very interested to read the article by Ahmet Dönmez and W. C. Brice on 'A Water Jar, Built without a Wheel, in the Kurdish Village of Dara' (MAN, 1953, 131).

Approximately at the same time as this Shorter Note appeared in MAN, I was travelling through central Afghanistan with the Danish Scientific Mission, sent out by the National Museum, Copenhagen, to study Hazaras, Nuristanis, Chahar Aimaks and Pashtus in that country.

We spent the night between 15 and 16 July at a Hazara village (the last one coming from the east before entering Chahar Aimak country at Daulat Yar) called Garm Ao (Hot Water), already in the province of Herat.

The Hazaras here are Dai Zangi. They are sedentary, and live all the year round in windowless mud hovels, the roofs of which are stacked with dried cow-dung cakes, used as fuel through the severe, nearly eight-month-long winter. Garmao is a relatively large village with, at a rough guess, some 2,000 inhabitants. The

FIG. 1. JARS BUILT WITHOUT A WHEEL, AFGHANISTAN

principal means of livelihood is agriculture, barley and the unirrigated, dry type of wheat, called *lalmi*, being the principal crops. The grain is stored up for the cold weather, during which the people said that they live exclusively on bread and water. Their physical condition showed signs of malnutrition and of a-vitaminosis, which would tend to confirm what we were told.

Water is kept in special jars, which, as in the case of Dara, are made only by the women and without a wheel. The material used was local clay mixed with water, no grit or straw temper being employed as far as I could see.

The jars were extremely plain, with no decoration to them at all. The method used to build them up consisted of making small clay sausages with the hands, and then laying these one upon the other to form the outer wall. The handles were made in the same way. The surface was then smoothed with the fingers as shown in Fig. 1.

The picture shows a jar to the right which is only half built up, while one is being smoothed by the woman in the foreground and the other is having one of its handles fixed on. The jar furthest away has not yet been completed, its mouth and handles still lacking. The little cup in the foreground contains water for wetting the clay while smoothing.

Although very primitive in comparison to the finished product of Dara, these Hazara jars are made very much in the same way and without a wheel. It is perhaps worth while recording this, with a view to a better knowledge of the distribution of this technique.

Further information will in time be available from the publications of the Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan, which is in the field until the spring of 1954.

PETER,
Prince of Greece and Denmark
Leader, Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan
(Henning Haslund-Christensen Memorial Mission), 1953–54

Webs of Fantasy. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 152, 229, 281, 304: 1953, 19, 42

74 SIR,—What Dr. Beattie says in effect is that social anthropologists do not claim to be scientists, and it is therefore absurd to accuse them of being unscientific. A scientist is a person who studies change. I have looked through some numbers of *The Advancement of Science*, and all the papers are concerned with change in some form. But the social anthropologist, according to Dr. Beattie, is not interested in change; his sole concern is 'to study societies as they exist at the present time.' He is, that is to say, a kind of special correspondent, whose business is to see, hear and describe, and should he venture beyond this and into the realm of science, he would cease to be a social anthropologist and become an ethnologist. It would be interesting to learn whether this dichotomy is generally accepted.

Usk, Monmouthshire RAGLAN

An Early Ægean Sealstone with Linear Signs. *With a text figure*

75 SIR,—This object is of uncertain provenance and whereabouts. The photographs of it were found among the papers of Sir Arthur Evans. If as is probable they are approximately full scale, the engraved face of the sealstone is about an inch and a quarter (3·5 centimetres) across. There is no indication of the shape of the back. From the soft outlines of the engraving, the material should be serpentine or steatite.

Within an incised circular border, the design is divided into four quadrants, each filled with incised signs. Though each quadrant has a fairly regular rectangle in the middle, the rest of the design is different; and one of the rectangles is divided diagonally. The other

signs (if such they be) include triangles, zigzags, angular lines and dots. Some of these elements very nearly join; but there are no recognizable figures. There is, however, a general impression of intention to draw conventional signs of some kind. At most, the quadrant opposite to that which has the square with diagonal may figure a crouching bird, with neck and head reverted above the square body towards the centre of the engraved disc.

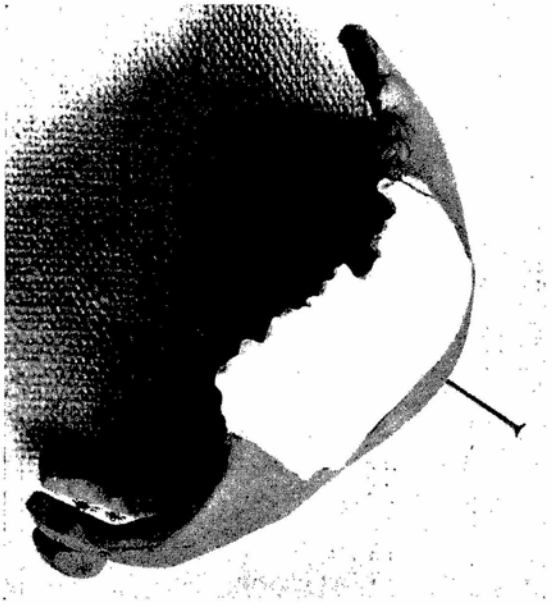
If any reader should recognize this sealstone, his information will be welcome.

JOHN L. MYRES

Note

This note, the last of his writings still in the Honorary Editor's hands at the time of Sir John's death, fittingly concludes this issue, so largely concerned with his life and work, by drawing attention to his appreciation of the minutiæ of scholarship—an appreciation perhaps obscured by the fact that when he had finished with them they often no longer seemed minute at all. Perhaps if a clue can be brought to light, this note may lead some other scholar to a brilliant and fruitful hypothesis in Sir John's own vein.—ED.

(*a*) *Cast of St. Brelade II fragment placed on Hissar child skull (7–8 years). Note contrast in supreme nuchal lines*



(*b*) *Cast of St. Brelade II fragment forming part of plasticine reconstruction of the occipital. Pin marks confluens sinuum*

(*c*) *St. Brelade II fragment. Lateral view (scale in centimetres)*

(*d*) *St. Brelade II fragment. Inner view (scale in centimetres)*

LA COTTE DE ST. BRELADE II

LA COTTE DE ST. BRELADE II: PRESENT STATUS*

by

J. LAWRENCE ANGEL *and* CARLETON S. COON

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76 In July, 1915, five years after Dr. R. R. Marett's discovery of nine Neandertaloid teeth near a Mousterian hearth inside the cave of St. Brelade in the island of Jersey's steep southern cliffs (Marett, 1911), Ernest Daghorn discovered three pieces of possibly human bone in continuing excavations for Dr. Marett and Mr. G. de Gruchy, owner of the cave. These were found in the ravine outside the cave, six feet away from the entrance and as much as 18 feet above the Mousterian cave floor level (Marett, 1916), but apparently under (or in?) a thick deposit of yellow loessic clay and rock fragments ('Head') which is Würmian in date. Marett (1916) mentions the possibility of these fragments having fallen from the cliff above and hesitates to date them. Later excavations by Father C. Burdo (1951) tend to establish their antiquity, though their attribution to a Mousterian rather than later stratum is not certain by conventional archæological methods.

What is their morphological status? Though Keith (Marett, 1916, p. 83) considered them the fragments of a single child's skull, the two smaller pieces are not the 'somewhat anomalous' malar and (?) mandibular fragments of any human skull. But the larger fragment, measuring 44×49 millimetres vertically and horizontally and little over 3 mm. in thickness, is certainly the more lateral part of the occipital squama of a young human skull, based on a 49-mm. stretch of the lambdoid suture from asterion back and up. Though it certainly came from a small skull, the preserved portion of lambdoid suture is only three-fifths of the restored length and the fragment includes horizontally only about three-quarters (49 mm.) of the left occipital, falling 19 mm. short of the estimated midline. The piece thus includes the well marked and wide groove for the lateral venous dural sinus with about 27 mm. of cerebral fossa above this and 9 mm. of cerebellar or infratentorial fossa below this sinus marking. The bone has, as clearly described by Keith, a 'porcelain-like resonance' and is dead white in colour immediately under a thin brownish yellow, black-specked surface patination which covers all broken edges (except a few chips along the lambdoid suture dovetails). But Keith's claim of contortion by cremation (*loc. cit.*) has no foundation whatever: skulls of Bronze and Iron Age cremations (*cf.* Angel, 1951, Gejvall, 1948, Movius, 1934) show a reticulate cracking of the outer and inner tables which if the heat is great enough for distortion may curl back and peel off in the fire like the bark of a burning birch log. Heat which produces only charring or whitening through removal of animal matter scarcely distorts. The present fragment shows three roughly parallel grooves radiating from the midline area above internal inion (missing on the fragment) across the cerebral fossa. The longest (14 mm.) is winding, with a deep U cross section (1·2 mm. deep) and the shortest and uppermost 3 mm. long. Since these are deepest medially and shallow as they wind laterally they are clearly grooves for meningeal blood vessels frequent in this region and not cracks resulting from heat. In any case there is no sign of contortion. The grooves would most plausibly be for meningeal veins draining into the occipital emissary vein or sagittal sinus, but they might be for less usual occipital artery branches. In either case the Swanscombe skull (Le Gros Clark, 1938) gives a parallel, and there are three internal and one external separate vascular foramina lateral to the grooves in the St. Brelade piece.

The lambdoid suture, of medium complexity, is fully open, the bone thickness at asterion is only 3·9 mm. and 3·3 mm. in mid-suture, and diploë, extremely thin, shows at all only where the transverse sulcus is broken across and there is a short indication of a diploic vein. These features suggest a child of about five years old, in agreement with Keith's findings.

Keith states first that the bone is morphologically 'modern man' and then tentatively withdraws definite judgment, admitting the possibility that it is Neandertaloid. We must admit to having had very similar reactions (before reading Keith's previous study).

The cerebral fossa is deep with three clear vertical ridges indicating lateral occipital sulci of the cerebrum. Of these the most medial may be the 'lunate sulcus' placed as far toward the occipital pole as Le Gros Clark tentatively indicates for Swanscombe (1938) and as it may occur in Neandertal and sometimes in modern man. The capacious groove for the transverse sulcus is 1·0 mm. deep and 8–10·5 mm. wide, with sides for tentorial attachment rising 1·6 mm. above the inner table as a whole, thus suggesting that the sagittal sinus turned left instead of right, as also in the Swanscombe occipital. This diversion from the usual blood-flow direction does not necessarily mean a right-brained individual. The transverse sinus crossed full breadth onto the parietal bone at asterion as normally in both modern and Neandertal man, though not in Swanscombe.

Externally the horizontal curve medially from asterion in the faint groove corresponding to transverse sinus and tentorial attachment is fairly sharp (chord 39, subtense 6, ratio 15·4) indicating a small occiput. The vertical curvature seems notably sharp above this horizontal groove in the area of the supreme nuchal lines (chord 15, subtense 2, ratio 13.33) with a perceptible but scarcely measurable concavity corresponding to the groove and indication of a relatively flat *upper* cerebellar area: the impression made when the St. Brelade fragment is expanded by plasticine restoration is an occipital with a protruding bun-shaped upper part and relatively flat cerebellar area (see Plate D*b*) separated by a perceptible but not marked transverse sulcus.

** With Plate D. The Fragments were submitted for Study through the good offices of Dr. K. P. Oakley and of Father C. Burdo and the Curator of the Musée de la Société Jersiaise, St. Helier, where they are kept.*

The fragment fails to extend far enough caudally to include inferior nuchal lines. The superior nuchal lines, starting strongly below asterion, swing medially above the level of the lower edge of the transverse sinus groove, suggesting an inion corresponding with the lower part of the confluens sinuum, and quite faintly marked. The supreme nuchal lines, much more strongly marked, form an easily visible ridge from asterion swinging up almost parallel with the lambdoid suture (6–7 mm. below it) for 32 mm. and then swinging medially 22 mm. above the superior lines with an indication of bending-down towards a hypothetical supra-inial fossa at the restored midline. At 26 mm. from asterion the highest lines are joined by a branch from the superior lines.

In Table I and in Plate D these features of the St. Brelade occipital fragment are compared with three controls through the devices of completing the left half of the St. Brelade fragment in plasticine and also photographing an uncoloured cast of the fragment oriented by the transverse sinus in place against the controls. On this cast the nuchal markings are shown as they appear when the surface is rubbed by graphite held horizontal to the cast surface. The control individuals are: a six-to-seven-year-old child skull from Tepe Hissar (Bronze Age, Iran) in the University of Pennsylvania Museum collection; a cast of the Neandertaloid four-year-old child from Mount Carmel (Skhul I) described by McCown and Keith (1939, pp. 313–16); and a cast of the Swanscombe adult female occipital bone (Clark and Morant, 1938)—both casts made at the University Museum by the American Institute of Human Palæontology. It is most unfortunate that the La Quina Neandertal child (Morant, 1927) has an occipital region too incomplete for comparison, though a sharp curve above the supra-inial groove or fossa can be imagined. Likewise the Gibraltar child lacks the occipital, though the cast of the parietal seems to fit the St. Brelade fragment. The photographs of the Mousterian and partly Neandertaloid eight-to-nine-year-old child from the Teshik-Tash cave (Weidenreich, 1945) seem to show a relatively sharply curved occipital above a definite supra-inial fossa, but are not clear enough for certainty of comparison.

Table I shows the restored St. Brelade occipital to be quite similar to both the younger Mount Carmel child and the older Hissar child in general shape except for a sharper total curve deriving mainly from its upper part (supreme nuchal line area). It may not have been quite so wide as the Mount Carmel occipital. This sharp supra-groove curve of the St. Brelade fragment may seem to foreshadow the so-called 'bun-shaped' upper occiput of adult Neandertal skulls (Boule, 1923; Morant, 1927, photographs; McCown and Keith, 1939). But modern children's skulls often show an equally sharp upper occipital curve, though usually as in the Troy I child's skull (Angel, 1951, Plate I) above a more marked transverse constriction than appears in the St. Brelade fragment.

A more decisive distinction shows up in the very high placement of the supreme nuchal lines 11 mm. above the upper border of the broad transverse sinus groove, 22 mm. above the superior lines, and some 6–11 mm. higher than in the (older) Hissar child and (younger) Mount Carmel child. McCown and Keith (1939, pp. 248f.) point out that the Neandertaloid occipital torus has above it a distinct supra-inial fossa (inion may not be marked by a separate protuberance) limited cranially by an upper line equivalent to the lineæ supremæ. Both lines are higher than in modern skulls, where a distinct supra-inial fossa is rare. Apparently in Neandertal skulls the occipitalis and galea attachment lie higher than in modern man just as the bone wave for the sterno-cleido-mastoid-trapezius sheet's insertion and the splenius insertion push higher than in modern man. Does a high and strong origin of the scalp musculature in childhood mean a Neandertaloid level for the nuchal musculature in adulthood? We do not have enough Neandertal child skulls to answer this point which seems to be the decisive one for placing the St. Brelade fragment, since the Mount Carmel child's slender neck may not be typical for 'Classic Neandertals' (Howell, 1951). Such high supreme nuchal lines are rare in modern children even slightly older than the St. Brelade fragment, as the photographic comparison with the Hissar child shows. The only two examples of equally high lineæ supremæ which we could find include an unusually small, almost microcephalic, skull from Tepe Hissar, and a pathological (rachitic?) dissecting-room skeleton in the Daniel Baugh Institute which shows an unusually small occipital squama asymmetrically flattened as if from excessive pillow pressure (comparable with artificial deformation); both these children's skulls are in the ten-to-twelve-year-old range.

Table I. Measurements of a restoration of the St. Brelade II occipital bone compared with those on Skhul I (partly from a cast), Hissar DF 18 x–21, and a cast of the Swanscombe occipital

Character	*St. Brelade II*	*Skhul I*	*Hissar*	*Swanscombe*
Approximate age	5	4	8	25
Occipital arc	(108—)	105	109	116+
Occipital chord	(82)	87	92	94
Subtense of occ. chord	(32)	28	27—	29
Subtense : chord ratio	(39·0)	32·2	29·4	30·8
Infra-inion arc	(41)	30	43	51
Infra-inion chord	(39)	26	41+	49
Subtense	(4—)	3	4—	5—
Supra-inion arc	(67)	75	66	65
Supra-inion chord	(60)	67	60	60
Subtense	(11)	16·5	11	11
L. Superior-supreme span	22	11	16	30
Inion-supra-inion fossa	(7)	10	6	16
L. Lambdoid suture arc	(81)		81	101
L. Lambdoid suture chord	(72)		74	85
Bi-asterion breadth	(102)	106	98	122
Bi-jugular breadth	(69)		67	84
THICKNESSES				
Medial : lateral thirds:				
Cerebral fossa	2·4 2·4		2·8 3·1	6·5 7·2
Upper tentorial ridge	3·7 3·5		3·4 3·2	11 11
Centre of sinus	3·2 2·3		3·1 3·1	8 8·5
Lower tentorial ridge	4·0 3·7		4·2 4·1	9 9·5
Cerebellar fossa	2·2 2·1		2·0 2·0	6·2 4·0
Lambdoid suture:				
Upper third	3·2		5·0	8·8
Middle	3·3		3·2	8·5
Tentorial ridge	4·6		3·2	13·0
Asterion	3·9		3·2	11·5

The high supreme nuchal lines could be an indication of Palæanthropic similarities for the St. Brelade fragment even though they might foreshadow an occipital like the Swanscombe find with an extremely extensive supra-inial 'area' and supreme nuchal lines 30 mm. above the superior lines. Morphologically the St. Brelade fragment lies between non-Classic Neandertal and modern man in much the same way as do the Swanscombe and Steinheim occipitals. Uncertainties of individual bone variation (*cf.* Mainland, 1945, p. 78), of clear Neandertal-Swanscombe-modern differences, and of the stratigraphic position of St. Brelade II do not allow a definite conclusion. But this discussion fits a theory of reticulate evolution of a number of rather small human populations before and during the last glaciation (*cf.* Wright, 1931, and Vallois, 1949) rather than a picture of sharp species differences between two or more varieties.

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MORALITY AND LANGUAGE AMONG THE NUPE*

by

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77 In various publications on the Nupe I have had occasion to comment on the prudishness of the people and, more particularly, on their severe disapproval of language savouring of obscenity or immodesty.[1] Any open reference to sex and to certain bodily organs or physiological processes would fall under this ban. In this brief note I propose to adduce further evidence for this moral attitude, exemplifying it in the current vocabulary of the people and so demonstrating its firm and far-reaching institutionalization.

The prudish morality reveals itself in the linguistic usage in several ways. To begin with, the Nupe distinguish sharply between expressions which are suitable for polite conversation and others which are not. The former usually take the form of euphemisms or circumlocutions, while the latter, being direct or outspoken, are considered fit only for 'dirty' stories and jokes or for the more careless talk of young people. At the same time certain specific, non-circumlocutory terms are used in the manner of a technical vocabulary, respectable but restricted to a particular class of speakers—the *mallam* or scholarly person. In the conversation both of 'laymen' and 'scholars' the indelicate character of the topic is frequently disguised by the use of loan words from Hausa-Arabic, *i.e.* from a language knowledge of which is itself considered a sign of refinement. In the extreme case, Nupe language may altogether lack the corresponding terms.

Thus Nupe has no specific word for cohabitation. In general conversation or in stories one uses the phrase 'sleeping together' or, metaphorically, the word for eating (*gī*). The word *chĩ* which means generally to love, to be in love, to desire, may also be used to indicate the sexual act, though it is never employed in this sense by older people or 'scholars.' The latter speak instead of *jemayi*, 'to connect,' a word of Arabic derivation. Again, there is no Nupe word for sexual desire save the Hausa word *jaraba* (trial? temptation?). The word for penis, *eba*, is rarely heard even though there is no accepted metaphor for it. The vagina, on the other hand, can be described, more or less indirectly, by a whole series of words. The specific name *dzuko*, which has no second meaning, is definitely a 'dirty' expression and is usually replaced by *enya* ('thing') or *yeta* ('in front'); scholars use the Hausa word *kafa* ('opening'). For anus one says *biye*, which means 'buttocks' as well as 'base,' 'foundation.' The specific

* *With two text figures*

term 'to urinate', *jĩ lori*, is taboo in polite company, though the Hausa, for example, use the corresponding phrase *yi boli* quite freely. A more 'refined' expression, which can be used even in front of the other sex, is *najesa*, which is the Hausa word for excrements. For 'defecate' one invariably uses the circumlocution 'to go outside.' To be pregnant is *de nwã*—a nondescript phrase since *de* merely means 'to have' and *nwã* has many meanings (to lay hold, catch, seize, adhere to). But a more polite usage is to say of a woman that she 'has a belly' (*u de gbako*). Young men among themselves sometimes use a crude and indelicate allusion, saying of a woman that *nw'a gi 'zo*—'she has eaten beans' (which 'blow up the belly'). Menstruation is described by a Hausa-Arabic term, *alada, lit.* 'the customary,' or by the circumlocutions 'the month' or 'the woman's thing.' For semen, too, there is only an Arabic 'technical' term, used by scholars—*maniyi*. Otherwise one speaks of *tiya*, an unspecific term derived from *ti*, to drip, bleed, flow (as a spring), etc. Some of my uneducated informants simply spoke of 'water from the penis.' The absence of a specific term for semen seems to indicate an uncertain physiological knowledge apart from a prudish use of language, for the same informants also believed that conception was caused by the infusion of male urine into the womb.[2]

The avoidance of suggestions of obscenity equally characterizes Nupe folklore of all kinds. The Nupe distinguish between two kinds of stories, *etã*, 'serious' stories, *i.e.* mythical or historical accounts of instructive value told by the old men or scholars, and *echĩ*, 'mere tales'—fables and other stories, moralizing or humorous, which serve mainly for the entertainment of the young people. The first kind of tale, of which I have what I believe is a complete record, contains not a single obscene reference. My collection of *echĩ*, though not perhaps complete, is yet sufficiently large to substantiate the claim made above. Of the 21 stories I collected only two contain 'indelicate' references, both of a humorous kind and approximating to what the Nupe would regard as 'smutty jokes.' In both cases the obscene allusions are toned down through being embodied in (easily understood) puns.

The first story, called 'The Rich Man,' tells how the friend of a rich man was able to read the thoughts of the latter ('the speech in his heart') owing to a magic medicine which he had acquired. The owner of the medicine eventually made a present of it to his friend, who at the time had no clothes on and did not know where to put the medicine. It slipped from his hands and fell to the ground. Before the man could get hold of it, it was swallowed up by the ground. Now, the word for 'ground' is the same as for 'penis'; thus the story concludes with this jocular 'moral': 'In this fashion the ground [penis] acquired the secret of the medicine. Thus when a woman pleases you, the penis [or the ground] understands the speech of your heart at once [*i.e.* becomes erect].'

The second story is called 'How Men became Husbands' and goes as follows. At one time there was a town where there were only men, and another where there were only women The king of the Town of Men sent a clever young man to the Town of Women to obtain wives, and the young man did so by the following stratagem: he placed the handle of a hoe in a pot filled with the sweet and potent sediment from sorghum beer, and peddled it in the Town of Women, claiming that it was a new kind of food, called *kparaba* (an invented word, which can, however, be understood to mean 'skin of the penis'). Describing the beer as 'sediment of the penis,' he induced the women to lick the handle, which they found so tasty that they were keen to have more of the new food. After having consumed it all the women became so intoxicated that they followed the young man to the Town of Men, where they were captured and made the wives of the inhabitants. The conclusion

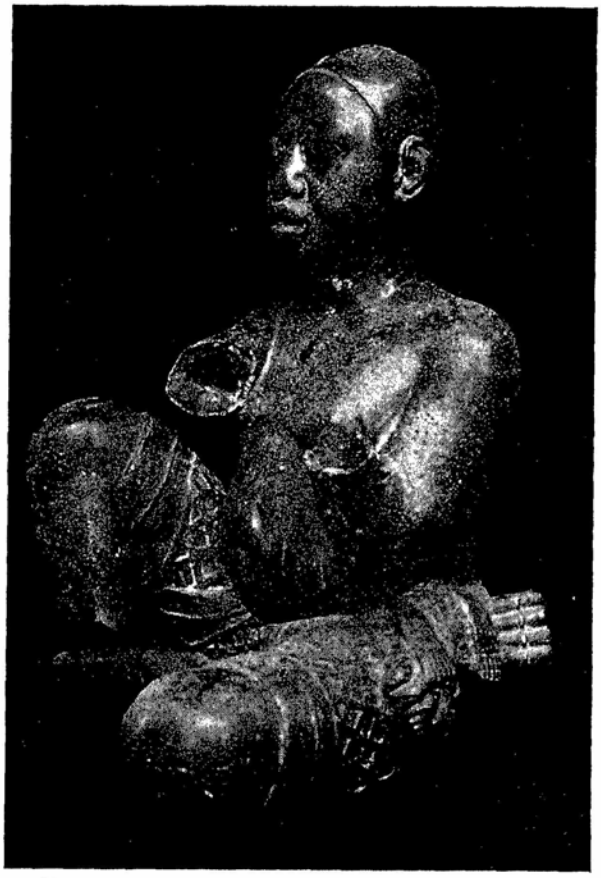

FIG. 1. BRONZE FIGURE AT TADA ON THE NIGER
H. 22¼ *inches.* Cf. MAN, 1931, 261; 1934, 193.
Photograph: B. E. B. Fagg

of the story makes use of another pun based on the identity of *eba*, 'penis,' and *eba*, 'husband,' thus: 'In this fashion the young man brought it about that the men now had wives . . . He brought it about that the women tasted the sweetness of husbands [or of the penis], of beer, and of the food called Skin of Penis, so that they will never again give up that taste.'

The existence of stories of this kind, even though they are few, and the accepted convention of jokes employing 'dirty' words, clearly represent an escape from and a highly conscious reaction to the normal restraint. And this breaks down also, as I have described elsewhere, in the songs sung

at one annual festival whose whole character indicates a unique occasion for sexual licence.[3] Apart from this instance and one further sexual allusion in the rules of divining (which are, however, only known to the expert),[4] the large number of songs, riddles and proverbs current in Nupe are entirely without any mention of obscene or even 'indelicate' topics.

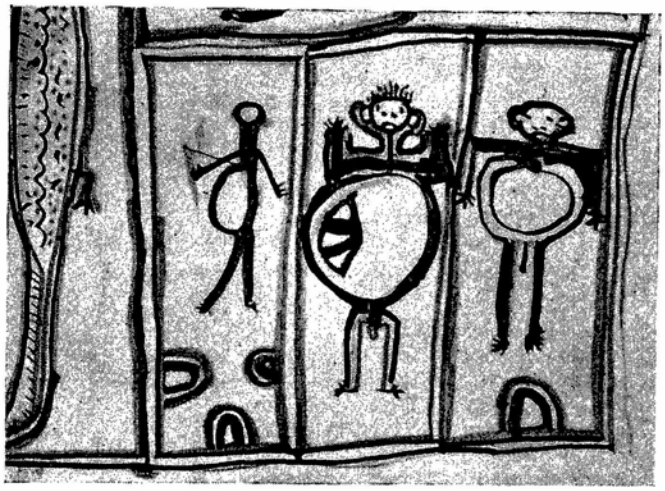

Fig. 2. Drawings by Nupe boys

With a language so circumscribed it is difficult to imagine any planned instruction of the young in sexual matters. Nor does it exist. Children learn the 'facts of life' in the same haphazard manner as they do with us, and Nupe parents consider this state of affairs not only normal but adequate. To certain undesirable facts one simply shuts one's eyes. Thus my informants denied, when directly questioned, that Nupe boys ever masturbated; when confronted with incontrovertible evidence they admitted that parents did sometimes observe this kind of 'play' and would warn their boys that it was a 'bad thing.'

From this tacit disregard for sex, too, there is some escape: thus in certain crude drawings made by young boys I found the private parts of men or women prominently displayed (see fig. 2). But this 'escape' does not crystallize in any firm convention. Nor has the taste for realistic drawings much chance of survival in a culture by and large devoid of representational art. The few (non-indigenous) examples of realistic art which have been preserved in Nupe are, incidentally, nearly all highly decorous (see fig. 1).

In conclusion it is relevant to emphasize that the inferences here drawn from linguistic usage are justified by the intense interest which the Nupe show in the semantic aspect of their language. One illustration of this is the predilection for puns, which is widely characteristic of Nupe folklore; another, the general readiness of the people to engage in etymological speculations.[5] It can be said without exaggeration that the Nupe are truly fascinated by the meanings of words and their exploration. When they employ metaphors or otherwise manipulate expressions, they are always fully aware of the semantic implications. Thus the words which we here assumed to reveal (or conceal) a particular meaning, bearing on standards of taste and morality, have precisely this significance for the users also.

Notes

[1] See *A Black Byzantium*, p. 396; 'The *gani* Ritual of Nupe,' *Africa*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, p. 181; *Nupe Religion*, pp. 113, 118, 218, 219.

[2] Here I wish to qualify a statement made in my book on *Nupe Religion*, where I referred to this lack of accurate physiological knowledge in somewhat too positive and sweeping terms (*op. cit.*, p. 21).

[3] See 'The *gani* Ritual of Nupe,' *loc. cit.*, p. 183.

[4] See *Nupe Religion*, p. 44.

[5] I have quoted numerous examples in *Nupe Religion*.

OBITUARY

Ralph Linton: 1893–1953. *With a portrait*

78 The death of Ralph Linton in New Haven, Connecticut, on 24 December, 1953, prevented him from receiving the Huxley Memorial Medal for 1954.

Born on 27 February, 1893, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, of a liberal Quaker family, Linton's early education and his college training at Swarthmore College were both under Quaker tutelage. His first field work was carried out during an interim in his studies in 1912. Returning to Swarthmore, he took his B.A. there in 1915, and in 1916 received his M.A. in anthropology from the University of Pennsylvania. After another field season, he went to New York to study under Franz Boas at Columbia University. Linton belonged to the generation whose graduate study was interrupted by the First World War. He served from 1917 to 1919 in the Rainbow Division and was gassed while on active duty in France. Following his discharge from the U. S. Army, he joined the crew working under J. Walter Fewkes at Mesa Verde and after a year at Harvard University spent 1920–1921 in the Marquesas Islands.

It is a comment upon the breadth of his anthropological training that although the division of activities arranged by the B. P. Bishop Museum of Honolulu called for him to study Marquesan archæology and material culture while Dr. E. S. C. Handy covered other aspects of the culture, he found time for detailed observations on daily life. In order to understand the principles of Marquesan art, a subject with which he had been entrusted, he found it necessary to study under a master carver and developed a proficiency which led him to execute orders and receive payment for them from the Marquesans. The warmth which was later to characterize many of his personal relations came out in this first prolonged contact with a native people. He was adopted as a brother by a young man, Fiu; and frequently stayed as guest in one of the last of the old polyandrous households.

On his return from Honolulu in 1922, Linton became Assistant Curator at the Field Museum, now the Chicago Natural History Museum. He received the degree of Ph.D. from Harvard in 1925 and the same year left for Madagascar for a 2½-year field trip. In the autumn of 1928 he took up his first teaching assignment, at the University of Wisconsin, and was made professor the next year. He continued both archæological and ethnological field work and, after the retirement of Boas in 1936, went to Columbia in 1937, where he was Chairman of the Department of Anthropology from 1939 to 1943. It was during Linton's years at Columbia that I had the privilege of working with him. In 1946,

he went to New Haven as Sterling Professor of Anthropology at Yale University.

Academic disciplines in the United States are grouped in three national councils. Anthropology is the only discipline represented on all three and Linton was at various times a member of each: the National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, and the American Council of Learned Societies. He was also elected to membership in the National Academy of Sciences and served as Chairman of its Division of Anthropology from 1948 to 1950. He had acted as Vice-President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, as President of the American

RALPH LINTON
Photograph: White Studio, c. 1940

Ethnological Society, and as Editor and, later, President of the American Anthropological Association. In 1951, he was Viking Fund Medallist in general anthropology.

Perhaps Linton's greatest contribution to the science of which he was so active an exponent came through his unique gift for assimilation and integration. Not only were both archæology and ethnology represented in his own field work, but he kept well abreast of developments in physical anthropology. The fact that he was chosen to deliver the Thomas William Salmon Lecture at the New York Academy of Medicine in November, 1953, on 'Culture and Mental Disorders' was as much a reflection of this interest as of the part he had played in studies of personality. Although not himself a linguist, he was well aware of the importance of linguistics and was instrumental in 1940 in sending out the Columbia training group for cultural and linguistic work among the Comanche. Such integration of subject matter is relatively common among the better American anthropologists. But Linton went further by using his special gift in this direction for an integration of anthropology with other disciplines. The years at Wisconsin were particularly devoted to assimilation of sociology, and his early (1936) book on *The Study of Man* has become a classic in both fields. His work at Columbia brought him in direct contact with people active in various branches of psychology and he was able greatly to develop an earlier interest in the field of psychology and social anthropology, leading to the publication in 1945 of *The Cultural Background of Personality*.

It is impossible to judge, in assessing such a contribution as Linton's, which part of it is original and which derived. Actually, this is an idle question, for the lucidity of thought and expression which makes the feat possible is in itself an original contribution of the first magnitude. The same ability led Linton to appreciate almost instantaneously the relevance and value of another's comment, and he was among the first to realize the potential significance of certain new trends in anthropology. As a member of the Sub-Committee on Acculturation of the Social Science Research Council, he contributed towards the formulation of the concepts used in early works on acculturation and edited in 1940 *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*. In similar fashion, he wielded considerable influence when anthropology veered, largely because of the war effort, toward modern and non-primitive societies, editing in 1945 and 1949 respectively *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* and *Most of the World*, and encouraging such works as *A Chinese Village* by M. C. Yang in 1945. Through the last he also became actively involved in village studies, a subject which was subsequently to play such a role in anthropology. Although he had been suffering from a heart ailment for some years, Linton continued teaching and at the time of his death was at work on a book, *The Tree of Culture*, a subject exemplifying his world-wide grasp of cultural dynamics. It is hoped that this will be completed by his wife, Adelin M. Hohlfeld, with whom he had several times collaborated.

Despite the fact that Linton often talked from what seemed to be strong prejudices, I never knew him in his years at Columbia to pass over or reject a student because of prejudice. He derived great personal satisfaction from his skill as an undergraduate lecturer and from the lasting friendships he built up with graduate students. His least successful personal relationships seem to have been with some of the colleagues in his own field. One can hardly do justice in a few paragraphs to the whole gamut of his social contacts, which were wide indeed, nor to the breadth of his enthusiasms. Some clue to the latter may be given by mentioning that just before his death he arranged with the Yale University Art Gallery for an exhibition of selections from his notable collection of African sculpture. This collection was formed during the latter years of his life and served as a culminating point for his more general interests in primitive art, an interest which derived in turn from his fascination with the beauty of semi-precious stones.

This transition from an appreciation acquired in an early knowledge of geology to an important contribution in a related field gives a significant clue to Linton's whole approach. His was a highly productive life, not only effective in his profession but influential in the general thought of his generation. Anthropology is fortunate in having had such a figure and can ill afford his loss.

MARIAN W. SMITH

Note

A bibliography of Professor Linton's works (not including book reviews) appears in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. LVI (1954), No. 2, pp. 279–81 (published before, although dated after, this issue of MAN; see also a correction in Vol. LVI, No. 3, p. 526).—ED.

SHORTER NOTES

Applied Shoe-Ornamentation. *By R. Wheeler Haines, Royal Medical College, Baghdad, formerly of the Department of Anatomy, University of Sheffield. With a text figure*

79 The persistence of once useful features as ornamental remnants is well known to anthropologists, particularly in clothing, where the turn-ups of trousers and incisures in lapels offer familiar examples. Shoes follow a similar pattern of evolution. Thus a functional strap and buckle (fig. 1, A) help to hold the shoe on the foot and are fastened up every time the shoe is put on. In 'smart' shoes (B) they migrate towards the toes so as not to break the continuity of the shin-instep line, and there they may still help to fit the shoe to the foot, but need no longer be undone before the shoe is taken off. The buckle in C

Fig. 1. Shoe ornaments

preserves its essential parts but is no longer functional and only one hole is provided in the strap, while in D a buckle and articulated strap persist as non-functional applied ornaments. In E the strap persists without a buckle as a dwarfed remnant.

A functional lace passing through several pairs of holes and tied in a bow (F) becomes restricted to a single pair as it moves distally (G), and the holes disappear altogether in court shoes. The lace and bow may persist (H), or become enlarged (I), or the bow may be represented by a shaped leather strap (J) or loop (K) or both (L), gathered into an imitation knot, and the knot may become paired (M).

The tongue, which in a high-built shoe protects the dorsum of the foot against the pressure of the buckle (A) or lace (F) and helps to make the shoe more watertight, may disappear as its function is lost (E and H), or may become enlarged as an ornament (B and G). It may be transferred to the outside of the shoe (N) where it may be combined with a functionless lace (O) or imitation bow.

Buttons have already disappeared as functional units in adult footwear, but were common enough in the early part of this century. A remnant of the row of buttons and holes persists in P, and the row is reduced to two members in Q, still in their old positions on the sides of the shoe, with the holes represented by stitching. Whether this is the last museum piece of its kind or whether the buttons will persist indefinitely, as have those on the cuffs of men's jackets, remains to be seen.

Painted, embossed and embroidered designs include steer's heads, flowers, repeating designs and so forth, and an occasional pom-pom, rosette, cockade or even a naturalistic rose (R) may be found as applied ornaments, usually on bedroom slippers or dancing shoes. But for outdoor wear applied ornament is still restricted to features functional in other designs or recently so, no new motif having been introduced. The parts are breaking up just as the wheels, car and driver became separated in the imported chariot designs of early British coins. The beginnings of duplication are seen in M, and these may lead to a formalized running design as did the obsolete knobstops on Anglo-Saxon brooches or lizards' tails on lime spatulæ in the Anchorite Islands.

Many modern ornaments, particularly bows, rosettes and enlarged tongues, can be matched in seventeenth-century footwear worn by both sexes (see R. Turner Wilcox, *The Mode in Footwear*, London, 1948). These features lingered on, often in dwarfed form, through the following century, but became rare in the late nineteenth century with the universal adoption of plain long-pointed shoes. The modern ornaments probably belong to a new cycle of development, and may disappear in their turn, or alternatively, may become reintegrated into new naturalistic designs as the significance of the older forms is lost. The bow may yet become a pair of rabbit's ears or the buckle a human face.

Pleistocene Man in Italy and Germany. *By F. E. Zeuner, D.Sc., Ph.D., Professor of Environmental Archæology in the University of London*

80 In the summer of 1953, two important conferences took place in Italy and Germany, respectively, at which I had the honour to represent the Royal Anthropological Institute and the University of London. Both congresses were organized by the International Association for Quaternary Research (I.N.Q.U.A.). At Rome and Pisa, the fourth International Congress united some 400 participants from about 50 countries, and its field-work programme included excursions in Apulia, Sicily and the Italo-French Riviera, apart from short excursions in the areas of Naples, Rome and Pisa. The second congress was that of the German section of the I.N.Q.U.A. at Stuttgart.

The International Association for Quaternary Research is concerned with the co-ordination of geology, palæontology, prehistory and anthropology, and in this respect both meetings were successful. It was perhaps to be regretted that in Rome a special Anthropological Section was instituted, with the result that any member interested in both anthropology and prehistoric environment and chronology inevitably missed many papers. But this is a difficulty inherent in all large congresses. About a dozen papers on anthropological subjects were offered at the International Congress. They will be published in due course in the *Proceedings*. Contributions were made, among others, by J. Avias on the Neocaledonians, Neanderthal man and the origin of the white races, by L. Cabot-Briggs on the pre-neolithic peoples of north-west Africa, by L. Cipriani on the survival of prehistoric (pre-lithic?) customs in the Andaman Islands, by K. Hasebe on a human pelvis from the Lower Pleistocene of Japan, by M. Carlo on the pre-neolithic human occupation of Sardinia, by R. Parenti on human remains from the Bronze Age of Tuscany, by J. Piveteau on the cranial structures of Mousterian Man, by S. Sergi on the morphological position of Swanscombe and Fontéchevade man, and by M. van der Vlerk on ash and fluorine percentage of mammalian remains, an application of the X-ray method successfully developed by Professor E. Niggli in Leiden.

At the meeting of the German section, G. Heberer discussed

the grouping of the Hominids of the Pleistocene. The Proceedings of the Stuttgart meeting will be published in *Eiszeitalter und Gegenwart*, the periodical of the German section.

Much of the exchange of ideas took place at demonstrations in museums and in the field. Professor Sergi showed the skulls of Saccopastore and Monte Circeo, and many sites were visited on excursions.

The following paragraphs contain a few notes and observations concerning sites visited, which are interesting from the anthropological point of view.

Steinheim. The stratigraphical age of the Steinheim skull is of particular importance, since this specimen shows certain features intermediate between Neanderthal man and *Homo sapiens*. The site lies in the gravels of the river Murr, in Württemberg. To begin with, the sequence of gravels was interpreted as a climatic one, and three dates were considered possible,[1] Great Interglacial, Interstadial of the Penultimate Glaciation or Last Interglacial. Since then, the position of the site in a tectonic basin which was sinking during the Pleistocene has been established,[2] and the fauna studied in detail.[3] Dr. K. Adam of the Stuttgart Museum has now satisfied himself that the gravels consist of several levels, namely: younger 'mammoth' gravel; main 'mammoth' gravel; *Elephas antiquus* gravel; older 'mammoth' gravel. These divisions were already recognized by the first describer of the skull, Dr. F. Berckhemer,[4] though the careful analysis of the fauna by Adam has made it highly probable that the main 'mammoth' gravel, with its *Elephas* transitional between *E. trogontherii* and *E. primigenius*, cannot be more recent than the Penultimate Glaciation. The *E. antiquus* gravel in which the skull was found, therefore, belongs to the Great Interglacial.

The Steinheim skull thus becomes virtually contemporaneous with Swanscombe man, a conclusion which has important implications. It has been said that the Swanscombe fragments would not be out of place in a skull of the Steinheim type. If now the two may be considered as of the same stratigraphical age, the question of their specific identity has to be raised in earnest. Should they prove to be identical, the isolated position of Swanscombe man would be much weakened, for Steinheim would provide him with a dose of neanderthaloid features, particularly of the face. On the other hand, neanderthaloid traits are now proved to have been present in a type of *Homo* which lived in the Great Interglacial, and the chronological gap which hitherto existed between the early Neanderthalers of the Last Interglacial and the Mauer jaw (attributed to the Neanderthal groups by Weidenreich) would be bridged.

Circeo Man. At San Felice Circeo, the Grotta Guattari was visited where A. C. Blanc discovered the Monte Circeo skull.[5] This Neanderthal specimen lay, surrounded by a circle of stones, on a horizontal surface of angular gravel in a cave originally formed, in a cemented slope breccia of earlier date, during the Late Monastirian (Last Interglacial). The fossil beach was exposed in an excavation made for the Congress members outside the entrance. The skull had been deposited in a stone setting inside the cave, which was subsequently closed by a fall of talus. Thereafter, pearly stalagmite was formed which covered the skull and the floor. This type of stalagmite indicates under-water conditions. There is still a lake in a remote corner, and in places a line with a black edge suggests a water level. Professor Blanc informs me that the cave is still flooded occasionally under present-day conditions.

According to this evidence, the skull (and the detached mandible found) may have been deposited in the cave as early as very late in the Last Interglacial, when the recession of the sea had begun. Or one may place it in the first phase of the Last Glaciation.[6] This is the view which A. C. Blanc regards as the most likely in the excursion guide provided for the Congress members. Nevertheless, in the *Catalogue des Hommes fossiles*, recently published in the *C.R. XIX Congr. Int. Géol. Alger*, Sergi and Blanc give the age as 'Epi-Würm II,' without qualification. Such late age cannot be deduced from the evidence afforded by the cave. It is possibly based on the hypothesis of the late survival of the Mousterian in Italy. On either view, however, the Circeo skull is later than the two Neanderthal calvaria from Saccopastore near Rome, which are placed in the Last Interglacial by all investigators. Unfortunately, the site of Saccopastore has become the victim of the expanding city of Rome.

Neanderthal Footprints. The Tana della Basua, a cave near Toirano, was visited on the Ligurian excursion. Since 1950 it has yielded hand- and footprints of cave-bear-hunters.[7] Footprints have been found before in caves, for instance, by N. Casteret in Aldène cave in Dep. Hérault, S. France.[8] But these belonged to a man essentially like *Homo sapiens*. The footprints of the Basua cave are of different proportions, relatively short and very broad across the toes, and the fifth toe appears to have been less reduced than in *H. sapiens*. Hence most authorities suspect them of belonging to *H. neanderthalensis*. They are being studied by Professor L. Pales, sous-directeur of the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine in Paris. He points out that there is some similarity with the footprints of the modern race of New Caledonia, whose possible affinities with Neanderthal man were the subject of a Congress paper. The view that the New Caledonians have neanderthaloid feet is, however, much older; it goes back to Sarasin.

Barma Grande. The caves of the Italo-French Riviera did not suffer during the war, except the Barma Grande, which is well known for the six burials of Cro-Magnon man found in it.[9] The cave was blasted by mines, and the two skeletons of the triple burial, formerly exhibited *in situ*, destroyed. The adult male skeleton of the triple burial, however, once kept outside the cave in the museum, was saved and is again on exhibition in the temporary building that has been erected. The cranium and long bones of the fourth skeleton found by Abbo have been rescued also.

Representations of Upper Palæolithic Man. Addaura Caves, Sicily. These caves of the Monte Pelegrino near Palermo have recently yielded a remarkable series of engravings including several human figures.[10] In Addaura Cave II, a cemented kitchen midden covered the engravings which were exposed when shells left over from the war were exploded. Under the breccia which peeled off there appeared some 30 representations of fallow deer, horse, wild cattle and man, their lines being as sharp and neat as they were when flint-cut with burins many thousands of years ago. In style, they are Upper Palæolithic, the hands and feet and the details of the faces of the men being characteristically neglected. That the engravings are older than the Neolithic is proved by the absence of potsherds and obsidian from the kitchen midden. Whether the chert industry of the midden is Mesolithic or Upper Palæolithic is more difficult to decide, but, since the midden covered the engravings, these are evidently older. Its Upper Palæolithic age may, therefore, be accepted both on stylistic and stratigraphical grounds.

Most of the human figures belong to a scene centred on two 'acrobats' shown in the position of performing a sort of trapeze act. About 12 persons are shown, all in attitudes full of life and with gracefully shaped bodies. Physically they suggest tall, slender people with a body of European or Mediterranean proportions. They are not prognathous, and some may have a short, pointed beard. Most of the figures have an abundance of hair on the head, hanging down behind mop-fashion. The only conspicuous exception is one of the acrobats whose head looks clean-shaven, though his chin appears to be adorned with a pointed beard.

At least two figures are described as wearing pointed 'bird' masks. The alternative view that the supposed masks are no more than large examples of pointed beards cannot be ruled out. The importance of the Addaura discovery lies in the unexpected details it provides of the body proportions of Upper Palæolithic man.

Notes

1 F. E. Zeuner, *Dating the Past*, 3rd edn. (London, 1952), p. 299.
2 G. Wagner, *Einführung in die Erd- und Landschaftsgeschichte* (Öhringen, 1950).
3 F. Berckhemer, 'Die Wirbeltierfunde aus den Schottern von Steinheim a. d. Murr,' *Jahresber. Oberrhein. geol. Verg.*, 1930 (publ. 1933), pp. 89–103.
4 F. Berckhemer, 'Ein Menschenschädel aus den diluvialen Schottern von Steinheim an der Murr,' *Anthrop. Anz.*, Vol. X (1933), part 4, pp. 318–21, Plate 6.
5 A. C. Blanc, 'L'uomo fossile del Monte Circeo,' *R.C.R. Accord. Maz. Lincei Roma*, 4 March, 1939.
6 F. E. Zeuner, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
7 A. C. Blanc, *Ill. London News*, 1 March, 1952, pp. 377–9.
8 N. Casteret, *Ill. London News*, 9 October, 1948, p. 408.
9 P. Graziosi, *I Balzi Rossi: Itinerari Liguri*, Ist. int. Stud. Lig. Bordighera (1951).
10 J. Marconi Bovio, *Boll. Paltenol. ital.* (Rome, 1953); A. C. Blanc, *Ill. London News*, 1 August, 1953, p. 187.

Far Eastern Prehistory Association

81 At the conclusion of the Fourth Far Eastern Prehistory Congress, which was held at Manila in November, 1953, in conjunction with the Eighth Pacific Science Congress, it was decided to form a permanent organization with the above name. The Association will decide the date and place of future congresses, and it is hoped that local branches will be established each of which will be concerned with a subdivision of the Far Eastern and Oceanic area. It is also intended to send to members a semi-annual newsletter. The Hon. Chairman is Professor H. Otley Beyer, and the Council consists of eleven members each representing a different Far Eastern territory. Bernard P. Groslier is Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Dr. Roger Duff (Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, New Zealand) is Hon. Secretary. Membership is by invitation.

REVIEWS

AFRICA

Ethnographic Survey of Africa. *London (Internat. African Inst.)*

82 **The Central Nilo-Hamites.** *By P. and P. H. Gulliver.* 1953. *Pp.* 106. *Price* 12*s.* **The Northern Nilo-Hamites.** *By G. W. B. Huntingford.* 1953. *Pp.* 108. *Price* 13*s.* **The Swazi.** *By H. Kuper.* 1952. *Pp.* 89. *Price* 7*s.* 6*d.* **The Ovimbundu of Angola.** *By M. McCulloch.* 1952. *Pp.* [vi], 50. *Price* 7*s.* 6*d.* **The Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya.** *By J. Middleton.* 1953. *Pp.* 107. *Price* 9*s.* 6*d.* **The Coastal Tribes of the North-Eastern Bantu.** *By A. H. J. Prins.* 1952. *Pp.* [viii], 138. *Price* 10*s.* 6*d.* **The Southern Sotho.** *By V. G. J. Sheddick.* 1953. *Pp.* 88. *Price* 8*s.* 6*d.* **The Lozi Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia.** *By V. W. Turner.* 1952. *Pp.* 62. *Price* 7*s.* 6*d.*

The general scheme on which the Ethnographic Survey of Africa is arranged and the aims with which it is presented are well known to the readers of MAN, and need not further be pointed out.

These eight sections conform to the high standards of those that have already appeared. All who wish to make a study of one of the peoples concerned will find an invaluable introduction in these handy volumes. The bibliographies, though not always complete, are very useful, as are the maps.

It is regrettable that not all of the studies are supplied with an index, thus making it difficult to compare the data on the individual tribes, particularly where the volumes are not arranged on a single scheme. Of course, it must be admitted that not all of the material allows a uniform handling; however, somewhat more conformity could have been achieved. Some authors, for instance, use the heading 'Main Cultural Features,' to cover the most diverse subjects, such as religion (Prins) and crafts (Huntingford). This reminds one of the '*potpourri*' of some older ethnographical works.

In general, the chief importance of the eight volumes lies in their being 'self-contained studies.' Their weakness is due to the fact that the authors do not show to full advantage most of the possible cross-cultural references. In reading some of the studies, one might easily get the impression that cultural similarities in content and structure are of minor importance in the African field. Mostly only passing remarks or general statements on some cultural affinity, not substantiated under a separate caption, are given. An exception is the section on the Northern Nilo-Hamites, although even here the scope of the discussion is very restricted and is limited to the internal division of the Nilo-Hamites.

What one feels to be lacking in these volumes is a short sketch describing the main cultural affinities with the neighbouring tribes. Though we may not want an ambitious approach along the lines of the culture-area concept, it is clear that the treatment of the African tribes almost as separate, entirely self-contained entities is no more to be desired. The fact that for instance Ovimbundu culture shows many resemblances with Ba Djok (Chokwe) culture is undeniable and important enough, but it does not imply that these cultures are to be labelled as belonging to one culture area. Nor does the recognition that in East Africa many similar pastoral traditions are widely distributed inevitably involve the acceptance of the cattle-culture-area concept. But lack of space does not allow a more comprehensive treatment of the problem.

Other criticisms affect only details and cannot all be enumerated. For instance, looking at the map of the Lozi peoples one wonders about Portuguese East Africa being situated to the west of Northern Rhodesia.

Sometimes one would like to see a particular subject more extensively discussed, but this depends partly on subjective considerations. So one would perhaps have favoured the warlike and cattle-raiding traditions of the Akamba with more attention than Middleton has done. On the whole, however, the authors have succeeded in neatly balancing the relative importance of the material and in giving a reliable account of our present knowledge of the peoples concerned.

A. A. TROUWBORST

Ethnographic Survey of Africa: The Ewe-Speaking People of Togoland and the Gold Coast. *By Madeline Manoukian.*

83 *London (Int. Afr. Inst.)*, 1952. *Pp.* 63. *Price* 7*s.* 6*d.*

The aim of this booklet, states Professor Daryll Forde in his foreword, 'is to provide a concise, critical and accurate account of our present knowledge of the tribal groupings . . . of African peoples, . . . and to point out the direction in which the need for further studies is most pressing. . . . It will be obvious,' he adds, 'that the material . . . presented can make no claim to be complete or definite.'

Read in terms of this apology, the booklet leaves little to be desired, but would it not have been valuable if, in addition, the author had shown the extent to which 'our present knowledge' is itself 'concise, critical and accurate'? Had this been done, a clearer bird's-eye view of Ewe social organization would perhaps have emerged. Since, moreover, the author's mandate embraced no more than the isolated aspect which each previous investigator had selected for himself, it is not surprising that her otherwise masterly integration of these aspects should also have failed to reveal the inner coherence which holds the different components of Ewe culture together.

The author admits insufficient information or knowledge here and there, but the 'direction in which the need for further studies is most pressing' abounds even where no such admission is made. Ewe kinship, we are told, is patrilinear and consists of (*a*) *fome*, *i.e.* persons claiming common descent from a specific patrilineage; (*b*) *hlo*, *i.e.* persons claiming descent from an unspecified lineage. Obviously, *fome* is a 'compound' family consisting of several 'simple' or father-mother-offspring units, but we are told nothing of its depth or span, or the extent to which it overflows into *hlo*. Since a patrilocal *fome* is bound to be large in time, is there in each *fome* an advisory body of sub-heads over whom the lineage head presides?

Little or nothing is available regarding the place and function of *hlo* in Ewe society. There are eight to fifteen different clans among the Ewe; the exact number is uncertain. Persons claiming common descent from a specific patrilineage (*fome*) belong to the same clan. The clan, therefore, is made up of several *fomewo* (plural for *fome*) whose specific patrilineages differ, but who share a common unspecified lineage. It seems clear that the clan must have a head. If so, who is he and what is his status in relation to the lineage heads?

The section on marriage has admirable detail, and shows clearly the important part played by women relatives. The term 'marriage-payment,' however, is misleading since it does not truly translate the Ewe *srodenu* (marriage token), *agbadonu* (an article to pack for a journey), or *akpedanu* (an article conveying gratitude).

The available material on Ewe political structure contains useful names of various administrative councils and office-bearers; it provides no real insight, however, into their functions. Much confusion arises in the reader's mind in relation to definition of the term *du*. This could have been avoided had the author prefaced her definition with a description of Ewe sub-tribes and the territories occupied by them. The term *du* may be used in connexion with the whole of Ewe country (the author does not state this), or in connexion with the sub-tribe and its territory. It may signify a town, or a village which is the seat of an intermediate *fia*. An intermediate *fia* is subordinate to the *fiaga* of the whole sub-tribe, but has jurisdiction over the whole or part of a town, or over a group of villages. The intermediate *fia's* court is the first court of appeal from the headmen of subsidiary villages, the *fiaga's* court being the highest indigenous appellate. In fact, the *du* and *fia* system of each sub-tribe is a combined politico-military hierarchy in which the various *fiawo* (plural for *fia*), take their place according to the historical importance of their 'stools.' My father, for example, who is Fia of Adina, holds a military command in the centre wing (*Adotrifia*) of the Some sub-tribe.

Parrinder's *West African Psychology* and *West African Religion* would have been an asset to the author's classification of Ewe religious beliefs and supernatural practices. There is much that is incomplete and even misleading in Spieth's study of Ewe religion. One may forgive Bascom, but not the Ewe-speaking missionary Spieth, for denying the religious basis of Yewe. The thunder god So or Hebioso is the central figure in Yewe cult. The vitality of this cult is partly evident in the fact that it alone is responsible for seven major drummings with their characteristic songs and dances. Many words of Yewe rituals and songs are esoteric, but Spieth would have discovered their religious significance had he sought enlightenment. The ability of certain missionaries to read eroticism or pornography into African religious cults and dances is truly pathological. I have learnt to perform four Yewe dances with the music group of the West African Arts Club in London, and found them completely devoid of sexual mime. It is interesting to note that Parrinder's views (see *West African Religion*) on Yewe are opposed to those of Spieth.

There is some danger in studying African peoples, particularly the Ewe, without reference to their modes of self-expression; especially as the essence of any single aspect of life may be crystallized in its related ritual poetry, music, drumming and dancing. Nevertheless, the author's almost impregnable synthesis of available studies evokes admiration and respect. A synthesis of this kind is, of course, most valuable, but its insight is somewhat limited for the general reader, who has no opportunities for further research in the field.

S. D. CUDJOE

Contribution to the Ethnography of Africa. *By Sture Lagercrantz. Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia, I. Upsala, 1950. Pp. xx, 430, 97 text figs., 69 maps. Price £9*

84 The term 'culture history' might have been a better choice for the title than 'ethnography,' which suggests an integrated description. The book comprises a miscellany of sixty-odd distributional studies, largely gleanings from fields which have been harvested before, by the author himself as well as by others. It is in fact little more than an expensively published card index with distribution maps; but in addition to mapping the various artifacts, domestic animals, customs, etc., the author assigns them to the hypothetical primary culture complexes as postulated by Baumann.

The items dealt with are classified, more or less appropriately and sometimes rather oddly, under the eight categories of Food (stamping out grain by human labour; long and short threshing sticks; threshing with animals; threshing sledges; threshing waggons; forbidden eggs; East Hamitic milking customs; blood-letting bows; domestic cats; domestic pigeons; domestic ducks; domestic geese; turkeys; Old Sudanese rat-snares; birdlime; stalking animals; spiked wheel traps; torsion traps; crossbow traps; casting nets; plunge baskets), Ornaments (double spirals; long fingernails; nose rings; toe rings; red nose corals), Weapons (stone balls; clubs with disc-shaped head; spears with head of antelope horn; throwing snares; Old Sudanese fighting bracelets; multi-pronged spears; forked staffs; throwing knives; arm daggers; slings; looped daggers; East African fighting bracelets), Commerce (headbands; inflated skins; calabash and clay-vessel rafts; cotton bows), Art (string figures; snake pots; face pots; ring-shaped vessels; bagpipes), Medicine (delivery chairs; spatula-shaped razors; artificial cranial deformations; cupping horns; chewing brushes), Divine Kingship (kings forbidden to see water; invisible kings; fate of the priest-king; the racially pure ruling dynasties; weapon stands), and Religion (life trees; ostrich eggs as ornaments on graves and roofs; thunderbolts; snake-charmers).

Dr. Lagercrantz represents, in an extreme degree, the kind of diffusionist approach often castigated as 'atomic' and 'mechanical,' to which most anthropologists have become somewhat allergic, including those who emphasize the significance of distribution and time perspective. But even granting that enquiries which deal with cultural features as isolated exhibits, and often unduly reify them, may be meant to be no more than a means to an end, it is in many cases impossible to agree with the author's findings, or indeed with his premises and methods. There is a general confusion between statement of fact and conjecture, an indiscriminate treatment of all the items of the list as 'culture elements' of much the same order, a lack of distinction between simple implements and complex artifacts, a monogenetic determinism that prefers to plunge into the most hazardous guesses of diffusion rather than consider the possibility of multiple invention. This is diffusionism 'with the brakes off.'

Thus, to the author it is obvious that, as far as Africa is concerned, the 'stamping out of grain by human labour,' that is simply treading it out with the feet, 'actually belongs to the Old Sudanese culture.' If the lack or non-employment of a threshing implement is a distinct culture element, one might also map out eating without fork or chopsticks and trace it to some primary culture. 'Long and short threshing sticks' do not seem to be much more distinctive to the sceptic. But to the author it is certain that 'the threshing sticks constitute foreign (Oriental) culture elements that have penetrated Africa *via* Egypt and Ethiopia.' The late British diffusionist simply laid it down as axiomatic that no savage could be credited with enough brains to throw a stone at a bird before the heliolithic voyager had shown him exactly how to do it. The more methodical Swedish diffusionist gives us similarly startling news of man's uninventiveness, but he reads it from his distribution map.

Interpretation of diffusion based on map-reading may be a safer method than conclusions based on crystal-gazing, but it has its limitations. Map patterns are made by the ethnologist himself, who first classifies the phenomena with which he deals, judging more or less arbitrarily, and then considers his data, judging more or less selectively. One may, for instance, ask why 'throwing knives' are a single genetic entity, in spite of a considerable morphological difference between at least two groups of types, whereas 'fighting

bracelets,' which occur in a variety of forms with partly overlapping distributions, are divided up into two categories, 'Old Sudanese' and 'East African,' discussed in separate chapters and not even consecutively. Each of these supposed categories comprises a number of types. A morphological consideration might suggest that a certain 'East African' type is rather similar to a certain 'Old Sudanese' type, and the map patterns show that there is little difference in the distribution of two types classified in different categories. The classification rests entirely on the fact that the one group has, in addition to its eastern distribution, also one in the west, while the other seems to be confined to the east.

The significance of distribution patterns may also be impaired by uncritical use of accounts regardless of their general quality, or by non-discrimination between mass occurrences and sporadic ones. Any fieldworker might find that entries shown in the limited area familiar to him are not entirely reliable. For example, I never came across arm daggers in certain interlacustrine and adjacent countries where the author records them, but noticed them as a very common feature in Buha, where the author does not mention them. Similarly, I found ostrich eggs as common roof-top ornaments among the Ngruimi, where they are not recorded, but with one exception, a chief's grave hut, failed to notice them south of Lake Victoria, where they are recorded. But however objectively correct the map patterns may be, ignorance and bias may still enter into their interpretation.

For obvious reasons it is only possible to select a few items of the collection for closer examination. The stone-sling, widely found in most parts of the world, has attracted the attention of several ethnologists. Its simplicity as an instrument vaguely suggests a high age in the history of human culture. Lindblom suggested its diffusion from an ancient Near Eastern or Mediterranean focus, but keeping an open mind as to the possibility of multiple invention. Dr. Lagercrantz subscribes to Baumann's view that the distribution of the sling over the world can only be explained by attributing its invention to the palæolithic 'Eurasian steppe hunters' culture,' of which the 'Eurafrican steppe hunters' culture' is a southern extension. In this view, the sling has not spread northward from the Mediterranean, as Lindblom assumed, and further, the slings of American hunters are genetically connected with those of the Old World, and not, as Friederici assumed, an independent invention. But how can monogenetic origin be proved morphologically in the case of such a simple gadget? Naturally no palæolithic European slings have been preserved, there appears to be no pictorial evidence, and the proposition of an Aurignacian age for the sling seems to rest entirely on the degree of certainty with which supposed Aurignacian sling stones can be distinguished from ordinary pebbles. Its assignment to the 'Eurasian-Eurafrican steppe hunters' culture' implies its use as a hunting weapon. Certain American aborigines are indeed known to use the sling for that purpose, though not to the exclusion of other weapons. Australian aborigines do not use it. African steppe hunters are also somewhat uncooperative with regard to the author's proposition. Evidence as to its former use by the Bushmen rests on two museum specimens, on whose authenticity Lindblom has cast doubts. Another isolated piece of supposed evidence, namely, the figure of a slinger on a Southern Rhodesian rock painting, which Dr. Lagercrantz unhesitatingly labels 'Bushman with sling,' is equally suspect. Frobenius has contrasted the Southern Rhodesian paintings with those in the Union, arguing that the former have nothing to do with a Bushman culture. But on this occasion Frobenius has to be suppressed.

Certain practices connected with milking, which appear strange to the European observer, have been hardy perennials of ethnographic literature since Herodotus. By 'East Hamitic milking customs' Dr. Lagercrantz refers to various devices employed to make a reluctant cow submit to milking, some of them physical, the most drastic being perhaps blowing up the cow's vagina, but one, which is only applied when the calf has died, psychological, namely, deceiving the cow with a dummy. This last trick occurs in a variety of forms, from merely holding the dead calf's skin in front of the cow to stuffing the skin with hay and putting it on wooden legs. That the physical devices may also be resorted to while the calf is still alive is shown by the Sumerian milking scene from al 'Ubaid, which represents the milker blowing into the cow while the calf stands in front of her; also Herodotus, describing the milking of mares among the Scythians, seems to refer to the inflating device as a routine measure.

The question is not only whether these practices are 'East Hamitic,' but also, considering that the cow has a say in the matter, whether they are 'customs,' or social usages which may or may not be found in a given case. Their wide distribution, not only in Africa but also in the dairying regions of Asia and indeed in Europe, seems to suggest that they are necessary aids at a stage of domestication when the beast has not yet become entirely accustomed to the artificial abstraction of milk. This question has, of course, to be answered in the first place by the biologist of domestication. If it can be shown that these coaxing tricks are essentials in any more primitive dairying, becoming unnecessary only at a more perfected stage of breeding, then the question of their distribution itself loses its significance and resolves itself into the larger question of the earliest focus and diffusion of dairying economies.

As to the blanks on the author's distribution map, although these practices are not attested on hitherto known Ancient Egyptian representations, an *argumentum e silentio* is not necessarily conclusive. He might have included in the discussion two other but more normal African milking devices which are equally essential in 'primitive' and equally obsolete in modern European dairying, namely, the practice of letting the calf suck before and after milking, and the tying of the cow's hind legs. Both the calf and the tying, as Breasted, commenting on the imperfect degree of domestication in Ancient Egypt, has pointed out, are shown in practically all representations of milking scenes. Further, the dummy calf at any rate is said to be occasionally used by the modern fellahin, both with cows and buffaloes. Again, the practices under discussion are apparently not known from a number of East African cattle-keeping peoples, for example, Sukuma, Kuria, Chaga, Sangu, Nyakyusa, etc. The proper inference from this gap on the distribution map would be, not that these tribes have for some reason escaped being affected by the 'East Hamitic milking customs,' but either that they have reached a stage of breeding where they can do without such devices, or that our information about them is incomplete. The point can easily be settled by enquiries from local stock inspectors.

Outside Africa, these practices appear to be less sporadic than they would seem from the author's account. To take only the most conspicuous, the trick of deceiving the milk-breed with a stuffed calf is apparently widely used in India, both with zebu and buffalo. We know of dummy yak calves in Tibet and of dummy camel calves in Arabia. In Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland the '*tulchan*' dummy calf seems to be a fairly recent memory, and Hardy describes the English shepherd coaxing a ewe that has lost its lamb to suckle a strange lamb by wrapping the dead lamb's skin round it.

The non-African distribution of these practices is, according to the author, due to 'Asiatic cattle-breeding nomads who immigrated at an early date,' while that in Africa was set in motion by immigrant 'East Hamitic cattle-breeding nomads,' presumably in some manner an offshoot of the former. This assumption rests on the rather controversial theory of domestication adopted by the Vienna school, while on Hahn's older theory, which has recently been refurbished by Dittmer, neither Central Asiatic nor East Hamitic nomads would be necessary as primary agents of diffusion. Conjectures of further diffusion are entirely gratuitous or based on the flimsiest evidence. An example that also delights by its imagery is the statement that 'the Hottentots take with them on their southward migration the dummy-calf, the inflation of the vagina and the patting of the udder as well as probably also the administration of medicine.'

H. MEINHARD

The Linton Collection of African Sculpture.

85 *New Haven (Yale Univ. Art Gallery)*, 1954. *Pp.* [32], 31 *illus.*

No anthropologist, perhaps, has had a greater insight into tribal art than the late Professor Linton, and his collection, now acquired by Yale, includes some admirable pieces. According to the American fashion, the conveyance of information about them (with scholarly but too laconic attributions by Mr. L. Siroto) has been subordinated to the demands of 'presentation'. WILLIAM FAGG

ASIA

The Other Mind: A Study of Dance and Life in South India. *By Beryl de Zoete. London (Gollancz), 1953. Pp. 256. Price £2 12s. 6d.*

86 This is undoubtedly the most important book written on Indian dancing in any European language. It can only be compared with what Fox Strangways did in his *Music of Hindostan*, some 40 years ago. In both cases the subject matter is put in perspective by many and mostly very striking references to things we know in the West, so that features which seem strange when seen by themselves suddenly are revealed as springing from the very roots that have produced living shoots in our own civilization.

In a way Miss de Zoete has the advantage over Fox Strangways in that she not only has an intimate and deep understanding of dancing in the West, but also a living and loving knowledge of dancing further East—especially in Java and Bali—which, for all its individual characteristics and special achievements, has innumerable links with Indian dancing.

Consequently there are very few people in the world who could have approached this subject with such a background to offset what she encountered in her search for what India still has. But only a person endowed with unflagging energy, an unquenchable thirst for the real thing and a positive and obvious enjoyment in not being beaten by extremely uncomfortable conditions and official and other obstacles, could have got together what she has put down on the pages of this book. Like Fox Strangways she did not spend very long or very many periods in the field, but, like him, she seems to have had a nose for essentials. No doubt some of her statements and conclusions will have to be revised if this research is carried on—as it should be—but those possible errors do not detract from the value of the book as a whole.

The author has chosen the obviously right approach in not separating dancing from Indian life as a whole, and she strives to show the astonishing continuity of Indian culture. All textbooks, Indian as well as European, begin with the statement that the Sanskrit word for music, *Sangîta*, is really a triad, comprising vocal music, instrumental and dance. Those who have some practical acquaintance with Indian music know this to be true, but it becomes thoroughly alive in, and even jumps out of the pages of, this book, which is a great achievement.

It should not be thought that only musicians or dancers could be interested in this book. As the title *The Other Mind* implies, the spiritual and religious value and the basic importance of dance and music in the life of the people are the author's primary object. Consequently there is a wealth of anthropological, or rather ethnomusicological, material, mainly drawn from personal observation, but occasionally reported from hearsay and sometimes contained in very apt quotations from authors, mostly of the latter half of the nineteenth century, when district officers could still devote themselves to the study of the territories in their charge. As these are invariably sources that are not easily accessible, they are a welcome element in the texture of the book.

One might object that in some cases the author seems to swallow what look like tall stories with delight, especially in connexion with snake-worship, but then she reflects the conviction of those who told her the instances, and in the end the different fragments do work into a very convincing pattern. It is a pity that she did not have an opportunity to investigate the Naga-worship of Nepal which shows many strange similarities with that of Malabar. But the book emphatically does not claim completeness. Dance traditions outside South India are mentioned only in passing—but with good purpose all the same—and it is to be hoped that they will find a place in some future work.

Here and there one notices that the author had to rely on explanations by local pandits which are at variance with what is generally accepted and the unfortunate transcription of Sanskrit words *via* the peculiarities of the Tamil alphabet is responsible for many an irritating spelling. Also one would have welcomed an index. All these, however, are minor failings when put against the pulsatingly alive presentation of a subject of the greatest cultural and anthropological importance.

The many illustrations are skilfully chosen. Some are very fine.

A. A. BAKE

The Sinhalese Folk Play and the Modern Stage. *By E. R. Sarathchandra. Colombo (Ceylon U. P.), 1953. Pp. v, 139. Price Rs. 15s.*

87 The Sinhalese folk play is, according to the author, derived from a variety of sources. Some elements came in with the original Aryan settlers, some are derived from Buddhism and many from the Tamil priests and musicians at the court of Kandy, which was, as that of Bangkok still is, at the same time Buddhist and Hindu.

The plays and the dances of which they largely consist are not merely ritual in origin, but are still closely connected with the folk religion. They include fertility rites and rites to drive away the demons of disease and 'most of the rituals are performed like comic interludes, though they have a serious significance' (p. 49). There are differences between the highlands and the coast, but in all of them the costumes are very elaborate, all the performers are masked and represent demons, kings, princesses and other stock characters and the female parts are taken by men. Though still popular, they are costly and troublesome to produce, and are gradually giving way to more modern forms of entertainment. A form of the folk play developed among the Roman Catholics about 150 years ago is also dying out.

A chapter is devoted to the modern Sinhalese drama, which is derived from English and Indian sources and has little or no connexion with the folk play.

The book is admirably produced and pleasantly illustrated.

RAGLAN

Bali: Temple Festival. *By Jane Belo. Monogr. Amer. Ethnol. Soc. XXII. Locust Valley, N.Y. (Augustin), 1953. Pp. viii, 70. Price $2.75*

88 Once more those who are interested in Bali can be grateful to the author. This faithful description is also precious for those interested in religious phenomenology, as we find here, still alive, what in many religions died long ago.

Bali is not as well known as its popularity might suggest. This is mostly due to the difficulties of the language. That is why we owe special thanks to Jane Belo who not only gives what was done, but also what was said—the prayers in Balinese, Kawi or corrupt Sanskrit, with as much translation as she could obtain. Former writers about temple festivals (Spies, Goris) failed here.

Her Balinese spelling is not consistent (*melingga?*), and there is now no reason whatsoever to write *oe* for *u*.

A temple festival is such a complicated affair that it is nearly impossible to attend to all that is happening. We read about women singing (*mekidung*), but which *kidung* was sung?

An old error is repeated, that of the Vedas there should be more left than the mere name.

On p. 32 we read: 'a little shrine . . . sacred to the *Pandjak gamang*, Follower Water Sprite.' I wonder who said that *Gamang* means water sprite. *Gamang* are invisible people in human shape, living in invisible villages on north-west Bali. Their queen is *Dewi Melanting ring Pulaki*. Some day I hope to publish 10 tales about them. They apparently originate from insufficiently trained hermits and are able to turn into tigers (wer-tigers).

The author herself met, as it happens unknowingly, one of these interesting creatures ("Rangda and Barong", gp. 55): 'When I Ketjig goes into a trance, he is entered by the Black Tiger, follower of the goddess of Pulaki.' Ketjig was thus entered by a Gamang. And that little shrine was dedicated to the Invisible People.

JACOBA HOOYKAAS

The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara. *By John Brough. C.U.P., 1953. Pp. xviii, 228. Price £2 5s.*

89 Professor Brough deserves to be congratulated for his scholarly and painstaking translation of the *Gotra-pravara-manjari*, a treatise on the organization of ancient Brahmani-

cal society in exogamous clans (*gotras*). This mediæval work by Purushottama-Pandita is based largely on the old ritual Sutras and contains a valuable compilation of clan lists. It is believed that the clan registers on which this work is based were compiled before the third century B.C. Of particular interest to social anthropologists and sociologists, however, is the fact that even today the *gotra* and *pravara* regulate marriage among the Brahmins. Among them it is necessary that one should marry within one's caste (*jati*), but outside one's *sapinda* (those sharing funeral obligations to a common ancestor), clan (*gotra*), and *pravara*. The last of these denotes a list of names of 'ancestors,' generally three in number, occurring in recitations at certain points of sacrificial ritual. Even to the present day, by recitation of their *pravara* the Brahmins have to show that they are descendants of worthy ancestors and are therefore fit and proper persons to perform the sacrificial rituals. Although it is not primarily intended for sociologists, this book should be extremely useful to all those who are interested in the study of Indian social systems.

In an introductory essay running to 51 pages, the translator has examined the system and its sources. He has discussed some of the ritual aspects of the *pravara*, and has then briefly traced the evolution of the system. This is followed by a critical discussion of the mediæval and other sources for the study of this system. The admirable translation of Purushottama-Pandita's treatise follows a useful introduction and summary of contents.

Professor Brough's excellent translation should stimulate sociologists and anthropologists interested in the Indian field to study the system as it exists today. S. C. DUBE

Geschichte der Tibetischen Kunst. *By Siegbert Hummel. Leipzig (Harrassowitz), 1953. Pp. 123*

90 There is now a fairly substantial bibliography on the history, religion and ethnography of Tibet. Little, however, has been written on the history of her art. What there is deals largely with the paintings and bronzes of the period from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. These fall fairly easily into two categories: those inspired by, or indeed actually made in, Nepal, and those influenced by the art of China. It is the art of this period—many examples of which are dated—which is found in the museums of Europe, India and America. The discoveries of the great Italian scholar Tucci in the monasteries of Western Tibet—in Spiti, La-dvags, Guge and Burangs—and of Central Tibet, have, however, revealed to scholarship during the past 20 years a mass of material dating probably from the eleventh century upwards. Most of this material has been published by Tucci in his *Indo-Tibetica* and *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. These books are probably not available to the general reader, if only because of their heavy cost.

Dr. Hummel is perhaps the first to attempt a history of Tibetan art which utilizes this material. His method, inevitable at our present state of knowledge, is to treat in turn the various influences or 'manners' which seem to direct the Tibetan artist. Tibet has always been surrounded by cultures more advanced and inventive than her own—Nepal to the south, Kashmir to the west, Central Asia to the north, and China to the east. The result is that the art of the monasteries of Spiti, Guge and Burangs is an extension of that of Kashmir, while the art of Central and Eastern Tibet reflects the styles of Nepal and China. This is of course a rough generalization. There was much intermingling of styles, and an original contribution by Tibet herself, though what this contribution was it is not easy to say. Having discussed these various 'manners' Dr. Hummel adds four general sections on painting, sculpture, architecture and the minor arts.

This book is fairly short, and it is difficult to see whether it is directed at the general reader or the specialist, that is, whether it intends merely a summary of Tucci's discoveries, or aims at an original synthesis of the material. I suspect the latter, though it can hardly be said to succeed. The choice of illustrations would not allow the reader to follow the development of each style, and the generalizations on the styles themselves, especially those derived from India, incline to the vague or banal. I would like to have seen, for example, clear examples of those stylistic elements from Kashmiri and Pāla art, which are said to make up the early style of Western Tibet. There are also several puzzling statements. For example, the 'Buddha der Gupta-Zeit' (fig. 14) is a Mathura 'Kapardin'-type Buddha, which by any chronology would not be later than A.D. 200 and probably dates from the end of the first century A.D. Again, the rock engravings of Western Tibet are said (p. 13) to be closely related to Andhra art of the second and first centuries B.C. It is possible that the author is referring to Sanchi and Amaravati. Any such relationship escapes me.

In spite of these criticisms, Dr. Hummel's book may be recommended as a general introduction. It is, certainly, the only one available. DOUGLAS BARRETT

Evolution of Ancient Indian Law. *By N. C. Sen-Gupta. Calcutta and London (Probsthain), 1953. Pp. 347. Price Rs. 17/8*

91 This book embodies the matter of 12 lectures delivered by the author as Tagore Law Professor of Calcutta University—the fruits of a labour of love of many years, presented with engaging diffidence and much learning. It describes the development of the law from the traces in the Vedas, through the successive strata of the surviving literature and down to the age of the metrical Smritis—altogether the span of the first millennium B.C. Certainly the book represents an advance in some respects, and it is a readable account of its subject. Its chief defect is a lack of knowledge of the course of development of law among equally simple civilizations in other times and places (the period which I have ventured elsewhere to call that of the Central and Late Codes). This lack combines with a certain idealization of the earliest customs of the Aryans to produce the result that many, if not most, developments in the law, generally characteristic of this stage, are attributed to the influence of non-Aryan neighbours; and especially does the author attribute to this source features which he does not like—for example, the lowering of the status of women (pp. 102, 119), though at the most it can only be said that it is greater in India than in the Late Codes of the west; the raising-up of offspring to a deceased man upon his widow (*niyoga* or levirate) pp. 105, 108—a custom which he attributes to the Semites although there are traces of it in the *Rigveda*—; the raising-up of sons to a sonless man on his daughter living in her father's house (*putrika*) pp. 144, 149f.; *patria potestas* (again attributed to the Semites) pp. 158f.; cognatic kinship, p. 164; the right of widows to inherit, p. 184; and joint ownership, pp. 211 f.

Another error is in regard to the jurisdiction of the king in early times. He says (p. 10) that in Vedic times 'the King had apparently not yet become a judge.' The truth is that in the Vedic age, when the local brand of feudalism appeared, the King's judicial authority came to be limited by the jurisdictions of feudal lords and other local courts, and his jurisdiction was confined to rare appeals, rare disputes between his head tenants, and infrequent capital or criminal offences. Subsequently as feudalism waned, the power of the king grew and his authority spread, and his judges extended a royal system of justice far and wide. A. S. DIAMOND

Field Notes on Indonesia: South Celebes, 1949–50. *By Raymond Kennedy. New Haven (Human Relations Area Files), 1952. Pp. xxiv, 269. Price $2*

92 This is the first volume of the field journal kept by the late Professor Kennedy on his trip to Indonesia in 1949–50. Three subsequent volumes will cover Ambon and Ceram, Flores and West Borneo.

Kennedy was mainly interested in recent acculturation processes in Indonesia as a whole and he set up his investigation on a large scale. His plan was to study three villages differing in religion, remoteness and geographical environment in each of six culture areas. He employed native assistants, one to each village, to gather information for him on the basis of a detailed schedule containing 266 questions designed to bring out recent changes and developments in all aspects of the society. Six to eight weeks were devoted to each area, including three visits to each village.

The editors have incorporated the results of the questionnaire and other field materials gathered by Kennedy into the journal, translated Dutch and Malay passages into English, provided explanations for references to Indonesian ethnographical data and revised the text where necessary to make it readable. The result is

an interesting, but for the most part quite unsystematic, record of daily activities, interviews with Dutch officials and native informants, ethnographic data and observations on everything from details of native customs to generalizations on the problems of Indonesia as a whole with respect to the rest of the world, although this volume primarily deals with the Buginese, the Makassarese and the Sadang Toradjas.

The use of untrained, hastily chosen assistants from one class of the population—the nobility—and the speed with which the investigation was made necessarily limit the thoroughness and reliability of the data obtained, as Kennedy himself seems to have realized, but their value is even further reduced by the lack of an index, which greatly increases the difficulty of comparing them with the existing literature. For the most part the editors have been quite thorough in their explanatory comments, though here and there the latter are somewhat misleading. On p. 8, for example, *wajang* is translated as 'shadow play,' whereas it is a term used for all Javanese drama forms and in this instance refers to the *wajang wong*, in which human actors perform without any screen at all. R. E. DOWNS

The Indus Civilization. *By Sir Mortimer Wheeler. C.U.P., 1953. Pp. 98. Price 18s.*

93 It is one of the strongest and healthiest traditions of British archæology that the discipline should be a humane study rather than an exact science, and closer akin to history than to geology. The excavator, as the person best qualified to do so, is rightly expected to build on to the bare framework of his official reports a picture of the civilization he unearths which the general reader can appreciate.

This task was in some ways more difficult for the excavators of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro than for those who uncovered Knossos and Ur. In the first place, the fieldwork was more irregular and under less continuous direction, while the civilization itself began and ended under very obscure circumstances, and left no readable records. Nevertheless, Sir John Marshall, Dr. and Mrs. E. J. H. Mackay, and Mr. M. S. Vats, being scholars of wide experience and imagination, were all able to recall vividly the surroundings and spirit of the civilization they discovered.

Now Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who supplemented the fieldwork of his precursors in the Indus Valley, has drawn on their work and his own to write a description of a millennium of Indian history which 30 years ago was completely unknown. His account is both clear and convincing. Precise evidence is given for every general statement, while apt analogies from ethnology are invoked to help to extract all possible information from what was found. For instance, the circular brick platforms at Harappā are shown to be the surrounds of grain mortars, as in North India today, and a knowledge of the workings of the irrigation systems of New Mexico throws light on those of ancient Baluchistan.

Sir Mortimer concludes that the civilizations of both the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia were based on the application on a large scale of the arts of rural life developed earlier on the neighbouring plateaux, and that the resemblances between the two are due more to common ancestry than to direct contact. The fall of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro to the Aryan invaders was a sudden catastrophe, although present-day Hindu civilization certainly owes something to this long-vanished culture.

Deep digging in the two main sites is ruled out by a rise in the water table, but excavations in the Baluchi foothills will probably some day illuminate the origins of the civilization; while its fate will become clearer with further understanding of Indian ethnology. But although this study may be supplemented, it is so carefully composed and based on such accurate records that it will certainly never need to be re-written. W. C. BRICE

EUROPE

Bibliography of Slavic Folk Literature. *By William E. Harkins. New York (Columbia U.P.) (London agent: Cumberlege), 1953. Pp. 28. Price 6s.*

94 Mr. Harkins's useful little book appears under the auspices of the 'Slavic Studies' series of Columbia University, and its appeal is primarily to students of folklore who are acquainted with one or more of the Slav languages. There are 194 books listed, arranged under ethnic groupings (Comparative Slavic, East, West and South Slavic), and within each group are sub-divisions into bibliographies on the various genres (epic, lyric, prose tales, etc.). Authors and titles are clearly typed in the appropriate scripts.

There is a wealth of Slav folk literature, some of it rising to high æsthetic standards, in particular the ancient metrical epics of the Orthodox Slavs (*byliny*), so it is not surprising that literary questions have hitherto occasioned more study than any other branch of *Volkskunde*. Many of the omissions from this sizeable corpus, then, especially Soviet publications of more recent date, would seem to be mere anthologies, no doubt duplicating—more or less faithfully—material already published in works noted by Mr. Harkins. Indeed, one avowed aim of the book—that of serving as a guide for librarians—is attained precisely by this judicious selection which avoids duplication and also spurious, 'latter-day' folk songs, very much in vogue in Soviet culture since the war. (Most of the publishing dates are pre-war, in fact.)

For detailed study, as translations all too easily become travesties, the listing of the great majority of works in the languages of their respective cultures is a welcome, if formidable, sight. It is, of course, under the more general headings that the non-Slav-speaking reader will find the larger reference works which might familiarize him with the subject. The Introduction is a sketch of it—but only a sketch. Would it not have been better perhaps, to have had Mr. Harkins's authoritative views on the value of some of the works he lists—their methodology, for instance, whether historico-geographical, anthropological, psychological or socio-functional? To gloss over Brückner's scepticism about a common proto-Slav culture and to weigh out two rough measures of Slav tradition—Catholic and Orthodox—as a handy beginner's guide seems, in view of the scrupulously detailed and scholarly work in the body of the book, a little gratuitous. P. J. BEE

Dartmoor. *By R. Hansford Worth, edited by G. M. Spooner and F. S. Russell. Plymouth (privately published), 1953. Pp. xvi, 523. Price £1 5s.*

95 The name of Worth has long been associated with Dartmoor and R. N. Worth, the father of the author of the present volume, contributed notable work on the history and geology of this unique region. R. H. Worth, who died in 1950, inherited the nineteenth-century love for a wide range of intellectual interests and pursuits and himself studied the natural science and archæology of Dartmoor. The present work is a collection, for the most part, of his published papers and articles from the *Transactions* of the Devonshire Association and the *Reports* and *Transactions* of the Plymouth Institution, arranged by the editors to give as complete a survey as these works permit. Beginning with the physical geography, geology and vegetation of the moor, the book then deals with the chief prehistoric archæological remains, from hut circles to menhirs. In conclusion a varied group of studies deals with more recent archæological subjects such as the remains of the tin-workers, and with folk-culture matters such as the Dartmoor House. The arrangement thus aims at some chronological sequence, though it would perhaps have been better if the editors had grouped into three sections their many gleanings, and made clearer to the average reader the place of these notes and studies in their general geographical and historical setting.

Worth, like many of his contemporaries, dealt in a range of subjects which have now become highly specialized fields of research and his contribution was that of a conscientious spade-worker, both literally and metaphorically. While some of his work has been greatly extended there is need for much further work on the ecology, geomorphology and archæology of Dartmoor before a work of a comprehensive character is produced which will do real justice to this remarkable area.

Accounts of the physical geography, geology and vegetation of

the moor occupy the first chapters. These are packed with a wealth of material from first-hand observations and are well illustrated. If re-edited by the author himself, however, the information might have been less unrelated. Notes on granite, vegetation, peat, china clay, the tinners' influence on scenery, tor and boulder, etc., follow each other indiscriminately. One is made conscious, by its absence, of the value of the regional method of presentation in which all aspects of relief, geology and soils are dealt with first, and then, following the climatic study, a survey of the vegetation which in part results from the foregoing, and is in part re-made by man's interference with nature. The chapters dealing with prehistoric remains are a testimony to the energy and application of the writer and later field workers have found his measurements and surveys to be trustworthy. His conclusions as to the dating of the remains are however no longer fully accepted.

The book as a whole will commend itself to students of Dartmoor and similar marginal lands as a useful compilation of material which otherwise would have to be sought for wearisomely in the pages of journals and also to those who have admired the prodigious toils of an earlier generation of antiquarians and natural scientists and can now assess the total contribution of an eminent example of this now almost extinct breed. EWART JOHNS

CORRESPONDENCE

Bridewealth and the Stability of Marriage. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 75, 122, 223, 279

96 SIR,—In 1950 I published in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (O.U.P., 1950) a comparative analysis of divorce rates among Zulu and Lozi, in which I set out a hypothesis that divorce would be rare in patrilineal subsistence societies and more frequent in bilateral and matrilineal subsistence societies. My main analysis was based on the two peoples I had studied myself, but I cited supporting data (mainly Professor Evans-Pritchard's work on the Nuer), data exhibiting significant variations, and contradicting data, from other peoples, principally African. Dr. Schneider wrote to you (MAN, 1953, 75) to point out, in a meticulous and scholarly manner, certain complexities in Professor Evans-Pritchard's and my use of 'divorce' and 'stability of marriage.' I replied (MAN, 1953, 223) accepting his criticisms gladly. But I cannot respond in a similar spirit to Dr. Leach's entry into the discussion (MAN, 1953, 279). Dr. Leach advances as my main hypothesis a correlation between marriage payments and stability of marriage: in fact, following Professors Evans-Pritchard and Fortes, I wrote, and showed in ethnographic facts, that this correlation was wrong. Dr. Leach has stated in his recent book, *The Political Systems of Highland Burma* (Bell, 1954), that he is bored with ethnographic facts. Hence he has entirely overlooked my citations of facts, and he quotes sentences summing up different stages of my argument as if I made them up out of a dictionary. This extremely partial, and unscholarly, manner of quotation enables him to distort and misrepresent my analysis in a series of sterile terminological quibbles. I reply to Dr. Leach in these strong terms since he accuses me of being 'vague' and 'almost meaningless,' and suggests that I might use terms in an elastic manner: these are serious charges to make against a professional scholar.

I could indicate the extent of Dr. Leach's misrepresentation and misreading of my analysis by quoting what he says and then referring to my own essay. But I shall demonstrate his mode of misquotation by one passage only, since this particular point will enable me to go on to a positive statement on the comparative method. Dr. Leach criticizes me: 'It is not so very long since the Africanists' lineages were all exogamous by definition [Where is this stated?—M.G.] and I find it a trifle disconcerting to learn that Arab societies, with their endogamous form of organization, "have agnatic lineages of the Zulu-Nuer type." Dare one ask what are the special characteristics of this comprehensive type? The fact that in Arab societies there is a preferred marriage with the girl in the next tent (the father's brother's daughter) is surely not wholly irrelevant to a discussion of the ease and frequency of divorce and conjugal separation. Is it helpful to ignore this factor simply by asserting that Zulu, Nuer and Arabs have lineages "of the same type"?' It would have been fairer if Dr. Leach had mentioned that I cited the Arabs in one paragraph because the data on them *contradicted* my analysis, and that I did not smuggle them into the category to strengthen my hypothesis. His omission to do so is symptomatic of his mode of argument.

As far as I know, I am the only Africanist who has tried to define the lineage comparatively (in my 'Introduction' to J. A. Barnes and J. C. Mitchell, *The Lamba Village*, University of Cape Town, 1950, pp. 3ff.). I suggested there that the Nuer-Zulu type system had a segmentary genealogical structure, through agnatic lines, associated with residential units, and that it was usually exogamous. Note, *usually* exogamous. I also set out five other attributes. The Bedouin (see E. E. Evans-Pritchard's *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Clarendon Press, 1949) conform to this type in every respect except exogamy. As the Arabs contradicted my hypothesis, it would have suited me, had I not been honest, therefore to rule them out: I did not do so but cited them as a negative instance.

But I select this example for citation because it exhibits Dr. Leach's muddle over the comparative method. It is obviously impossible to get any complex classification of social institutions where there will not be omission of some attributes. But any set of events can be classified together if it helps solve a problem. A whale and a human being can be classified together if we study parturition, suckling, breathing, blood circulation, etc.; but a whale is classified with fish if we study habitat and ecology, or methods of propulsion. And a mathematical colleague of mine who is interested in problems of turbulence, classifies whales with aeroplanes and submarines. He finds this classification helpful. Dr. Leach has not demonstrated that, in these terms, my classification is invalid.

From his own researches Dr. Leach makes one point. He says the Kachin have 'the distinction between levirate and widow-inheritance, but, since Kachin succession disputes not infrequently turn on the nice legal point as to whether the children of an inherited wife (born after the decease of her first husband) are properly to be considered the children of the first husband or of the second, we cannot assert that the Kachin norm is either one rule or the other. We need to be careful that in refining our categories of analysis we do not impose an artificial rigidity upon material that is in fact flexible and capable of many interpretations.' This statement shows the weakness of approaching the complexity of social facts on an all-or-none basis. Dr. Leach in his book on the Kachin states that they have the rule of ultimogeniture, and describes struggles between an eldest brother who resists the rights to succeed of his true youngest brother. Where the youngest brother has been born in a leviratic marriage, the eldest brother may argue that he cannot be a true heir because he is not a physiological son of their dead father; and this argument, since there are not courts to enforce the leviratic law, may be in fact successful. But his book makes clear that there is a leviratic law. Precisely the same situation occurs in South African tribes where the heir is born of a great wife who may be married late in life: elder sons by other wives may dispute the succession because the son by the great wife has a different genitor. But the law quite clearly supports the levirate. MAX GLUCKMAN

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97 SIR,—Dr. Leach concludes his entry (MAN, 1953, 279) into this discussion with the statement: 'The whole problem is certainly very interesting but certainly it is extremely complex!' I suggest that his manner of approaching the problem will do nothing to reduce its complexity. Dr. Leach persistently quotes from Professor Gluckman's analysis only isolated sentences which summed up long arguments, loaded with ethnographic facts, and neglects the arguments themselves. He then produces these arguments and reproaches Professor Gluckman for having failed to think of them. It is quite apparent from Professor Gluckman's analysis that he was well aware of the complexities.

Dr. Leach complains that when Professor Gluckman says 'the

frequency of divorce is an aspect of the durability of marriage as such which in turn is a function of the kinship structure,' the phrase, 'kinship structure' in Professor Gluckman's hands may be extremely 'elastic.' This quoted sentence is torn from its context of argument (which included a discussion of levirate and sororate, rights of paternity, etc.) and on its own appears to be meaningless. But Professor Gluckman's hypothesis cannot be handled by selecting a single term for analytic criticism. Professor Gluckman makes clear in the preceding paragraphs—indeed it is the theme of his essay—that by 'kinship structure' he meant a structure with father-right as contrasted with all other forms of kinship structure. Professor Gluckman appears to be well aware of the difficulties of establishing the correlation, for he states: 'I have presented my argument more strongly than I myself feel is justified at present, in order to make clear the type of data and analysis I consider to be most fruitful. I should have preferred to do further comparative research before publishing it in this symposium' (*African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, 1950).

Professor Gluckman's hypothesis that father-right is associated in subsistence societies with jural stability of marriage, is a hypothesis which is capable of proof or disproof, and beyond that a hypothesis which is fruitful in posing analytic problems and in clarifying problems of ethnographic description. Professor Gluckman says clearly that there are many difficulties in 'establishing the validity of this hypothesis, but even if it is wrong it may be useful. Some of the difficulties are inherent in sociological analysis, since in this there are always complicating variables. Others arise from the vague and embracing use of categories and concepts such as patrilineal, lineage, marriage, divorce, etc. When is a marriage complete, and when can we class the separation of a cohabiting couple as divorce? . . . The literature is generally confused and imprecise, and the posing of problems may help to clarify descriptions.' 'I am myself uncertain whether it is the stability of people's attachment to specific areas, or patriliny or father-right itself, or the agnatic lineage, or all of these together, which, whatever the other variables are, tend to be associated with a strong marriage tie' . . . and so forth.

But Dr. Leach criticizes not the main hypothesis, but a hypothesis correlating marriage payment with marriage stability. Yet Professor Gluckman explicitly stated that the latter was probably wrong, and at worst was meaningless. No advance in analysing a problem is possible if discussion does not proceed in terms of logical analysis of ethnographic facts, instead of by isolated citation. I wonder if Dr. Leach read the paper he criticizes: he seems deliberately to have perverted a clear exposition. And he has produced a proposition provided for in Professor Gluckman's analysis when he states: 'There are both patrilineal and matrilineal societies in which a husband is never seen in the company of his wife and in which almost the whole of a woman's waking existence is spent in the company of other women and their children. I personally should have supposed that the conditions of such a life had far more bearing upon the "stability of marriage" (however defined) than the question of whether the woman's children considered themselves descended from the woman's mother or her husband's father.' Leaving aside this last trivial manner of formulating Professor Gluckman's argument, the original essay, properly read, would have corrected Dr. Leach's personal supposition. Professor Gluckman primarily compared the Zulu, with no divorce, and the Lozi, with a high divorce rate, and he clearly described this separation of the sexes among both. Hence Professor Gluckman took the variable advanced by Dr. Leach to be constant and therefore not responsible for the difference in divorce rates. Evidence from other African societies could be brought forward to widen the basis of this constancy.

Dr. Leach also asks for a fuller analysis of the term 'marriage payments.' His criticism is that: 'In Gluckman's argument the crucial sentence is "the amount of goods transferred and the divorce rate tend to be directly associated." And if this were not vague enough, it is immediately qualified: "the amount of goods transferred . . . will obviously be influenced by factors extraneous to the kinship-marriage complexes." But what does this word "amount" mean?' Dr. Leach then suggests five factors which might be considered in breaking down 'marriage payment,' and concludes: 'I am not suggesting that these are the only relevant questions, but certainly, until they are considered, argument about whether marriage payments are or are not correlated with marriage stability becomes almost meaningless.' The argument does indeed become meaningless in this way, because: (*a*) this particular argument was not the crucial point of the analysis; indeed, Professor Gluckman argues that marriage payment is a subsidiary factor in the total complex; (*b*) Professor Gluckman did in fact consider, for Lozi and Zulu, most of the factors that Dr. Leach isolates, such as: amount and nature of goods; manner of division and collection; time taken for payment, etc.; (*c*) further, to validate or contradict the main hypothesis Professor Gluckman sought for significant variations and found that: (*i*) the father-right Zande and Ganda have no property to transfer and are reported to have a low divorce rate; (*ii*) the cattle-owning matrilineal Ila pay large herds for a bride but have a high divorce rate; (*iii*) the bilateral Lozi and matrilineal Ovambo have large herds but do not use them as marriage payments to secure stability of marriage, which they desire.

I suggest that in a scholarly argument Dr. Leach might have mentioned that Professor Gluckman dealt explicitly with these problems, and indeed that he concluded: 'I suggest it may be no longer wise to name the common institution of transferring goods by a single term. . . . The Lozi institution, on the surface a similar transfer of property, is not the Nuer or the Zulu institution when we come to examine their structural relations.'

I am not particularly concerned to defend Professor Gluckman's particular hypothesis but I must protest against Dr. Leach's mode of argument—the mode of partial distorting quotation and terminological quibbling. It would be far more useful if he made the analysis of marriage payments for which he has drawn up a scheme.

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Webs of Fantasy. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 152, 229, 281, 304; 1954, 19, 42, 74

98 SIR,—Mr. Beattie, in coming to the defence of social anthropologists against Lord Raglan's strictures, makes the following statement: 'Social anthropologists are not really interested in reconstructing the history, or the prehistory, of customs and beliefs in societies which have no history, although of course where historical material is available and helps to explain the social significance of some existing feature of the culture which they are studying they gladly take account of it.' This becomes more surprising the more one thinks about it. Mr. Beattie here seems to admit that some knowledge of the history of a culture can be an aid to understanding its present-day features; but holds that social anthropologists should make no use of such material unless it is presented to them in a pre-digested form. How can social anthropologists be 'not really interested' in material which may help 'to explain the social significance of some existing feature of the culture . . .'? Mr. Beattie seems to be in the position of one who tries to explain the Coronation ceremony and its emotional associations purely by reference to its modern content of constitutional monarchy, parliamentary democracy and the welfare state; he will not nquire into the origin of obscure features, but if he is presented with a book on mediæval English history he will consent to read it.

It has of course long been impossible for one individual to be expert in all branches of anthropology. But the inevitable tendency to subdivision and specialization should, I think, be regarded as a less happy result of the development of our science and not elevated into a principle. The study of culture cannot be divided into mutually exclusive compartments, since human nature seems to be innately unsystematic. The attempt to do so will, I believe, be unfortunate for anthropology as a whole and not least for social anthropology. However, not all social anthropologists practise what some preach.

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Left-Sided Ploughs: A Correction. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 286

99 Mr. Robert Aitken informs the Hon. Editor that in MAN, 1953, 286, note 2, the reference to Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, should not have read 'V, 32', but 'V, 143', where the operative words are *'vacca interiore'*.

(a) *Fang (?), Gaboon*
(Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum)

(b) *Poro Society, Liberia*
(Royal Scottish Museum)

(c) *Poro Society, Liberia*
(Linton collection, Yale Univ.)

(d) *Ibibio, Nigeria (lacking mandible)*
(Horniman Museum)

(e) *Bapende, Belgian Congo*
(E. Gans collection, New York)

(f) *Baule, Ivory Coast*
(M. S. Cockin collection, London)

(g) *Bakete, Belgian Congo*
(Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.)

(h) *Ogowe River, French Equatorial Africa*
(British Museum)

(i) *Cameroons, Grasslands*
(Horniman Museum)

ANATOMICAL INTERPRETATIONS IN AFRICAN MASKS

(b), (d), (f), (h), (i) after Leon Underwood, Masks of West Africa, *London (Tiranti),* 1948

ANATOMICAL INTERPRETATIONS IN AFRICAN MASKS*

by

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IOO Masks, wherever they are worn, have the dual purpose of concealing one identity and of revealing or symbolizing another. In all cultures the majority of masks are worn over the face, thus replacing the physical features of the wearer by the descriptive or symbolic forms of the being represented by the mask. It is important to recognize a felt and expressed relationship between the actual physical features of the wearer and the carved ones of the mask. The sculptured forms, for example, correspond with the hidden physical ones behind them, such as the apertures of the eyes and mouth, and the projections of forehead, cheekbones, nose and jaw. In many primitive masks, particularly in those from Africa, there is evident an important relationship between the carved forms and the anatomical structure of the human head from which they are derived. This relationship is often an interpretation closely associated with anatomical facts. It is therefore worthwhile to examine African masks in order to determine to what extent the sculptured forms are derived from reality.

This paper is concerned only with those African masks representing or expressing human forms; animal masks or those of hybrid animal-human or of abstract forms are not considered. Masks of human form, according to the elements stressed in their rendering, fall largely within one of four basic groups: those which emphasize (1) the structural facial divisions and facial features; (2) the bony structure of the skull; (3) the planes formed by the membrane of the skin and the separation of the setting of facial features from or within those planes; and (4) the fleshy forms and muscles over the bony structure. In every one of these four groups elements of the other three groups appear to a certain extent.

The marked emphasis of structural facial divisions as well as facial features is strikingly evident in many African masks (Plate E*a*). The eyes, and often the ears, combine to form an upper horizontal division within the ovoid of the face, a division repeated below by the lips of the mouth. These two pronounced parallel horizontals are closely bound together by the vertical of the nose. Reference to the actual structure of the skull, however, shows three horizontal divisions: (1) that of the eye orbit and the nasion surmounted by the superciliary arches and the glabella; (2) the important division formed by the zygomatic bones and arches; and (3) the strong horizontal of the maxillæ and mandible processes. In some masks (Plate E*b*) not only are these three divisions clearly indicated, but other important vertical elements apparent in the skull are also represented, as the frontal and nasal sutures, and the nasal spine and mental protuberance.

In many instances æsthetic and expressive considerations led to the carving of masks with a selective emphasis of certain facial divisions, structure, and features (Plate E*b*), so as to render more poignantly apparent the innate rhythmic relationships between these elements. The curve of the upper outline of the head, for example, may establish a motive repeated in varied and inverted rhythmic renderings of structure and facial features. It should be noted that the lack of absolute bilateral symmetry in the disposition and shape of these structures and features corresponds to a like characteristic in nature.

The bony structure of the skull is stressed in masks from many areas in Africa. This representation is often combined in a non-realistic manner with certain fleshy forms, particularly those of the mouth. A type of Poro secret society mask from Liberia well exemplifies this conception (Plate E*c*). The deeply set eye orbits are given triangular shape; the superciliary arch is depressed and thrusts forward; while the zygomatic bone is presented as the apex of a slightly spherical triangle with the base lying along the mandible. The two nasal bones and the nasal suture are suggested, and the protruding ellipse of the mouth stresses the obicularis oris, that ring-like muscle around the lips, rather than the lips themselves. It may be said that the surfaces of the large triangle at the sides of the face are an interpretation of the large masseter muscles which reach from the zygomatic arch to the mandible and secure the lower jaw to the skeleton of the head. These muscles give the mouth its mobility in life forms. It should be observed at this point that a distinctive anatomical trait of the Negro is that the facial muscles tend to be more homogeneous than in those of other peoples, that is they function more nearly as a closely related group. The interpretation of muscles in this example suggests that trait.

There is in the Ibibio mask shown in Plate E*d* a dramatization of the frontal region, glabella, nasion, zygomatic arch and nasal spine. Together with the shaping of the maxillæ and the eye orbits, these structural forms are expressed as rhythmic æsthetic elements.

Many Bapende masks from the western Congo also give a strong statement of anatomical structure (Plate E*e*). But since the lips are described around bared teeth, they can scarcely be considered skeletalized representations. By comparison with other types these masks are, in fact, more expressive of life forms, for, with the exception of the nose, eyelids, and lips, bony structure is stressed over fleshy forms. This is, moreover, presented as covered with a membrane of skin.

Smooth, fluid surface planes are often used in West African masks, particularly in those from Liberia and the

**With Plate E. This article was in part read as a paper at the annual meeting of the American Ethnological Society at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., in April, 1954. The source for the factual material in this study is Cunningham's* Text Book of Anatomy, *7th edn., edited by J. C. Brash and E. B. Jamieson, O.U.P., 1937. The factual data were checked by A. Warren Jones, M.D., to whom special thanks are due for his contribution.*

Ivory Coast, to describe the envelope of skin covering the fleshy parts and bony structure (Plate E*b*). In this type of mask the skeletal parts are suggested rather than emphatically stated beneath the surface membranes. The refinement of tight, polished surfaces provides to a large extent the æsthetic appeal of these sculptures. But it is usually possible to detect a solid anatomical basis for the forms.

African masks may be divided into two groups: in one the facial features are set within and integrated with the surface planes; in the other, they are separated and project forward from these planes. In examples of the latter group, such as the mask from the Baule tribe of the Ivory Coast (Plate E*f*), the facial features are often so highly stylized as to form a decorative pattern. Of the bone structure, only the frontal region, glabella, and nasion, here stressed with scarification marks, are emphatically indicated. The superciliary arch, the zygomatic bone, and the rami of the mandible are evident but not strongly represented. Although masks of this kind reveal a knowledge of anatomical structure, it is subservient to the treatment of surface planes and details which are rendered to achieve an elegant, decorative effect. In the interpretation of superior Baule masks, such as this example, the naturalistic asymmetrical alignment and description of structure and features imparts a vital note to an æsthetic expression of reality.

In other masks, such as the large polychromed Bakete example from the central Congo (Plate E*g*), there is a spectacular rendering of anatomical parts, surfaces, and facial features. These three aspects of the human head are almost equally stressed and freely interpreted. The supraorbital margin and the narrowly separated surmounting superciliary arch are carved as parallel shapes which arch high into the frontal region. Between them the frontal suture is represented as a ridge broken by the nasion and then continuing downward as the nasal suture. The mouth is rendered as a geometric protruding form, and the skeletal structure below the eyes is concealed by panels of geometrically carved surface designs. Great size and power is, however, suggested for the mandible. Among the most striking and remarkable features of this type of mask are the enormous projecting conical eyes. They may be considered as dramatized inversions of the eye orbit. An anatomical description of the eye orbit states that it 'is a cavity of a shape not unlike a four-sided pyramid laid on one side . . . [with] the base of the pyramid [as] the opening on to the face, and the boundaries of the base [as] the margins of the orbit' (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 143). In this carving the base has been retained but the shape is expressed as a cone instead of a pyramid and its direction of thrust is reversed, that is it is projecting dramatically outward and not inward. It is a particularly good example of the æsthetic and expressive licences taken with anatomical forms, which are nevertheless clearly related to those of reality.

Numerous African masks emphasize the muscular and fleshy forms which cover the bony structure. Examples from the Ogowe River region of Gabun (Plate E*h*) show an almost naturalistic modelling of surface planes. Although the skeletal parts are clearly apparent, the soft tissue of flesh and muscle is represented as covering them. The heavy-lidded, partly closed eyes are set within an eye orbit surrounded by a depression which may be construed as referring to the obicularis oculi, the ring of muscle around the eye; while the constriction around the base of the protruding lips represents the muscle ring around the mouth. The wide masseter muscle is also expressed by the planes at the sides of the face. This is a highly sensitive example of an æsthetic interpretation of anatomical structure.

A less sensitive and more dynamic rendering is apparent in many masks from the Cameroons (Plate E*i*). The rings of muscle around the eyes and mouth are particularly evident, as are also the bony arches above the eyes and the heavy forward-thrusting lower jaw. Fat, puffy cheeks hide the structural character of the zygomatic bones and arches, although they mark their position, and the nasal suture and nasal bones are revealed. In this mask the comparatively few forms singled out and emphasized for expressive effect correspond closely to actual anatomical parts.

The knowledge of the expressive role performed by the muscles, particularly those of the eyes and the mouth, is indicated in many masks. In some, for example, the eye orifice is carved so large that the eye muscles of the wearer of the mask give their expression to the carving. Some few types of masks also have the mouth opening cut away to allow the lip muscles to function in a similar way. In examples where the actual muscles of the wearer do not contribute expressively to the sculptured forms, carved muscles are often rendered to stress the desired expression.

It should also be observed that a mask was not seen or used as a static form. The interpretation of many forms and the emphasis given them was actuated by the realization of the mask as a highly dynamic form. The wearer not only provided the motive force for the mask, but, in many examples, the human eyes flashing through the carved eye holes also gave the mask a warm vitality. Only a close understanding of life forms and their underlying anatomical character made it possible for the artist to interpret human forms and features in such a revealing manner. That these African masks are not accurate descriptions of life forms is readily seen. They are, instead, interpretations dictated by the consequence of a few very important factors.

Several special kinds of knowledge contributed to an interpretation of anatomical features. In every area the deeply rooted art tradition determined the particular anatomical parts which were represented and stressed. The long and intensive apprenticeship of most African sculptors indelibly imprinted on his conceptual thinking as well as trained his motor responses in the rendering of the traditional patterns required for various types of carved masks. If he was a by-rote artist, that background was sufficient for him to produce sculpture satisfactory in form and detail for all practical requirements; æsthetically, masks carved by artists of this kind are only of moderate interest. If, on the other hand, the sculptor was an artist of discernment and sensitivity, he would enrich the traditional pattern of a mask by an interpretation based on his cumu-

lative perceptive experiences; the æsthetically important African masks give clear evidence of the greater understanding of this group of master artists.

The presence of cannibalism made the human skull in some areas, if not a common, at least a not infrequent sight. It was also known through its preservation in practices associated with ancestor beliefs; in certain regions ancestral skulls were periodically cleaned and rubbed with red earth. Some familiarity with the appearance of the skull was therefore part of the culture pattern in many parts of Negro Africa.

Aside from these direct contacts, numerous other experiences added considerably to a knowledge of anatomical structure. For example, the brilliance of tropical sunlight and the flickering, unsteady light of night fires and torches playing over the facial features of persons in the routine of daily life often dramatically emphasized bony structure, fleshy forms and their interrelationships. The artist, as an active member of his society, also observed the mobile, vibrant human features during dances and upon ritual occasions when they were under abnormal emotional stress. He thus perceived through these experiences the bony structure of the head and the way in which muscles and fleshy forms are used as means of expression.

Both the direct and the observed knowledge of anatomy became fused in the sensitive sculptor's perceptive understanding of head and facial forms. It is this knowledge upon which he draws in the rendering of the traditional pattern of a mask, and it is this knowledge which gives his interpretation anatomical and expressive power. Although the degree of anatomical reference and the emphasis given to some forms over others differ greatly in the many kinds of African masks representing or derived from human features, all African masks of this category show some interpretation of anatomical knowledge.

It is evident, too, that animal and hybrid animal-human masks show a like basis for their forms in those of reality. But æsthetic considerations in the rendering of his forms and in the use of his knowledge of them were always a motivating force when a sculptor of stature carved a mask. The consequences are among the true masterpieces of primitive art.

SOME IBO ATTITUDES TO SKIN PIGMENTATION

by

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IOI In these days when skin complexion has become one of the more familiar foci of social tension, it may be of interest to examine indigenous attitudes to skin colour among the important Ibo tribe of Eastern Nigeria.[1] In the area from which documentation is taken skin pigmentation ranges from very dark through paler, yellowish or sometimes reddish bronze shades to albinism. Only in true albinism, however, is defective vision and patchy pigmentation characteristically found. Unfortunately, there are no figures to show the distribution of the various shades of complexion in the population, and qualitative impressions are notoriously misleading. As a guide only, it may be said that to two observers, over 29 months, in an area with a population density of 1000 per square mile, it appeared that the paler shades were slightly less common than the very dark, 'black' shades, and that actual albinism was a not unusual sight. This is sufficient to establish that paler complexions actually exist in the population and are so common that they are not considered prodigies or freaks, unlike albinos, however, who are still so considered. In Ibo culture, however, these yellowish or reddish complexions are considered more beautiful than the darker, 'blacker,' complexions. A scale of preference at least superficially similar has, of course, been reported among the coloured populations of the U.S.A. and the West Indies. However, in these populations paleness of complexion is inextricably bound up with social advantages arising largely from the presence of a dominant social group of European stock. It is true that, in West Africa, government has for many years been identified with pale-skinned Europeans, but the Ibo evidence suggests that preference for paleness of complexion is indigenous.[2]

First of all it is important to examine the concept of colour itself among the Ibo.[3] Colour is not one of the more important methods of distinguishing objects. Generally speaking the basic colours are few and are named from concrete referents in the environment.[4] Colour in general is translated by such words as *udi*, meaning 'condition,' 'appearance,' 'shape,' or by the use of the verb *cha* which is used in the sense 'to be the colour of,' but which has a wider context of reference conveying the meaning almost 'to be bright, shiny.' From this verb is derived the word usually translated 'white' (*ocha*), which is one of the only two terms for colour, the other being *ojii* or *ojiji* ('black'), which have no concrete referents. In actual fact these two terms are of a different order from the others, since they appear to designate relative degrees of brightness. Thus *ojii* may comprise dark brown, bottle green and other dark colours as well as true black. Conversely *ocha* ('white') covers a range of colours, can mean 'clean,' and generally speaking distinguishes objects of relative brightness, paleness, smoothness and gloss.[5] Thus, red sand used to build houses is called 'white sand' (*aja ocha*), while a pot of a sepia shade but with a smooth semi-glaze is a 'white pot' (*ite ocha*), compared especially with a glazeless black pot. Similarly a person with a yellowish or reddish complexion is also 'white man' (*nwoko ocha*).

Within Ibo culture the colours and textures grouped under *ocha* are admired. Objects of that 'appearance' (a good translation of *udi* and the word commonly chosen by literate Ibo in discussing this subject) have become synonymous with beauty and their names are applied regularly to human beings also regarded as *ocha*. Such objects are: *uku* (a hard, shiny *café au lait*-coloured seed chosen regularly by informants as showing the most perfect appearance for a future wife), *ugo* (the vulturine fish-eagle—regarded as the most beautiful bird),[6] *orira* (a snake), *ncha* (soap, either yellow or red, its own name being from the *cha* stem) and many more. None of these objects is white and the fish-eagle is a mottled bird with feathers mainly of fawn and pale yellow. All, however, are uniformly smooth with a gloss. The brightness implicit in the *ocha* concept is brought out also in names incorporating *anyanwo* (the sun) and *amuma* (lightning). Since all Negro children are born much paler in complexion than they will later become, some persons now dark in complexion bear names with *ocha* or synonymous elements, as a result of parental optimism. There is, however, hardly any equivalent naming of particularly dark-skinned persons. Occasionally *Opara Ojiji* ('Black Eldest Son') and *Nwanyi Ojiji* ('Black Woman') are met with, but these are extremely rare among the dark-skinned compared with the common *Opara Ocha*, *Nwanyi Ugo* and so on among the paler. That the admiration of the paler-skinned and of smooth glossy objects is not recent is borne out both by the fact that 'pale-skinned' names are found among members of the oldest, pre-British, generation and by important ritual aspects. For example, formerly, priests of *Amadi Oha*, the lightning deity, had to be of yellowish complexion and most still are. They and their deity cannot eat the so-called 'white' (*ocha*) snail (actually again reddish yellow). *Nne Miri* ('Mammy Water'), a river spirit, is supposed to be 'white' and beautiful.[7] The fish-eagle feather is worn by ritual heads of status apart from other ritual uses of the fish-eagle and its feathers. Albinos, the extreme of paleness, however, are not admired, as their skins lack the essential smoothness and uniformity of texture and their many physical infirmities in any event render them repulsive to normal Ibo. The European complexion is on the contrary much admired, although, at this stage, it is difficult to disentangle the æsthetic from other elements in the situation. It is impossible to say whether, under true indigenous conditions, the European complexion would still have taken its position as the most beautiful *ocha* complexion. The fact that Dr. Stewart was painted with *uri* (indigo dye) so as to appear black, when he was sacrificed and eaten in Ahiara Mba-Ise in 1906, is one possible indication to the contrary. Nevertheless, it will be shown later that the existing preference for paler complexions appears to be strengthened nowadays by the presence of Europeans.

In the choice of a wife, yellow-skinned girls are regarded as beauties, and, other things being equal, they command higher bride prices. On the other hand it is generally held, especially by dark-complexioned persons, that yellow-skinned people are not as strong as the dark and do not live as long. A 'black' girl is said to be a harder worker. Like many judgments on the basis of pigmentation this one has probably a sociological explanation. Here it is not unlikely that knowledge of their beauty influences the desire to work of yellowish girls. The fact that the albino, who is at the extreme of the paleness spectrum, is socially useless may also play its part, as may the fact that Europeans are often thought to be weak, although this may itself be a product of the general belief. Whatever the views of the relative strengths of black or yellow girls, however, only one man of the younger generation asked in one village said that he would actually prefer a 'black' wife, adding that she would work hard. However, one of his friends later exposed his motives, saying: 'Oh yes, S. wants a girl who won't want to be married in church, and no yellow girls of Nguru would agree to that!' Black young men said they would prefer not to marry black girls as 'the children will be black.' Another remark was that no girl would marry a middle-aged man or a man with other wives, nowadays, unless she were 'black and ugly.' It was often claimed that a yellow girl would insist on a Church marriage with its extra prestige, the village group of Nguru being especially notable in the area for this. A boy of Nguru who was asked: 'What if the yellow girl is a pagan?' replied that no yellow girl could fail to be a Christian. A Mission headmaster was of the opinion that the preference for yellow girls was greater nowadays than in his youth. He thought that the reason for this was that people formerly looked for strength rather than beauty and tended to marry black girls. He claimed that black people had greater powers of endurance, and he cited his own village where, he said, of the oldest six or seven people only one was yellow. Nowadays, he thought that the presence of Europeans had swung standards in favour of yellow girls. This informant himself was extremely pale in complexion and, fearing that his children might be albino, had married a black wife. A young man who had been trading and driving lorries in Port Harcourt and Aba showed that in the townships the European standard was consciously recognized. Asked why he expressed a preference to marry a girl 'somewhat yellow' he replied 'Well, you know that a thing that is ugly is first of all really black.' He added that if a man married a yellow-complexioned girl, his friends would joke, and say: 'What, are you a white man to have a white wife?' He was voicing the opinion of young men in the townships, where, he said, for one's wife to have a pleasing appearance was becoming more important than any other qualities. 'You don't want people to laugh at you and say "Is that your wife?"' This informant was proud of his own pale complexion.

From this body of definitely expressed opinion the equation of paleness of complexion with beauty emerges quite clearly. Divergence never occurs on this issue. In assessing the effect of the European standard it should be borne in mind that the Ibo population is almost entirely free from half-castes, and thus there is no gradual transition between the Negro and European stocks. There can therefore be no 'passing.' Secondly, paler pigmentation has no class significance. Wealthy Ibo are of all shades of com-

plexion. There seems no doubt that the presence of Europeans has only accentuated an indigenous preference in which probably smoothness, gloss and light-reflecting colouring were criteria of beauty in any object, where other things were equal. How the indigenous preference arose is not easily answered. The ritual associations are unlikely to have had primacy since normally, where marriage is concerned, ritual connexions are considered rather dangerous (so that, for example, it is preferred not to marry into the family of a priest of a deity of importance, unless one's own family has similar connexions). The association of paler complexions with Amadi Oha, the Lightning Deity, is a direct one, since lightning, as has been shown, is a metaphor for paleness. On the other hand the personal name Child of Lightning (*Nwa Amuma*) has no sacred significance, being purely descriptive,[8] while the name Child of Amadi Oha is a name of dedication to the deity itself, given to black as well as paler people. Thus the ritual aspect of paleness and its æsthetic aspect have different contexts. Thinking in separate contexts is typical of the world view of the Ibo, and attempts to force together these contexts are in my view mistaken. On the whole it is likely that deities and ritual objects were influenced by the ideal of beauty rather than *vice versa*. Thus, in the case of the fish-eagle feather, its fineness probably reserved it to men of status. The most common reason given by informants for the preference for paleness was that the features of paler-skinned people were more easily visible and appeared to better advantage than those of black people, and the pale skin suited popular eye and body decorations. One informant, a black Ibo, said: 'Most people here are black, so that we like to see a yellow skin, because it is different.' Whether his statistics are correct or not it is true enough that in indigenous conditions clean, bright and glossy things are rare compared with dark, dull and sooty things, and perhaps one should look no further for the origins of the standard.

It is perhaps surprising that, since paler girls command a higher bride price, there are not more signs of a stratification equating paler skins and wealth. This may be accounted for by the fact that indigenous Ibo conditions made individual variations in wealth difficult to transmit intact down the generations. Only in recent years have there been the beginnings of a stratification by wealth. A more immediately possible effect of the colour preference is that the large Ibo population in the townships may contain a higher proportion of the admired complexions than does the population as a whole,[9] since migrants are able to pay higher bride prices than stay-at-home youths, and also, in such centres, as has been shown, the European standard has accentuated the desire for 'yellow' girls.[10] It remains to enquire whether there is any indication of a reaction against the paler complexions for political reasons. Among the mass of the Ibo the answer must be clearly 'no.' Preoccupation with colour as such and the use of the term 'colour bar' is not as characteristic of Nigerian political life as it may be of other countries, but, in any case, the preference for the paler complexion appears too deeply rooted in the Ibo ideal of beauty to be easily influenced for many years.

Notes

[1] The following material was collected in the course of socio-anthropological research in the Mba-Ise group of clans in 1949–51.

[2] This is common to other tribes: *cf.* M. Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, 1945, p. 7.

[3] Linguistic examples are all from Mba-Ise. The association of *cha* with texture was suggested originally by Miss M. M. Green. (For greater simplicity of printing, and reading, and in accordance with the practice of MAN where the argument does not depend upon orthographical nicety, special phonetic letters are not used here, and *e* and *o* each do duty for more than one vowel sound; the *o* in *ocha* is sounded approximately as in 'pot.'—ED.)

[4] *E.g.* 'camwood,' 'blood' (*uhye uhye*, *obara obara*—the reds), 'living vegetation' (*ahehea ndo*—blues and greens up to medium intensity), '*odo* dye' (*odo odo*: bright yellow), etc.

[5] Significantly enough a true white surface with no lustre (*e.g.* a whitewashed wall) is designated by a term with a concrete referent (*nzu nzu*, 'lime,' 'chalk').

[6] The handsome name Nwa Ugo ('eagle child') has been unhappily changed to Birdson by one lorry-owner.

[7] My wife was seriously taken for *Nne miri* by an adolescent girl on one occasion.

[8] *Cf.* D. U. Ogan, *Akuko-Ife Grim Koro* (London), where *Nwa Amoma* as well as *Ugo Ocha* ('*White Fish Eagle*') are used to translate Grimm's 'Snow White.'

[9] In conversation (1952) Dr. Barnicot of University College, London, mentioned to me that bronze complexions appeared more common among the Ibo immigrants in Lagos than among the Yoruba. This may be significant.

[10] The use of talcum powder on the face by both sexes is commoner in townships, as is the reddening of the cheeks by women.

SHORTER NOTES

Enslavement and the Early Hebrew Lineage System: An Explanation of Genesis 47: 29–31, 48: 1–16. *By the late Dr. Franz Steiner, Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford*

102

In[1] his recent *Studies in Biblical Law*, Dr. Daube has analysed the story of Joseph in order to find the concomitant legal conceptions of the early Hebrews; his main reference was to the first part of the story.[2] Here I want to examine what I regard as the climax of the Biblical narrative.

If, as is often done, we consider the story of Joseph simply as a tale, the consummate artistry with which the narrative is unfolded imposes as the climax the meeting of Joseph and his brothers in Egypt. If, however, we consider the Joseph story basically as a description of a man whose kinship bonds were severed by his sale into slavery and of his later relations to his kinship group, the climax is revealed in the passages which I want to examine here. Some years' study of servile institutions and their structural ramifications in simpler societies[3] has enabled me to elucidate certain features of the Biblical narrative which before seemed difficult.

Among the relevant verses (*Gen.*, 47:29–31, 48:1–16), the following are the ones of chief interest:

Gen., 47.29. And the time drew nigh that Israel must die: and he called his son Joseph, and said unto him, If now I have found

grace in thy sight, put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh, and deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt.

47.31. And he said, Swear unto me. And he sware unto him. And Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head.

48.5. And now thy two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt before I came unto thee into Egypt, *are* mine; as Reuben and Simeon, they shall be mine.

48.6. And thy issue, which thou begettest after them, shall be thine, *and* shall be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance.

In the first place, it is surprising to find Jacob addressing his son in this deferential manner. Interpretations which account for this by Joseph's exalted position in Egypt do not take cognizance of the father-son relationship in the patriarchal society of the Hebrews.

The second difficulty is the oath. To 'put the hand under the thigh' has been interpreted by the leading commentators (*e.g.* Rashi[4]) as touching the genitals, and this act is quite inconsistent with the fundamental family taboo of the Hebrews. The only other instance of putting one's hand under a person's thigh while making a vow does not refer to such a contact between near kinsmen, let alone between a son and his progenitor; it is the description of the oath of Abraham's servant Eliezer (*Gen.*, 24.2).

The notion that, as Franz Delitzsch puts it, 'Jacob desires Joseph to put his hand under his thigh, and thus to assure him on the ground of the covenant of circumcision made with Abraham, the actual proof of faithful love . . .'[5] had to be discarded after Pedersen's study of the oath among the Semites. Pedersen compares the Biblical procedure with similar customs found among the Arabs who, however, swear by their own, not by the other person's, genitals. According to Pedersen, in the Arab formula, the male genitals signify the children, and, what is more, the whole kin. Among the Arabs it is thus 'an oath by that kin from which (the person who swears) will be severed if he violates his vow.'[6] This Arab procedure would be nonsensical if it were used in an agreement between persons deeply interested in the wellbeing of the identical group of people. To this must be added the inconsistency we have already mentioned: the severe Hebrew family taboo (*Gen.*, 9:21–25, *Lev.*, 18:6–18).

There seems to be only one answer: that Joseph, because of his sale into slavery, is legally no longer Jacob's son. This selling is a renunciation of family solidarity with and responsibility for Joseph, and although the sale took place without the father's knowledge, it must affect the father as it does all other kinsmen. This would explain Jacob's deferential address: as this is a formal occasion and binding promises are to be given, the words exchanged between the two persons must, in a formal manner, exactly correspond to their actual social relationship.

This explanation also throws some light on the third point: the sons of Joseph are to be received as future progenitors and *patres* of the 'tribes' into what Professors Evans-Pritchard and M. Fortes call the 'maximal lineage.'[7] No such attention is given to the other grandchildren of Jacob. There are no grounds for regarding this as a mark of deference to or as an indemnification of Joseph; Joseph expresses no gratitude for having been preferred to his brothers.

Holzinger is one of the many who have dealt with the passage according to the rules of 'Higher Criticism.' He distinguishes two different narratives which have been combined: in the one narrative Joseph's sons are blessed, but not Joseph himself; in the other narrative, Jacob, after going through a rite of adoption by having the lads sit on his knees, returns them to Joseph, blessing him, 'but his words shift to the children very quickly.'[8]

It is not within the power of Joseph's former kinship group to take him back. He has become a freeman in Egypt, but this does not make him a member of his family again. On the contrary, having been freed in Egypt he then became attached to the court of the king, and in that capacity he is part of the Egyptian social structure.

In most societies a slave's manumission makes him a member or an affiliated member (client) of the former master's family. In fact, in ancient Mesopotamia, adoption seems to have been one of the chief forms of enfranchisement. Adoption or clientage does not reinstate the former slave into his previous kinship structure.[9] Much depends on the mode of enslavement. We know of most simpler societies that aliens who had been enslaved against the will of their smallest solidarity group, *e.g.* as prisoners of war, tend to run away; a man sold by his family rarely does so.

Perhaps quite a different case in an entirely different social setting may help to explain further the nature of this kinship obligation in the enslavement complex.

In her description of the institutions of the North-west American Tsimshian, Viola E. Garfield mentions a case of enslavement. A chief wanted 'to humble a rich and powerful lineage in his tribe, a lineage of which he was jealous.' He asked for one of their women in marriage, and sold her after the wedding to a neighbouring chief. Her relatives bought her free, but could not refuse the influential chief when he asked for her again. Once more she was sold and redeemed, and yet a third time was asked in marriage by the same chief. By then the family had been considerably impoverished, and, when they gave the woman away, they made public in the appropriate manner, that they were not going to ransom her any more. 'So far as they were concerned she was dead.' Her name was no more mentioned by her people, and she died a slave.[10]

This declaration as dead means the formal renunciation of all kinship obligations and this is implied in every sale into slavery by a person's kinship group—in cases where slavery is institutionalized, and if the 'sale' is not merely a selling into debtor slavery. The latter is a very common institution of African and Malaysian societies. There, the fact that the party selling retains the right to redeem the person who is sold, means that kinship obligations are acknowledged.

The sociological and historical significance of this part of the Joseph story is twofold. The legal conceptions underlying it are different from the slave law of *Exodus*, *Deuteronomy* and *Leviticus*, which correspond to the slave laws of the Mesopotamian cultures. Both kinds of societies, differ as they may amongst themselves, are no longer tribal societies in the strict sense. Both kinds of societies distinguish between two categories of slaves: nationals and enslaved aliens. The later Biblical law conceives of the enslaved male nationals as temporary slaves. The point of interest is not so much the possibility of automatic release after the fixed number of years (*Ex.*, 21.2), but the unbroken kinship ties with and obligations towards the enslaved which make them 'nationals.' In this lies the chief difference between alien and national slaves, not in the participation in the activities of the ritual community. In this latter respect, as Isaac Mendelsohn has recently pointed out,[11] the two groups are hardly distinguishable.

I suggest that the Joseph story goes a long way in explaining the evolution which led to the later legal customs.

Moreover, these passages describe to us minutely a lineage system working in a way we would not expect among the Semites. The reason is that we have tended to investigate the kinship organization of the Semites more in terms of family units than in terms of lineages. The splitting-off and the re-absorption of the minimal lineage remind us of phases in the growth of African kinship groups, as described by Professors Evans-Pritchard and Fortes.

Notes

[1] This paper was first read at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Brussels, 1948. This article is published with the permission of the late Dr. Steiner's literary executor, Dr. H. Adler. The bibliographical references, lacking in the manuscript, have been supplied by Dr. Laura Bohannan.

[2] David Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law*, Cambridge, 1947, pp. 3–15.

[3] Franz Steiner, *Comparative Study of Servile Institutions*, unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxon.

[4] *Der Raschi-Kommentar zu den fünf Büchern Moses vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt mit beigedruktem Bibel=Texte in einem Bande*, v. Julius Dessauer, Budapest, 1887, pp. 57f. 121.

[5] Franz Delitzsch, *A New Commentary on Genesis*, tr. S. Taylor, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1888, Vol. II, p. 355.

[6] Johs. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strassburg, 1914, pp. 150f.

[7] *African Political Systems*, ed. M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Oxford, 1940.

[8] H. Holzinger, 'Genesis,' in series *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 253.

[9] Isaac Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1949, Ch. I, pp. 1–33; also E. J. Simcox, *Primitive Civilizations*, London, 1894, *passim*.

[10] Viola E. Garfield, *Tsimshian Clan and Society*, U. of Washington Publ. in Anthrop., Vol. 7, No. 3, Seattle, 1939, pp. 167–340; see p. 272.

[11] I. Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, Ch. II, pp. 34–74

Folklore and History. *By Leslie F. Newman. Summary of the* **103** *im Thurn Memorial Lecture delivered before the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society, at Edinburgh, 26 March, 1954, with Professor Kenneth Jackson in the chair*

Great Britain, said the lecturer, is almost the only European country that declines to consider folklore as a separate school and university study, although a small part of the wider subject, anthropology, does include what is usually known as folklore. There are numerous reasons for this regrettable attitude. The methods of collecting data are liable to be casual and to bring the subject into disrepute. The fantastic explanations put forward by irresponsible students and independent amateurs, with the impossibility of checking results and the difficulty of consulting scattered papers on the subject hidden away in almost unknown journals where good work often escapes notice, all tend to make folklore the Cinderella of science.

And so the contempt of historians for folklore research receives continual encouragement, and captious critics pick on a few misstatements—or even what are wrongly assumed to be misstatements—to condemn the whole subject. Classical scholars, from their intimate knowledge of early myths, are much more tolerant and indeed many of our greatest folklorists were originally classical students. Legal training has produced at least one first-class folklorist whose painstaking researches are a standby for specialists in witchcraft investigation. But pure history students will stand aloof with one notable exception—Dr. L. F. Salzman, whose excellent and accurate investigations into the byways of history provide folklorists with a mass of valuable material. Science has always produced excellent folklore students, especially the profession of medicine—Rorie, Pettigrew and McKenzie for example in the north, with Withering, Singer, Adams and Thompson in the south.

The answer to the unmerited contempt for folklore studies by historians probably comes from the fact that the two subjects are very near in theory but widely separate in practical work.

Correlation of myth and alleged fact is indeed difficult and requires a well balanced mind—an attitude which is rather rare today when *ex parte* statements receive more consideration than they sometimes deserve. Great Britain is extremely fortunate in the large number of folklore collectors whose records are available today. The collections were mostly made before the word 'folklore' was invented and they belong to what has been called true folklore—that of the mind—as against material culture. If we take a wide range of individual cases or examples we can better appreciate some of the divergent points of view resulting from a specialized knowledge of various workers. For instance, The Essex Dragon and the story of the commercial traveller who consulted a mathematician when his goods were stolen require a knowledge of geology to appreciate the different implications.

The real curse of folklore is the shameless exploitation of the subject for cheap publicity purposes, the recent moon-cult being a good example. Many new and inexcusable travesties of customs and myths have been exploited in the same way.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Tools of Social Science. *By John Madge. London (Longmans Green), 1953. Pp. x, 308. Price £1 5s.*

104 The idea of social science still finds a difficult reception in some quarters. Yet the desire to write about society in an objective way, rather than to interpret social life through the subjective impressions of a single mind, is real and laudable. In the middle of last century J. S. Mill worked out the canons which must govern the application of scientific thinking to social facts but his period lacked the tools to develop a true empirical science of society.

Thanks to the development of statistics and to the elaboration of concepts for the precise description of events, such a science is now within the bounds of possibility. There is still much to be done in classifying social data according to the several systems of concepts that now exist and even for the clarification of our notions before the serious work of classification begins.

Mr. Madge has produced a book which will be of real value in this process of clarification. The principal business of social science, like that of all science, will be not the production of hypotheses or the construction of theoretical models but the verification of facts and of conclusions drawn from the facts. *The Tools of Social Science* is not a training manual but a closely argued commentary on the contemporary methods used in certain types of social research.

The book begins with a section on the logic of language, clearly and simply expressed, and on the place of values in research which concerns itself with human beings. Mr. Madge clearly states his belief that value-free research is virtually impossible and that subjective influences will remain even with the most refined techniques. This, however, is no argument for not trying to reduce bias wherever this can be done. In the chapters that follow, ways to achieve this are presented. These chapters are devoted to the use of documents, to observation, to the interview and to the problems of experimental design in the social field. The longest and most valuable is about the interview. There is much in this that will stimulate students of social anthropology, since the success of their fieldwork must depend upon their skill in collecting and in interpreting interview data.

The present text, often highly condensed but always readable, discusses other techniques in current use in social research. It may introduce anthropologists to methods which should be of assistance to them, as for instance content-analysis of interview material, and the construction of scales to measure social participation. The various

pitfalls that must be avoided in searching for the causes of social happenings are introduced and their role in a research project examined. The common aim of all these methods is to refine and verify the facts of observation and of participation. Apart from references to Malinowski and to Ruth Benedict, the author does not seem to draw upon anthropology for his material though some of the newer and more precise concepts about family living owe a good deal to that discipline. The fact that the book covers so much ground new to anthropologists should commend it to our readers: it deserves to be read by all interested in the development of the subject.

J. M. MOGEY

Approaches to Community Development. *Edited by Phillips Ruopp. The Hague (Van Hoeve). 1953. Pp. xvi, 352. Price 20 guilders*

105 The purpose of this volume of essays is to introduce readers to the salient characteristics of the peasant and pastoral societies of so-called under-developed areas, and to the problems and social change that accompany the development of such areas. It aims at stimulating self-help among villagers and at criticism of those assumptions that underlie every approach to community development.

Mr. S. Radhakrishnan of New Delhi in a foreword writes that in struggling to raise the standards of life of Indian people since the attainment of independence in 1947 'the essential feature of our scheme is the participation of the people in the Project from its very start.' To establish in every human group this 'common measure,' to which Professor Fleure attaches such profound importance, should be one of the main tasks of those responsible for establishing in Britain new towns such as Crawley and Corby. Although material standards are better and economic security, health services, education, have reached an altogether higher level than in the communities with which this symposium is mainly concerned, the value of encouraging local pride, voluntary activity and participation is just as high. To this extent these essays should prove of value as a guide to the planners, since they are dealing primarily with human needs in an essentially human situation.

ROBERT HYDE

Les Langues du Monde. *By a group of linguists under direction of A. Meillet and M. Cohen. New Edition. Paris (Centre Nat. de la Rech. Scient.), 1952. Pp. xlii, 1296, 21 maps*

106 In his notice to this, the second edition of a work first published in 1924, Marcel Cohen, the surviving editor, professes his adherence to the guiding principles laid down by Antoine Meillet. It is therefore in the light of the original foreword and introduction (now omitted) that this new edition must be judged.

The purpose, said Meillet, was to give an idea of the distribution (*répartition*) of languages in the world, taking their history into account. Since the amount and quality of information available varied with each field and the different contributors did not necessarily share the same outlook, there could be no unity of description. The main point was to establish the state of contemporary knowledge, and the best method to that end was to give each scholar free rein. No statistics could be expected, and since each family of languages had a different history, no family could be compared to any other.

For Meillet the only profitable system of classification was a genealogical arrangement based on the well attested history of those languages, such as Latin, which were known to have had a period of expansion followed by fragmentation and the independent development of derived languages. It was a historical phenomenon which need not imply similarities of structure. Indeed, genealogical classification could not be established on a basis of linguistic type but only with reference to morphological patterns: the juxtaposition of 'strong forms' such as '*il est, ils sont*' with '*er ist, sie sind*' was a better reason for regarding French and German as related than similarities of words and structure. But Meillet recognized that the achievements of Indo-European scholars had the advantage of documentary evidence over relatively long periods. That advantage was not shared by scholars working, say, in the American or the African field. Again, Latin morphology went with Latin vocabulary, but Annamese, for example, had no morphology, only syntax. 'Exprimant des faits historiques de type divers, la classification généalogique des langues ne saurait être homogène . . . Essayer de faire une classification exacte et complète de toutes les langues en familles rigoureusement définies, c'est montrer déjà qu'on n'a pas compris le principe de la classification généalogique des langues . . . La parenté des langues perd son sens, on l'a vu, là où ne se reconnaissent pas des continuités de formes grammaticales.'

The second edition follows very largely the plan of the first. In the process of grouping families of languages a distinction has now been made between well established and tentative (or frankly speculative) schemes of classification. The latter do not figure in the different monographs but are mentioned in a series of short notices (*notes liminaires*) for which the editor makes himself responsible. Some of the startling similarities revealed by certain bold spirits are met with terse Gallic comments. Thus: 'Le dravidien a été également rapproché du nubien par Tuttle et du coréen par Hulbert. Rien de tout cela ne vaut.'

A review of this comprehensive volume can give but brief indications about its scope. Where a section has been materially enlarged, I shall mention it in terms of pages in the new edition, the figures in brackets referring to the first edition. Of the 25 contributors, 20 are associated with French centres of learning. Throughout the volume the increased number of texts is especially welcome. On the debit side the various chapters are much less homogeneous than in the first edition. It is not without interest to notice changes of personnel and occasionally of terminology and arrangement, particularly in the fields which are perhaps of special interest to anthropologists. Thus Finno-ugrian and Samoyed are grouped under the term Uralian recommended by A. Sauvageot who was one of the original contributors: 39 (31). Turkish, Mongolian and Tungus languages are discussed separately by J. Deny and D. Sinor: 81 (53). The 'hyperboreal languages' (*langues hyperboréennes*) of the first edition, namely Chuckchee, Yukaghir, Gilyak and others accounted for by S. Eliséev, are now considered by R. Jakobson who calls them Palæosiberian: 30 (4).

Jules Bloch has contributed a brief note on the Burushaski language and a section on the Andaman Islands. The late H. Maspero is given just credit for a considerably enlarged monograph on continental South-East Asia including Austro-asiatic: 116 (44).

In the Malayo-Polynesian section where G. Ferrand had given pride of place to Indonesian, the Oceanic languages now receive lengthier treatment, probably at the expense of Indonesian which, together with Polynesian, is treated a little superficially by J. Faublée. M. Leenhardt supplies the information about Melanesian languages. It is a little mystifying to find that Fijian, which was treated (quite justifiably) as Melanesian in the first edition, is not even mentioned in the second apart from a brief reference in the Polynesian section. J. Guiart writes about Australian languages. Pater Schmidt sums up the findings of his recent book on Tasmanian while C. Lukotka gives us a glimpse of the Papuan field.

In Africa the plan of the first edition has not been fundamentally altered. On Sudanic and West African material (*Langues du Soudan et de la Guinée*) the original account of M. Delafosse has been revised by A. Caquot, while G. van Bulck has replaced L. Homburger in the Bantu and Bushman-Hottentot sections. The last two are both treated at greater length: 94 (36).

In America the volume does much to reflect the progress of fieldwork in the last 30 years, especially in the North: 108 (30). P. Rivet has been helped by G. Stresser-Péan and C. Lukotka. The business-like bibliography is a particular feature of this section. One welcomes different features in different parts of this work: thus in West Africa and the Sudan the languages are listed systematically, carefully situated on the map and the various names by which they are known are given to avoid confusion. In the North American field there are useful historical details concerning linguistic communities.

Specialists will perhaps find much to quarrel with in detailed statements of fact and unwarranted generalizations. How could it be otherwise in a rapidly developing discipline with so much controversial material and where 25 men have endeavoured to sum up what is known of the languages of the world? But it would be

ungracious to complain of the unevenness of this work which would clearly have suffered from too much insistence on uniformity. It is much more of a guide to linguistic studies than a summary of our present knowledge. One of the concluding remarks in Meillet's original preface is equally apt as an introduction to this second edition: 'Dans le présent livre, il y a donc un programme de recherches plus qu'une somme de résultats.' G. B. MILNER

Johann Jakob Bachofens Gesammelte Werke: Vol. IV: Versuch über die Gräbersymbolik der Alten. *Edited by Ernst Howald with Harald Fuchs and Karl Meuli. Basel (Schwabe), 1954. Pp. 604. Price 35 Swiss francs*

107 *Gräbersymbolik* has an important place in the genesis of Bachofen's writings. It was produced at the same time as Bachofen's more famous book *Mutterrecht*. *Gräbersymbolik* was the result of much planning and laborious preparations. *Mutterrecht* came as a spontaneous, not planned, production. The working of Bachofen's highly original mind discloses itself in both of these great books. Bachofen used two ways of gaining insight. One is the slow, laborious, reasoned combination of details. The other is the shorter and quicker way of intuition. He preferred the results which the second way gave him, because they have more life and colour than the results of pure reasoning.

Bachofen was a savant of great creative force. His work brought him into opposition to recognized scientific method; and a century has not dissolved this disharmony. However, Bachofen's writings are still of very considerable interest. The complete edition of his works, which is going on, makes it possible to follow the creative activity of a genius. He may not have proved any of his theories. His results are not immovable stones in the wall of science. But the problems which he raised are still vital.

In the antique grave cult and its symbolic art, Bachofen hoped to find relics of the oldest human ideas of life and death and existence. In the Oknos myth he would not see only one of the Tantalus tales, analogous to the stories of the Danaides and of Sisyphus. Oknos, eternally and eagerly plaiting a rope, which an ass eternally eats, suffers the penalty of unceasing and useless labour. Behind this symbol, Bachofen discerned a deep interpretation of living nature—eternally breeding and eternally dying—a philosophy which, according to Bachofen, originated in an old matrarchal state of human society. This view of living nature is probably very old; at this point, Bachofen may be right. However, he has not succeeded in proving that the Oknos symbol originally was meant to give expression to this pessimistic philosophy—nor that the Oknos symbol was originally Egyptian. In fact, the Oknos myth was known in Hellenistic Egypt. It occurs in a papyrus from the middle of the first century A.D. The Oknos and the Tantalus motives reached Egypt probably in Hellenistic times (*cf.* Hugo Gressmann and Georg Müller, 'Vom reichen Manne und armen Lazarus,' *Abh. der Kön. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1918, Hist. Kl. No. 7.)

GUDMUND HATT

Beiträge zur sprachlichen Volksüberlieferung. *Deutsche Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Veröffentl. der Komm. f. Volksk., Vol. II. Berlin (Akademie-Verlag), 1953. Pp. ii, 296*

108 The second volume published by the Folklore Commission of the German Academy of Science contains 20 papers which were presented to the late Professor Adolf Spamer on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. 'Linguistic Contributions to Folk Traditions' alone would never have done justice to Professor Spamer's astonishingly wide range of interests, so clearly demonstrated in his bibliography (pp. 292ff.). It was a welcome surprise to find the title misleading, as the work includes some outstanding papers on problems connected with iconography, allegory and symbolism (J. M. Ritz, 'Late Mediæval Paintings Depicting Folklore and Supplementing written Sources'; W. Fraenger, 'Dürer's Column Commemorating the Peasants' War'; H. Marzell, 'Hazel and Serpent'; L. Schmidt, 'The Folkloristic Basis of the Language of Signs and Gestures'; O. Lauffer, 'Allegory of the Time, the Year, Seasons, Months and Days'; K. E. Fritzsch, 'The Christmas Tree in Saxony').

In his paper on 'The Symbolism . . . of the Wine', Professor G. Schreiber mentions the miracles of the Anglo-Saxon Wigbert as well as the influence of British missionaries reflected in continental benedictions of bread and wine. V. von Geramb, 'The Legendary Motif of Horse-Shoeing,' refers to Old English and Scottish legends. Folksongs on such unusual themes as 'making a will' and 'against the service as mercenaries' are discussed by the late John Meier and Professor W. Steinitz. I. Weber-Kellermann ends her short monograph on the folk riddle by stressing the importance of a comprehensive international collection which would throw much light on the character of the various nations. The profound scholarly tradition of their great master has been successfully maintained by his pupils, friends and colleagues. E. ETTLINGER

Myth and Ritual in Christianity. *By Alan W. Watts. London and New York (Thames and Hudson), 1953. Pp. 262. Price £1 5s.*

109 Those acquainted with the literature of the subject will read with some astonishment the opening statement in the prologue to this volume that 'a book on Christian Mythology has not, I believe, been written before.' Professor Watts has his own line of approach to Catholic symbolism and its implications, mystical, metaphysical, theological and psychological, it is true, but he can hardly be unaware that he is only one of many exponents of the theme, and not perhaps the most convincing interpreter of a highly complex tradition. Thus, because he is of the opinion that his subject 'is not a museum piece but a living symbolism which lies at the root of our present civilization, and is inseparably bound up with our whole philosophy of life,' it cannot be treated 'from a purely folklorist or anthropological point of view.' Even so, the anthropological data require more attention than they here receive if Christian myth and ritual are to be placed in their proper context, not only in relation to the relatively remote parallels in Hinduism and Buddhism, with which the author is familiar, but more particularly to their immediate background in the Middle East and the Græco-Roman world.

While Professor Watts is well informed in liturgical matters and gives an accurate account of the ecclesiastical calendrical sequence of fast and festival and its complex rites and their doctrinal significance (however fantastic may be some of his own interpretations of the theological situation, which lies outside the field of this review), he does not seem to realize the present attitude of anthropologists to the meaning and function of myth and ritual in social structure and the religious life of a community and how fundamentally opinion on these matters has changed since the Frazerian era. His own definition of myth as 'a complex of stories—some, no doubt, fact and some fantasy—which for various reasons human beings regard as demonstrations of the inner meaning of the universe and of human life,' may not be so wide of the mark, but when it is further described as 'a numinous story' containing 'a complex of images, factual and fanciful, regarded as specially significant for no clearly realized reason,' the main issue is obscured. He is on more secure ground when he interprets rite as 'the action or deed constituting worship, together with the accompanying form of words which declare its meaning.'

For anthropologists concerned with religious symbolism, calendrical ritual and the functional significance of mythology the book is not without its interest, notwithstanding its limitations, and apart from its conclusions. At least it is demonstrated that in the liturgy and the seasonal cycle of the ecclesiastical year 'Christianity is actually lived, today as yesterday' and, therefore, that it can be studied as 'a living organism rather than as a dead fossil.' With each symbol, image, figure of speech and action which the liturgy employs is connected 'a wealth of associations, of history and of mythological parallels' requiring elucidation in the light and by the aid of anthropological inquiry. E. O. JAMES

International Folklore Bibliography, 1948 and 1949, with a Supplement for Previous Years. *Edited by Robert Wildhaber. Bâle (Krebs), 1954. Pp. xxiv, 467*

110 The publication of this volume has suffered some unavoidable delay. Whereas the well-known folklorist responsible for entering the contributions of his English colleagues has not

endeavoured to increase his deplorably short list, the editor has made good use of the time at his disposal. The general arrangement as well as the various terms and classifications have been revised and improved. The subject index remains in German and the editor raises the question whether it should be printed in other languages as well. Quite apart from sheer courtesy towards the hard-working Swiss editor, no alteration seems necessary, for those who consult a bibliography should with the help of a dictionary be able to translate the German terms without any difficulty. Another problem broached in the preface is the future addition of a geographical index. Even if compiled on very broad lines (countries, provinces and main towns) it would be of considerable assistance because more countries have joined lately. It is gratifying to find the editor as well as the Bibliography Committee so intent on further improvements. The wish for a truly comprehensive International Folklore Bibliography seems to be materializing at last. E. ETTLINGER

Primitive Heritage. *Edited by Margaret Mead and Nicholas Calas. London (Gollancz), 1954. Pp. xxx, 592. Price £1 1s.*

111 Strictly speaking, the title is a contradiction in terms, for primitives should be at the beginning of things and therefore have no heritage. But the editors use the term 'primitive' even more loosely than most anthropologists. Cambyses, it seems, was a primitive, for Herodotus's (probably fictitious) story of his dealings with the captive Pharaoh is included and Buddhism, in its Tibetan form, is apparently a primitive religion.

It is rather surprising to find, under the heading of 'theoretical approaches' and next to Tylor's theory of animism, a recent, very interesting and apparently quite factual paper by Dorothy Lee on the use of language by the Trobrianders.

Most of the book consists of extracts from the works of well-known writers grouped under such headings as 'Puberty'; 'Religious Experience'; 'Feasts and Sacrifices'; and although it is easy to criticize any such selection for both its inclusions and its omissions, it contains a great deal that should be of interest to all educated readers. It seems improbable that anyone after reading it could continue to believe in the similar working of the human mind.

RAGLAN

Stone-Worker's Progress: A Study of Stone Implements in the Pitt Rivers Museum. *By Sir Francis H. S. Knowles, Bart. Occ. Pap. on Technology, 6. Oxford (Pitt Rivers Mus.), 1953. Pp. 120. Price 15s.*

112 This volume, which went to press just before the author's death, presents the general findings of half a lifetime spent in the study of the manufacture of stone implements, not only by observation and reading, but by the only means which can bring proper understanding of a technological process—the actual practice of the process. The high quality of the implements which he made will be his memorial in the collections of several museums, and a testimony of the insight he had into the use of quartzite hammerstones for even the most delicate work; for as his book makes clear, he left it to others to experiment with other hammers, for quartzite is known to have been used in prehistoric times, so it is best to find out what can be done with that, before experimenting with hammers of perishable materials. But he did not ignore the experiments of others, nor the evidence from modern peoples with a stone technology.

This volume, then, is mainly an account of the conclusions which he came to as a result of his practical experiments. He arranges his material in relation to the problems involved in making axes, spearheads, knives and arrowheads, and pays special attention to cores. He deals broadly with the evolution of the technique of making these tools, but regrettably writes of 'early' techniques when there is no chronological implication. He wisely points out that there are no clear-cut stages in stone-implement technology—a technique is only gradually supplanted. His suggestion that the tortoise-core technique may have originated in attempts to reduce the thickness of a more or less completed handaxe, by striking a flake from the face by a blow to the butt, is worth pursuing. The descriptions are greatly clarified by the author's own beautiful drawings, supplemented by a few from a less masterly hand.

The author published little; his most fruitful work was his teaching at the Pitt Rivers Museum. Those who had that benefit will perhaps find little in this book that they have not already had from the author in person. This surely is the misfortune of a lively teacher, that his students will be disseminating his knowledge before he has been able to publish it! But the publication of this book is none the less welcome, for it is the only general work of its kind which can be used by all interested in stone technology before passing on to the scattered papers on specific topics of which the literature of the subject otherwise consists. FRANK WILLETT

Ethnographisch-Archäologische Forschungen, Vol. I. *Berlin, 1953, Pp. viii, 126*

113 This is a new journal to promote studies combining archæology and ethnography with a view to the understanding of the cultural and social evolution of peoples. K. H. Otto, one of the editors, criticizes the scientifically dead Kossinna school which drank the heady wine of imperialism; the writer appears to be impressed by Engels' and Stalin's writings. H. Kothe, the other editor, analyses data concerning early agriculture in Europe and differentiates several varieties for the neolithic period before hoe and plough came into use in, he thinks, the Bronze Age. He also analyses the archæology of the drag and sledge on farms. Weinhold and Treide review ancient authors' references to peoples of the Caucasus. H. J. FLEURE

Le Sang des Peuples. *By N. Lahovary. Paris (Pacomhy), 1954. Pp. 286*

114 The French school of physical anthropology is the strongest in the world today. It seems that the application of blood groups to anthropological studies must be currently attracting wide interest in France, since this is the second comprehensive monograph on the subject by a French author to appear in three years. The other, Khérumian's *Génétique et Anthropologie des Groupes sanguins*, was published in 1951 and reviewed in MAN in October of that year. The present volume covers substantially the same ground. Much of the available data on the world distribution of the *ABO* blood groups, and rather less in the case of the other blood groups, is listed and discussed. A series of Cartesian diagrams, in which the French excel, are easy on the eye and help the reader to visualize possible relationships between blood-group gene frequencies.

The general conclusions regarding the major racial divisions of mankind in terms of blood groups as well as other physical characters are clearly stated. They do not seem to differ in any important respects from those previously put forward by others, *e.g.* Boyd in *Genetics and the Races of Man*. In attempting to work out detailed relationships between different racial groups Lahovary places more weight on the distribution of the *ABO* blood groups than they can reasonably be expected to carry. In fact he begs the central question at issue today, *i.e.* whether the blood groups have selective value, by stating of them, 'Si celles-ci sont moins importantes au point de vue clinique, exception faite de *Rh*, que les premières en date, elles sont, en effet, tout aussi significatives quant aux déterminations raciales et ethniques.' This conclusion is unjustified. We simply do not know how blood-group polymorphism, *i.e.* the fairly stable distribution of several genetically determined characters in a population, is maintained. Evidence is accumulating that the *ABO* groups are of clinical importance and are not devoid of selective value. The same seems to be true of other genetically transmitted characters, *e.g.* the sickle-cell gene which Lahovary quotes. If the blood-group polymorphism is determined by a balance of selective factors, if the groups *are* adaptive, then they can be used in anthropology only with extreme caution. Certainly, the significance of relatively small differences in the frequency of the *ABO* groups must remain conjectural until we possess a much fuller understanding of the genetic mechanisms at work in maintaining what appear to be, in some cases at least, comparatively stable polymorphisms. Although blood groups have been applied to anthropological studies for more than 30 years, and their importance is now accepted even by those who adhere to the 'classical' techniques of physical anthropology, they have still to justify themselves fully in the anthropological field. It is a disturbing fact that all the techniques available to physical

anthropologists today are equally unsatisfactory from this point of view. Who would be so bold as to claim that physique and skin colour are not adaptive characters?

Our quest has been directed towards the recognition of certain genetically determined characters which are unaffected by environment and which therefore reflect faithfully the ancestry of the several varieties of mankind as we know them. But perhaps in this we are seeking perfection, wishing to improve upon Nature. There is little doubt that natural selection has acted powerfully upon the human characters so far analysed by anthropologists, and a great many others besides. The concept of race as a constellation of characters largely independent of external influences is an abstraction unlikely to be realized in practice. ANTHONY ALLISON

Man's Ancestry. *W. C. Osman Hill. London (Heinemann Medical Books), 1954. Pp. 194, text figs., plates. Price £1 1s.*

115 Guessing games and deliberate mistakes have long been popular on radio and television, and there may be some who welcome their appearance in the field of scientific literature. As a new approach to teaching, the method may, doubtfully, be recommended; from the battle of wits offered by the author those who already possess a reasonable amount of relevant knowledge may derive some benefit; to those who have none the method would seem to have little to offer. In any case it would have been advisable for Professor Hill to warn the reader, in the preface, of the system used.

It would not suit the purpose of the book were a review to give more than a few of the answers. By way of example (p. 135) 'Wadjak Man presents a facies somewhat intermediate between Neanderthal Man and the Australoids—the most primitive form of existing mankind in Asia (so-called from their typical representative, the Australian aboriginal (Fig. 92)).' The reader spots the feint, the curious geography, and prepared, turns to Fig. 92, which might be expected to have some connexion with the Australian; but no, it is 'an acheulean handaxe' recovered, according to the preface, in Kent. Staggered at this second shock, the reader may well have dropped his guard, and be unprepared for the final thrust; the 'acheulean handaxe' is clearly not an acheulean handaxe at all!

Few pages are without some such example. Opening the book at random, the pages fall apart at the statement (p. 90) that early gibbons had attained 'limb proportions characteristic of living forms,' based on the dubious Eppelsheim femur; the parry demanded is the established fact that limb proportions in *Limnopithecus* were very different from those of modern gibbons. Again the dismissal (p. 148) of the recent Piltdown disclosures as 'not likely to be accepted by everyone' is to be countered by reference to the publications dealing with the hoax where the evidence is set out so unambiguously that no unprejudiced student can logically reject the conclusions. It should be pointed out, however, that the solution of some of the riddles requires reference to other pages. Thus the astonishing unargued claim that living man comprises more than one species (p. 115) can only be resolved by consulting the appendix on p. 173, where species is defined in such a ridiculous manner that every endogamous tribal society is to be regarded as a distinct species!

It must be confessed, however, that in a number of instances the intended meaning remains hidden from the reviewer. Thus (p. 170) 'With these provisos and assuming relatively minor changes in environment as regards general meteorological conditions, etc., it may fairly be assumed that the multifarious environments, which are still in operation to some degree or other, will continue their effect orthogenetically.' The sentence looks suspiciously like rubbish.

This book, with the reputation of the author behind it, presented to hitherto uninformed, though intelligent readers, could be most misleading. The genetic concepts underlying evolutionary thought are ignored—hence the persistent confusion of an evolutionary series with a morphological series, and the appearance of long-outmoded half-truths, *e.g.* 'By constantly moving with one end foremost, a tendency is developed for sense organs to concentrate at that end . . .' (p. 36). 'Their [marsupial] ancestors undoubtedly possessed similar evolutionary trends to those exhibited by their eutherian contemporaries and successors, *i.e.* the power of giving rise to descendants able to adapt themselves, by structural modifications, to the various environments into which they wandered' (p. 55).

In conception the book is good, in execution weak. It is the type of publication that does little good to physical anthropology in general, and the reputation of the writer in particular.

D. F. ROBERTS

Evolution as a Process. *Edited by Julian Huxley, A. C. Hardy and E. B. Ford. London (Allen & Unwin), 1954. Pp. viii, 367. Price £1 5s.*

116 In this important symposium there are two papers of special interest to anthropologists. In his 'The Correlation of Change in the Evolution of Higher Primates,' Professor Zuckerman reviews at length the evidence for the possession by the Australopithecines of hominid characters and shows that it is far from satisfactory. He concludes that 'it is every bit as likely that some of the Australopithecines represent the forerunners of the modern gorillas and chimpanzees as that they were the ancestors of some group of protohominids; and far more likely than that, as has been claimed, they were themselves protohominids.'

In 'Escape from Specialization' Professor A. C. Hardy, citing the views of the late Professor W. Garstang, suggests that neoteny, or the persistence of fœtal characters in adult life, is by no means confined to man but is widespread in the animal world and, by arresting specialization, has probably played a very important part in evolution. Besides various lower forms of life, he instances among mammals the King Charles spaniel, with its bulging high forehead and short upturned jaws, and among birds the ostrich which, with its downy plumage and miniature wings, he says may be regarded as a gigantic neotenous chicken. RAGLAN

AMERICA

Conceptions of the Soul among North American Indians: A Study in Religious Ethnology. *By Åke Hultkrantz. Statens Etnografiska Museum, Monog. Ser., Publ. No. 1. Stockholm, 1953. Pp. 545. Price $10*

117 The anthropological literature on the North American continent is voluminous, covering the entire period of the development of the discipline and extending back through accounts by intelligent and observant travellers to the first years of exploration. On the whole, however, these data are still unanalysed. Each new problem which has arisen has been tested through new research or additional field work, and information has, consequently, kept well ahead of analysis. The present volume reverses this trend. It offers an extensive survey of statements concerning beliefs in the soul presented in the light of theories of comparative religion from Tylor to Arbman and Schmidt. The author has done field work among the Wind River Shoshone and, although he denies that his bibliography can be considered complete, he has certainly gone a long way toward that goal. In reading through the descriptive analyses, I did not note a single major source which was omitted. The book is written as a contribution to comparative religion and, even in the introductory statement on previous theorists, makes no concessions to persons unaware of its main problems and interests. This seems less true of the end of the book than the beginning and readers might be well advised to turn immediately to the later chapters where summary analyses are made under the main headings significant to soul belief. It is impossible to do justice to the thoroughness of the treatment in a brief review. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remark that the book deals with the living, with the soul among living beings. North American Indian eschatology is to be handled separately. This volume is in effect introductory to that inquiry.

Primitive dualism has gained increasingly wider acceptance and soul belief is viewed here in terms of what is held to be a 'fundamental dualism' (p. 69). This rests essentially upon the fact, recognized by Tylor, Boas and others, that soul belief is

socio-psychological in its nature. The free soul represents the human being, the individual himself in an extra-physical form, and is dependent upon the memory image; the body soul is the life-giving soul, the life principle in man, and is based upon observation of physical and vital functions. Both beliefs are, therefore, grounded in psychic experience. That this dualism is not an attempt to over-simplify the data is shown by the elaborate analysis of both beliefs into their constituents: any slackening of strict dualism may entail the transference of the free-soul conception to the body soul. The body soul, in turn, may be distinguished into either life soul or ego soul, the life soul being responsible for the vital manifestations of the individual and the ego soul being synonomous with 'mind' in its widest sense. The latter, however, may manifest features 'which make it clear that it is not an expression for the individual's own personality, but a being within the individual which endows him with thought and will, etc.' (p. 208). Dualism may come about through opposition of any of these. In North America dualism is found to be constituted by the free soul opposed to an undifferentiated body soul (six instances); by the free soul opposed to differentiated body soul (either ego soul or life soul, or both: 47 instances); and by differentiated body soul opposed to differentiated body soul (*i.e.* ego soul to life soul, or ego soul to ego soul: 12 instances).

Pluralism is, therefore, subsumed under dualism in cases where the beliefs can be analysed in any of these terms. The true four-soul idea which occurs in North America is cited as a distinct phenomenon: 'a side-track in the history of soul-belief' (p. 127). The conception of the free soul, on the other hand, leads to the conception of the breath soul which, in turn, becomes transitional to a unified concept of soul from the free and body souls. Dualism thus leads to monism. The relative primitiveness of dualistic soul belief is substantiated by its distribution, for dualism exists over all of native North America with the exception of the Pueblo region. The Pueblos must 'be considered to form part of the area of distribution for the belief in an unitary soul—and the gravitational centre, so to speak, of this area was presumably in Mexico and the countries to the south of Mexico, in the American high-culture' (p. 110).

It can be seen from this brief summary that Hultkrantz does not support Schmidt in his establishment of primitive monism. He is quite clear that the North American data lead in the opposite direction. He does, however, see soul belief itself as an early phenomenon. His material is likewise interpreted as failing to support the details of Tylor's evolution of animism from belief in the human soul. This does not mean that he rejects the general idea of development from soul to spirit-being. But by insisting that animal guardians are apparently as old as dualistic soul beliefs in North America, he rejects the stages of Tylor's hypothesis while retaining Tylor's idea of an animation of nature through analogy with the animation of the human being. He introduces a new concept, that of the guardian soul, which he views mainly as a development of the free soul in cases where the soul takes on several of the qualities of a regular guardian spirit. In outlining this development, he calls attention (p. 386) to the fact that in some cases, as among the Naskapi, the guardian soul is less associated with the free soul than with the ego soul. This seems a most necessary qualification, for among other groups as well the guardian spirit comes very close to the experience of the ego soul. In fact, it has occurred to me that the unitary-soul concept in the New World may have arisen, not so much *via* the breath soul previously referred to, as by a combination of free and body soul made through the instrumentality of the guardian spirit. This suggestion does not run counter to anything that Dr. Hultkranz has said, and it may lead toward further analysis of the interaction between spirit-being and soul belief.

It will probably have been made obvious by this time that the main concern of the volume under review is to understand the conception of the soul. In this it differs from the majority of modern anthropological works which aim primarily at understanding total situations. Because of this difference in orientation, various criticisms, such as considering elements out of context, could be levelled against the work. Yet it should be remembered that these are inherent in the basic approach of much comparative religion and as such they are less reflections on the author than a comment on inquiries, however valuable, set in the pattern of past investigations. Instead of elaborating these, I should like to take criticism a step farther back in time, to the psychic experiences postulated as underlying soul belief. It will be noted that both of those involved here, the memory image and the observed human functions, concern what might be called 'self-experiences' and are derived from introspection, or from observation of other humans. Certainly they are consistent with the concern in the personally oriented soul of modern Christianity. If we step outside Dr. Hultkrantz's assumption for a moment and view the guardian spirit in its own terms, it seems to be in essence the expression of the belief concerning the relationship between man and nature. Perhaps some other socio-psychological experience must be drawn on to explain this relationship. One of the universal experiences of human infancy is that in which the baby learns the use of his own body in relation to the world around him. He sees an object but cannot grasp it. Random activity is gradually coordinated, largely through learned responses. Such awareness of the self as opposed to a surrounding world must surely be as common in human experience as the memory image. Could the North American belief in a guardian spirit be associated with particular learned responses in relation to this surrounding world?

This would make the guardian spirit relatively independent of soul belief. It also opens up a whole new line of investigation. How much effect, indeed, will our developing knowledge of human maturation have on the postulates of comparative religion? In the meantime, we are certainly grateful to Dr. Hultkrantz for reopening in such thorough fashion some of the early inquiries of our science.

MARIAN W. SMITH

Family and Colour in Jamaica. *By F. M. Henriques. London (Eyre & Spottiswoode), 1953. Pp. 196. Price 18s.*

118 In reviewing Madeline Kerr's *Personality and Conflict in Jamaica* (*Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 1) Dr. Henriques said: 'West Indian sociology has hitherto largely been a field of American scholarship. [Her] book . . . is a British contribution to this field of studies.' It is obvious that a Jamaican's own addition 'to the somewhat meagre sociology of the Caribbean' presents the definite advantage of being written from within. Dr. Henriques thus joins the ranks of such anthropologists as Eric Williams and R. van Lier.

Born in Jamaica, Dr. Henriques left the island at an early age and returned in 1946 in order to undertake an anthropological field study of colour problems and family structure which he localized in Portland, the north-eastern parish of Jamaica (see his map on p. 34). He describes (p. 46) the reaction to his inquiries as both of pleasure that he was interested in what the people thought and said, and of a slight hostility, especially concerning his investigation of *obeah* (witchcraft), owing to his brother's position as a magistrate. It may be noticed in parenthesis that, although he mentions its existence once or twice in passing, the author does not further elaborate his data on *obeah* in this book. May we presume that he will publish them later? The influential belief which also appears as a favourite subject in modern West Indian literary fiction is certainly worth investigating.

His book is throughout a proof of courage, since the subject 'colour' is certainly not an easy one for West Indian people to discuss. And it is, perhaps, not a particular drawback of Dr. Henriques' publication but one common to many surveys of this kind, that, owing to the necessity of keeping the informants anonymous, his statements have a tendency to be generalizations. Nevertheless he gives many facts and figures concerning religious denominations, wages, land tenure, marriage (common law and other), and he describes in detail customs at birth, marriage and death and such practices as hair-straightening and the occurrence of messianic tendencies (Marcus Garvey). He stresses time and again that his use of class divisions (upper, middle and lower class) is only a methodological device.

After a short introduction on the history of Jamaica and after dealing with the origins of the colour-class system and the contemporary colour-class system in the island, the author proceeds to give a survey of the area which he especially investigated and a general chapter on concubinage and marriage.

From the fact that he devotes four chapters to the lower-class family—family structure, economics, birth, growth and youth—as against one each to the middle and upper-class families, one may infer how important the problems of colour and domestic groupings are in this largest section of the population. Poverty is one of the factors which account for the feelings of frustration inherent in Jamaican society, 'the great inequality of wealth . . . helps to crystallize the habits of years into unshakeable custom' (p. 167). Frustration stems also from colour; in the black lower strata colour is a barrier to class mobility, in the middle and upper classes it means anxiety regarding social position: 'the white bias.'

The economic insecurity in the lower class finds its concomitant in the emphasis upon the domestic group and upon kinship.

Dr. Henriques uses the term domestic group rather than family; he distinguishes (*a*) the Christian family, (*b*) faithful concubinage, (*c*) maternal or grandmother family, and (*d*) keeper family. He quotes Linton—'marriage and the family are really separate institutions . . .'— and thus summarizes the well-known fact that, in the West Indies, illegitimacy is a misleading concept. To the domestic groups mentioned under (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) Christian monogamy is not the norm and the structure of these groups is in itself not unbalanced. 'But the existence of such types of familial associations in conjunction with poverty and colour create disnomia in the total society' (p. 162).

I am not quite sure whether the author, by this kind of reasoning, does not re-introduce the Christian norm unconsciously through the back door. If so, one could not blame him, for, belonging to the upper class of Jamaican society himself, he was certainly brought up within the Christian family norm of this class and even an anthropologist is not always free from bias or prejudice (see Professor Firth on this subject in MAN, 1953, 231).

Moreover, Dr. Henriques seems to try to explain this inner group stability within an unbalanced society-as-a-whole by comparing it to the state of an occupied European country during the war. 'The members of the Jewish community in Holland during the German occupation are a case in point. Oppressed and persecuted, they created a definite behaviour pattern which from a structural point of view was in essence stable. Yet the existence of such patterns was symptomatic of the disnomia inherent in Dutch society at that time' (p. 162). I am afraid that I cannot follow this argument—which appears to be important to Dr. Henriques, for he uses it also, as the only 'outside' example, in his article on 'West Indian Family Organization' (in *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Vol. LV, 1949–50, pp. 30–37, reprinted in *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 1 [1952], p. 16) that may be considered as a preview digest of this book. Without explanation of what he means by this definite behaviour pattern of the Jews or by the disnomia in our society which, so far as I can see, was obvious—as technical disorganization—only after the battle of Arnhem (September, 1944) and during the ensuing winter, when there was no Jewish community left, the bearing on Jamaica does not become clear. Nor is it a very convincing proof of Jamaican family forms being a phenomenon *sui generis* which owes its character to the historic condition of slavery (*op. cit.*, p. 24), when the contradiction or opposition between legal and social acceptance (in conjugal matters) is put forward as something especially Jamaican (*op. cit.*, p. 19). One would say that this contradiction exists everywhere, in the Western world at least.

But my doubt as to all this may equally be ascribed to a foreigner's misunderstanding of Dr. Henriques' style, which seems rather difficult, notwithstanding the fact that he explains the same phenomena in several contexts and thus gives the student the benefit of repetition.

In any case students of anthropology and a daily increasing number of people interested in West Indian affairs will be grateful to Dr. Henriques for his inside information.

JOHANNA FELHOEN KRAAL

ASIA

China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations. *By Hsiao-Tung Fei. Revised and edited by Margaret Park Redfield. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. Agents: C.U.P.), 1953. Pp. v, 290. Price £2 3s. 6d.*

119. Since October, 1949, Western scholars have found themselves largely starved of contact with their colleagues in China. One is inclined, therefore, to welcome a new book by Professor Fei Hsiao-Tung with an enthusiasm even greater than that usually engendered by the appearance of his name upon a title page.

Unfortunately this particular volume disappoints. This is partly because it is composed of articles written before the change of government and partly because these articles were originally designed for newspaper publication and were therefore of a purpose and content rather different from those of scientific writings as such. For neither of these reasons is Professor Fei to be blamed: his intention was to write on this occasion for the general rather than the professional public. Nevertheless, the professional deserves to be forewarned.

The book consists of three parts: first there is the introduction by Professor Redfield which summarizes the essays and describes their genesis, then follow the seven essays themselves and finally there is the collection of six life histories of members of the gentry, made by Chow Yung-Teh in Yunnan in 1943–6, which are intended to throw further light upon the problems raised in the essays. These 'life histories' appear to be really thumb-nail sketches of 'type' characters. They add little to the essays.

As Professor Redfield points out, these essays were written as separate articles, and it is not always easy to see the 'thread of common idea' which holds them together. The first four treat of the function of the 'gentry' in traditional Chinese society: a theme now long associated with Professor Fei's name. The last three are concerned with the relations between town and country in pre-Communist China.

From my point of view, the most interesting essay is the fourth. In this the hypothesis is developed that the Imperial power in traditional China, in theory fully centralized and completely authoritarian, was saved from being an absolute tyranny in practice not only because of the vast area of China together with the lack either of good communications or of a close network of armed garrisons, and not only because the field of competency of the central government was small, affecting everyday life hardly at all, but also because the bureaucratic machinery 'stopped' at the level of the district official's court. Below this, the *hsien* level, there was no officially recognized administrative organization. Thus there was, as it were, a 'fault' in the Chinese political structure. On the one side there was the centralized bureaucracy, centrally recruited by the examination system and concerned with such matters as pertained to central government: the raising of taxes and of conscripts and the administration of justice; on the other side there was what Fei calls the 'local self-governing unit,' locally recruited by virtue of education and wealth and dealing with all the everyday administrative needs of the locality: irrigation, self-defence, mutual aid, mediation in personal disputes, recreation and religious activities. Professor Fei shows first what ingenious and essentially unrecognized methods were used for communication between the district officials and the local 'unofficials,' and then how potential disagreements between them were usually ironed out in informal discussion between the leaders of both sides, who, being each one of them both gentleman and graduate, could visit and talk freely together.

According to Professor Fei's argument the increase in the powers of the central government, on lines familiar in the history of the West, included a demand for greater efficiency and led to the development of the *pao chia* system whereby the officially organized administrative machine was made to stretch right down to each separate household. Thus, Fei suggests, in the name of efficiency was 'destroyed the safety valve of the traditional system' while at the same time the resulting unpopularity led to the stultifying even of efficiency.

Professor Fei is here concerned to demonstrate some of the reasons for the failure of the Revolution of 1911 and the basic unsoundness of the K.M.T. regime. But the student of social structure is left wishing for much more detail. The existence of a gap between the district officials, recruited by and responsible to the centre, and the local unofficials, recruited from and responsible for the locality,

would (granted the smallness of the field of the central government's competency) go far to explain how it would have been possible for unilineal kinship groups in China to retain wide powers despite the centralized form of the state. But one looks in vain for details of these 'local communities' and their structure. Were they essentially unilineal kinship groups? Were they village groups or groups of villages? How were they in fact delimited and organized? What happened in those areas where irrigation, for example, did happen to be under the control of the central government? There is little doubt but that the answers would vary considerably for different parts of China, but there is no doubt at all that a knowledge of the details of these variations and their historical and contemporaneous concomitants would be invaluable for the understanding of Chinese social structure. It seems unlikely that a full study of this kind will ever appear. BARBARA E. WARD

Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure. *By E. R. Leach. London (L.S.E. and Bell), 1954. Pp. xii, 324. Price £1 15s.*

120 In this book, Dr. Leach, who has had field experience among the populations in question, undertakes a theoretical analysis of a mass of material of widely differing value, much of it difficult of access for anthropologists resident outside Great Britain and hitherto little exploited in print by British professional anthropologists themselves. His predecessors in the Kachin and Shan fields were for the most part soldiers, missionaries and administrators, that is to say people more concerned with describing what they saw or thought they had seen than with producing complicated theories of society. A product of a generation for whom a thorough-going acquaintance with recent, particularly American, theoretical literature is an examination necessity, it is relatively easy for Dr. Leach to make most of those who have worked before him in these fields look distinctly amateurish. Historians and administrators will find much of what he has to say new and thought-provoking; but his aggressive and at times brilliant book is primarily addressed to social anthropologists. He will certainly succeed in touching a wider public than that formed by the specialists of various academic disciplines concerned with South-East Asia; for these latter are not numerous.

The author's main argument is that 'in terms of political organization Kachin communities oscillate between two polar types—*gumlao* "democracy" on the one hand, Shan "autocracy" on the other.' The majority of actual Kachin communities being neither *gumlao* nor Shan in type represent 'a kind of compromise between *gumlao* and Shan ideals.' The *gumlao* anarchical 'model' and the Shan hierarchical 'model' are devices by which the anthropologist could conveniently represent the social situation as though it were in equilibrium. In fact it never is in equilibrium; for in autocratic society there will be movement towards 'democracy' and appeals to autocratic principles will be made in 'democracies.' Around this central theme Dr. Leach has much to say that is stimulating; he seems to me to be at his best when discussing problems of kinship, land tenure and inheritance. On the whole, given the analytic tools he employs and admitting his fundamental assumptions, he has done an excellent job of work. But it does not seem to me that many people are likely to accept some of his initial assumptions without discussion. For they are often characterized by a tendency to oversimplify. Thus individual choices we are told, after, it is true, certain oratorical precautions, are made in consequence of a 'conscious or unconscious wish to gain power'; people will 'seek to gain access to office or the esteem of their fellows which may lead them to office.' This indicates a very narrow interpretation of human reality. Similarly (p. 182) we are told that 'the various *nats* of Kachin religious ideology are in the last analysis nothing more than ways of describing the formal relationships that exist between real persons and real groups in ordinary human Kachin society.' As Kachin *nats* and Buddhist divinities are apparently interchangeable (p. 221), one is tempted to ask what formal relationships between real persons are described by, say, Virûpakkha or Kubera? I for one shall go on believing in the relevance and utility of the study of *nat* iconography (see p. 14). The historical parts of the book are naturally the weakest. Thus on p. 113 we are told that 'it has been characteristic of all the Buddhist kingdoms and principalities of South-East Asia ever since the fourth century A.D. that the king has assumed many of the attributes of a living Buddha and Divine King'—a statement which, to my knowledge, is founded neither on texts nor on inscriptions. I have unfortunately not the space to discuss the curious equation postulated on pp. 14f. (myth=ritual=social anthropology)—which obviously owes much to the Logical Positivists—for it raises a host of vast questions. For instance, are the social functions of myth and social anthropology comparable? Has social anthropology no autonomy whatever?

Although one may have doubts with regard to the author's methodology, he is to be congratulated on having produced a most serious and painstaking contribution in a field where good modern monographs were conspicuous by their absence. A. W. MACDONALD

OCEANIA

Social Anthropology in Melanesia. *By A. P. Elkin. O.U.P., 1953, Pp. xiv, 166. Price £A1 7s. 6d.* **Social Anthropology in Polynesia.** *By Felix M. Keesing. O.U.P., 1953. Pp. x, 126. Price £A1 7s. 6d.*

121 These two books are issued under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission, which is evidently prepared to be a patron of the social sciences in the cause of recommending to its Member Governments 'means for promoting the well-being of the peoples' of the territories in their care. Professors Elkin and Keesing were obviously excellent choices for the task of preparing surveys of the region, and while they have presumably discharged their duties to the satisfaction of the Commission, they have also added two very welcome volumes to the anthropological literature on New Guinea–Melanesia and on Polynesia. Those of us who, in these times of regional specialization, need guidance on Oceania must be greatly in the debt of the authors.

Professor Elkin's method of exposition is to set out 'Types of Ethnographical Record and Research up to 1950,' survey the anthropological knowledge of New Guinea–Melanesia area by area, and conclude with 'Principles of a Plan of Anthropological Research in Melanesia, Related to Native Welfare and Development.' Professor Keesing, on the other hand, follows a thematic scheme, taking economic development, social development, and health as his guiding topics, and summarizing his suggestions in a chapter called 'Research Needs and Possibilities.' As a result of the different methods employed by the two writers, the first book distributes its bibliographical information through the text, while the second offers a bibliography at the end. Both systems of presentation have their advantages, although a weakness inherent in Professor Elkin's method is the ease with which the author can slip into pocket guide-book English. (Thus: 'In between the Chirima and the Wowonga is the Kokoda group. The field-worker could start with the Biaga (Huga) and work towards the Koiari and so to Port Moresby. This district is noted for its songs.')

When one has paid these books the compliments they well deserve one needs to turn a critical eye on what they say in relation to their chief purpose, the planning of research in aid of development. Indeed, surveys of this kind by two eminent anthropologists could make an excellent starting point for a general discussion of the whole question of the anthropologist in the role of adviser and handmaiden of social planners.

Professor Elkin, certainly, does not appear troubled about the possible limits of the anthropologist's usefulness in this respect. He wishes anthropologists on governments, on missions, and on the Commission to which he is reporting. Any agency which is responsible for changes in native life ought to have the benefit of anthropological wisdom: '. . . the efforts of governments to promote welfare and development of native peoples by administrative, educational, economic, and missionary activity may have unfortunate results, unless they are made with as complete an understanding of the total conditions as scientific research can provide.'

Professor Elkin's confidence in the usefulness of anthropology rests on the assumption that his discipline is a clearly formulated empirical science. Anthropology today 'is dynamic, diachronic, and concerned with culture and social structure as a process, which is subject to ascertainable laws. It is therefore capable of providing principles for application in spheres in which the future is involved in present action.'

Professor Elkin is perhaps right, but he exposes himself to the criticism, first, that he is pushing anthropology so hard that he is in danger of over-selling, and, secondly, that he has not enquired fully enough into the ends of the policy in which he seems to acquiesce. It is all very well to say that we are to tackle the problem of deciding the rate at which deliberate changes can be made in native life 'without causing maladjustment, uncertainty and confusion.' But how are these pathologies to be defined? Is it enough to talk of such things as 'depopulation (both deliberately and unconsciously induced), duplicity or nativistic movements?' Could not some of these phenomena or some aspects of them be necessary and desirable? Everything, in fact, turns upon the way in which the future of the peoples of Melanesia is envisaged. Economic and social development is a catchword until we have decided just what it is that we want to produce. If Professor Elkin had defined the basic problems of policy more closely the reader would have been spared puzzlement at such passages as that in which, after saying that the Marind-anim of Netherlands New Guinea 'had ceased to exist as a community or people and their colourful culture was a thing of the past' in the twenties, the author proceeds to give as one of the reasons for further enquiry: 'to indicate lines and methods for the recovery of the Marind-anim as a group, if such seems at all feasible.' Why? Again, in discussing the Koiari of the Central Division of Papua, Professor Elkin says that 'No country can afford merely to watch the passing of an independent community or tribe—a tribe which despises the dwellers near the town who allow so much to be done for them.' Is not Professor Elkin somewhat romantic?

Professor Keesing's concern to indicate the usefulness of his science is also evident, but he appears both less insistent than Professor Elkin on the employment of anthropologists and more inclined to rest a large part of his case on the basis of the general understanding which anthropology can furnish. When he makes recommendations they are highly specific and, as a result, in the main avoid begging important questions about the major aims and direction of planned development. Thus, in his first group of suggestions for research ('Commission programme; high priority; anthropological specialists working alone') Professor Keesing includes such subjects as present-day agriculture in relation to possible improvement and diversification and in its wider economic and social setting; food consumption and types of diet; handicrafts where commercial marketing may be possible; modern commercial development; technically trained personnel; community centres and their improvement; and the background to infant and maternal welfare work. The other heads of his suggestions are: 'Commission programme; high priority; anthropologists working with other technical specialists'; 'Commission long-term programme; lower priority'; 'Private institutions or scholars; local Governments sponsoring where appropriate'; and 'Anthropological consultation and advice.' In the last and least important group of suggestions the anthropologist with a practical bent may be pleased to find that his services could be of use for 'Tourist trade stimulation, in respect of entertainment programmes, travel, protection, etc.' What delicious week-end competition dreams he may have!

MAURICE FREEDMAN

CORRESPONDENCE

A Note on Prehistoric Classification

122

SIR,—May I be permitted to draw the attention of readers of MAN to two important statements that have recently been made on the relationship that is supposed to have existed between the Acheulian Culture on the one hand and the Levallois Culture on the other?

The first is in *The Antiquaries Journal* of January–April, 1954 (Vol. XXXIV, p. 19). In describing palæoliths from the lower reaches of the Bristol Avon, Mr. A. D. Lacaille draws attention to the occurrence of flake tools with faceted striking platforms as well as to prepared cores that reveal a mastery of the faceted-platform or Levallois technique occurring *within* the Handaxe Culture and concludes his remarks with the observation that 'it is thus demonstrated that preparation of striking platforms for the detaching of predetermined flakes was of Acheulian devising.'

He makes it clear that in the Bristol Avon area there is no such thing as an independent 'Levallois Culture' existing side by side with the Acheulian, that the Levallois elements form an integral part of the Handaxe Culture and that they merely represent a technique that was developed *within* this Culture: the flake tools being by-products of the main Handaxe Culture; the Levallois cores being waste products of the same culture.

The second statement comes from the Abbé Breuil. Outlining his latest views on prehistoric classification in an address to the Société Préhistorique Française, the Abbé said: 'Nous avons déjà dit comment le dédoublement, par coup latéral, des bifaces-nucléi de Victoria West (South Africa) avait créé, dans toute l'Afrique, l'amorce de la technique levalloisienne en plein développement acheuléen.'

When it is realized that the Victoria West Technique includes Proto-Levallois I and II stages in the development of the Levallois or faceted-platform technique from which the true Levallois developed within the Handaxe Culture of Acheulian facies in South Africa (see C. Van Riet Lowe, 'The Evolution of the Levallois Technique in South Africa,' MAN, 1945, 37), it is now clear that the Abbé has also accepted the thesis that those Middle Pleistocene elements that are still often assigned to the so-called 'Levallois Culture' *in Africa* also merely represent by-products and waste products of the Handaxe Culture. In other words, there is no such thing as a 'Levallois Culture' in Africa, any more than there is a 'Clacton Culture.'

As neither of these eminent scholars referred to the contribution, cited above, that was published in MAN nearly ten years ago, I trust that you will permit me to do so here. It possibly escaped their attention.

As the contribution which I have in mind makes it perfectly clear that the concept of a Clacton-Levallois or Clacton-Tayac-Levallois Flake Culture Complex developing side by side with, yet independently of the bifaced or so-called Core, *i.e.* Chelles-Acheul or Handaxe, Culture, is not applicable to Africa, and that the Clacton, Tayacian and Levallois elements that occur here are in reality by-products and waste products of the great Handaxe Culture, the observations now made by Lacaille and Breuil assume a special significance. These authors have, as it were, seen the true light, a light that is destined, I have long been convinced, to ring the death-knell of the concept of independent 'flake' cultures existing side by side with 'core' cultures in Quaternary times. There are just no such things in Africa, and it is good to know that there are also no such things in the Bristol Avon area.

Unless we review the meaning of the word 'culture' as it has hitherto been used by prehistorians, and restrict its significance dangerously, the so-called Clacton, whose most typical character is its atypical nature, and Levallois Cultures are destined to be assigned to the waste paper basket in all regions outside the south of England and across the Channel in France. Evidence of their occurrence elsewhere is simply non-existent.

Where 'Clacton' and 'Levallois' elements occur outside the regions mentioned, but especially in Quaternary deposits in Africa and Asia, these elements are, in their inception, by-products or waste

products of the Handaxe Culture of Chelles-Acheul facies: the by-products being implements such as scrapers on flakes with or without faceted platforms, the waste products being the specially prepared cores.

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Age Grades and Kinship Groups. *Cf.* MAN, 1954, 3

123 SIR,—One of the pitfalls besetting the excursions of sociologists into the multicultural realm of anthropological subject matter is the carry-over of a tendency to seek for unicausalistic explanations, that is to attribute one and the same cause to externally similar phenomena observed in widely differing cultural settings.

Dr. S. N. Eisenstadt's hypothesis 'on the social conditions under which age groups arise' is an example of a headlong fall into the pit of unicausalism unwarranted in intercultural context. He submits that 'age-set systems arise and function in those societies in which the basic allocation of roles is not overwhelmingly determined by membership in kinship groups, and where some important integrative functions are not fulfilled within these groups.' Stripped of its verbiage, what the hypothesis says is that age-set systems arise and function where kinship groups are weak.

In this boiled-down version the vagueness of the hypothesis becomes apparent. Does it state that age gradings exist *only* where kinship groups are weak? If so, it is simple to disprove it by listing societies in which kinship is of paramount importance and nevertheless age grades exist. (Examples of this can be found even in the Middle East, notwithstanding the dominant familism and kinship culture of that area.) Or does it mean that age gradings exist in *every* society in which kinship groups are weak? This, too, can readily be recognized as untrue (*cf.*, *e.g.*, modern Western society). Or, again, is its meaning less definite, so that all it purports to say is that in those societies in which both age groups and kinship groups exist, those roles and functions which are determined by membership in the one are not determined by membership in the other? In this form the hypothesis may be valid, but then it would barely be more than a truism, something of the order of stating that 'black-haired individuals are found in those societies in which the basic allocation of hair colour is not overwhelmingly determined by membership in the blond group'; or, in brief, black-haired individuals are not blond.

The above comment was confined to that part of the hypothesis which seeks to establish a relationship between the existence and functioning of age groups and kinship groups. But the hypothesis includes a more ambitious part: it purports to explain in what social conditions age groups *arise*. It is indeed difficult to see how the hypothesis can, as formulated, claim to have anything to say about the origin of age groups. How can the discernment that roles and functions determined by age groups are not determined by kinship groups, lead even one single step closer to an understanding of the origins of age groups? And even if this were possible, what justification is there for postulating one single set of causes or of 'universal conditions under which age groups arise'? This approach smacks of the outmoded search for unchanging causal laws underlying cultural evolution associated with the name of Tylor, whose image seems to hover also over Dr. Eisenstadt's classification of societies into 'primitive' and 'historical.'

The question of origins aside, Dr. Eisenstadt himself seems to have sensed the inadequacy of this unicausalistic hypothesis in another article (published in *Africa*, April, 1954) in which he first repeats this hypothesis *verbatim*, and later (p. 102) offers what he calls a restatement of it as follows: 'The extent, scope and articulation of the activities of age groups . . . are inversely correlated with the degree of achievement-oriented specialization within a universalistic society.' To call this a restatement of the first hypothesis is an understatement. The two rather seem to be mutually contradictory. What will be the position of age grades, it may be asked, in a society in which 'roles are overwhelmingly determined by membership in kinship groups' but which at the same time is characterized by the absence of 'achievement-oriented specialization'? Will such a society have no age grades (or functionally insignificant age grades) in accordance with the first hypothesis, or will it have age grades with a considerable 'extent, scope and articulation of activities,' in accordance with the second hypothesis?

To conclude on a positive note rather than on a critical one, a way out of his quandary may be indicated for Dr. Eisenstadt. After the elimination of any reference to origins, the first hypothesis could be restated so as to replace its present categorical form by correlative terms *if*, as can be suspected, the latter formulation is validated by the data. Then this trimmed-down and corrected version of the first hypothesis could be combined with the second hypothesis so as to predicate a correlation between the extent, etc., of activities determined by membership in age grades on the one hand, and the extent, etc., of activities determined by membership in kinship groups and by achievement-oriented specialization, on the other. Nor is this all. Once the fallacy of unicausalism is thus avoided, the way is cleared to taking due account not only of these two factors (kinship groups and achievement-oriented specialization), but also of others, such as territorial organization, ethnic groupings, etc. The emerging hypothesis would then be less ambitious, but it probably could be validated by socio-cultural reality in which age grades are merely one of several possible forms of association, organization or segmentation which, in varying combinations, determine the allocation of roles and functions.

Columbia University, New York RAPHAEL PATAI

Webs of Fantasy. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 152, 229, 281, 304; 1954, 19, 42, 74, 98

124 SIR,—Although no scientist would submit to be defined as 'a person who studies change', all scientists would agree that the study of processes is one of their major preoccupations. Social anthropologists are no exception; the essence of their study of social structures is their interpretation of the processes by which these structures are either perpetuated or modified. Their attention is fixed on observable processes of change, not because they are so foolish as to deny the occurrence of change in the past, but because the events of the remoter past are not susceptible of the type of analysis which they have found to be necessary. The question where African cattle originally came from, for example, is totally irrelevant to those changes in the social relationships based on the possession of cattle which are the object of our interest. As Mr. Beattie pointed out, there is nothing to prevent ethnographers and archæologists from establishing such facts as they can about earlier changes: and many social anthropologists follow the results of their research with interest.

London School of Economics and Political Science LUCY MAIR

The Lough Erne Sculptures. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 53

125 SIR,—Two points occur to me on re-reading Mrs. Ettlinger's article on the Lough Erne sculptures. Both concern the figure identified with St. Patrick (Plate C*a*).

First, why should this figure be built into a church wall with his hand raised in a curse? Other attributes could have been chosen to identify the saint, rather than this ominous gesture.

Second, the Celtic tonsure, and St. Patrick's nickname 'adzehead.' The coiffure of the figure looks to me like a cap, and I would expect the hair remaining in a tonsure to be so indicated by striations as in the isolated head (Plate C*d*, left), which might well represent such a tonsure.

If it was the Celtic tonsure that earned St. Patrick his nickname of 'adzehead,' one wonders why he should have been so singled out from the rest of the similarly tonsured Celtic clergy.

I would like to suggest that the nickname derived from some cranial malformation such as scaphocephaly or oxycephaly. In these, the skull may appear wedge-shaped, like an adze head when seen in side profile, whether the ridge ran from side to side or back to front. Where the ridge runs from side to side, the back of the head slopes down more sharply from the ridge than the front, which could fit the distinguishing peculiarity of an adze head.

The effect, where such malformations occur, is certainly striking. Indeed, in Dahomey, a child with such a malformed skull is considered a supernatural being (P. Verger, *Dieux d'Afrique*, Paris, 1954, Plate 136).

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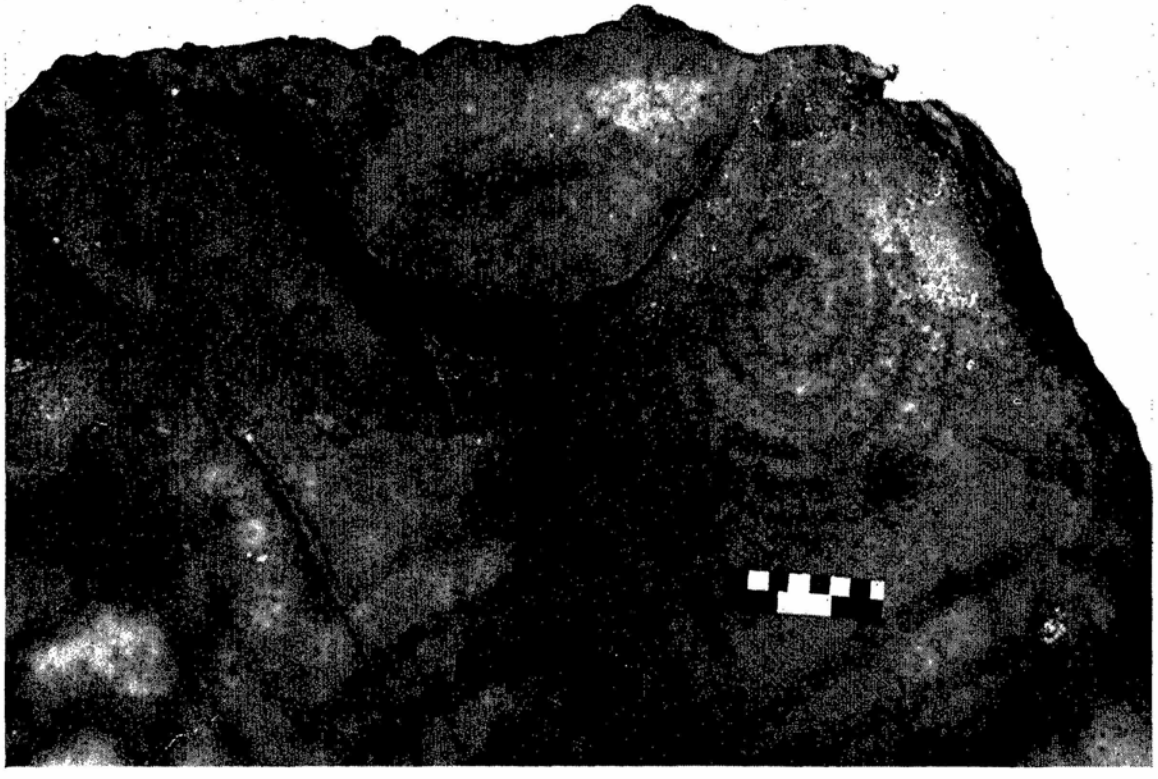
(a) *Stone at Barclodiad-y-Gawres*

(b) *The latex partly applied, with bandages visible*



(c) *Upper part of the latex mould of the main engraving*

AN ENGRAVED STONE IN ANGLESEY STUDIED BY THE RUBBER LATEX METHOD

THE STUDY OF ENGRAVINGS WITH THE HELP OF RUBBER LATEX*

by

FRANK WILLETT
The Manchester Museum

I26 The technique here described was evolved in order to provide moulds of the engraved stones discovered by Mr. T. G. E. Powell in the excavation of the megalithic tomb at Barclodiad-y-Gawres in Anglesey. Rubber latex was chosen as being convenient and safe on all firm surfaces, even those with undercutting. The resulting moulds revealed clearly features which could scarcely be seen on the stone itself, and suggest a profitable future for rubber latex in the study of engravings.

The method used at Barclodiad-y-Gawres was as follows: the engraved stones were first brushed clean of all loose material with a dusting brush, then the latex[1] was liberally applied with a two-inch paint brush, and allowed to dry. (The brush must be washed thoroughly between coats, and left in water, otherwise the latex will set, turning the brush into a squeegee. In spite of these precautions some will stick to the brush anyway, and although it could be cleaned in trichlorethylene, this would dissolve the rubber in which the bristles are usually mounted.) The latex, being an aqueous colloid, dries in the air, by absorption of the water into the stone and by evaporation. The later coats depend almost entirely on evaporation, and are therefore slower in drying than the earlier ones.[2] When one coat is thoroughly dry the next can be applied. This is continued until a substantial thickness, an eighth of an inch or more, has been built up. Seventeen coats were applied at Barclodiad-y-Gawres, and it took almost two days from start to finish. As it dries the latex becomes brown and almost transparent, the engraved lines showing up white, owing to the greater thickness of latex, which dries out more slowly. When half the coats have been applied, lengths of bandage may be introduced by pressing into the wet rubber. This strengthens the mould, preventing it from tearing or stretching; it is important therefore to apply bandages along the edges of the latex (see Plate F*b*).

An improvement on this technique has since been developed: instead of brushing, the latex may be sprayed on with a "Flit" spray. This method is very much quicker, as a second coat may be applied as soon as the first has become firm and ceased to flow, whereas the pull of a brush at this stage would ruin the mould. This allows a quick building-up of the mould, in less than half the time taken when brushing, but the final drying-out time is increased.[3]

If the moulds are intended for casting, they must be backed with a rigid mould of *e.g.* plaster. Where the form of the stone is not important to the engraving, the supple mould can be flattened out, and a cast of the developed pattern can be made.

To remove the mould, the edge is carefully rubbed up all round with the finger tips, and pulled away for a width of an inch or two. The whole sheet can then be gently but firmly peeled off.

The technical advantages of rubber latex over most other casting methods are that even quite deep undercutting can be ignored since the rubber remains pliable; no oiling or soaping of the specimen is required, so that close adhesion is possible; no oiling of the mould is needed in casting-off, so that more accurate casts are possible, the fineness of the detail resolved being limited only by the sub-microscopic size of the molecules of rubber in the latex; and the method is simple, safe[4] and convenient, the raw materials being compact, and the result unbreakable. The finished mould can be rolled up for transporting, but should be stored flat and in the dark.

The scientific functions of the method are three: to record, to reveal and to reproduce. For record and study purposes a thinner mould may be prepared, but it should be reinforced with bandages. The lateral reversal of the pattern can easily be counteracted by photographing the mould, and inverting the negative in the enlarger. This has been done with Plate F*c*.

The way in which these engravings are revealed as the latex dries has been mentioned above. The reversal of the contours of the mould shows up the features of the engraving in a new light. The pliability of the rubber mould allows awkward bumps to be smoothed out, to facilitate the study of the engraved lines with the help of raking light. Moreover, on stones which have been exposed to the elements, small lichens can get a better hold in the engravings than elsewhere; parts of these lichens are pulled off in the mould and emphasize the lines of engraving. Plate F shows a good example of this phenomenon: (*c*) shows the upper part of the mould of the main engraving at Barclodiad-y-Gawres[5]; the very clear spiral on the mould is almost invisible on the stone itself (*a*).

By reproduction of the engravings in plaster, particularly with a flattened-out mould, the irregularities of the original can be minimized, and the study of the engraving by varying light facilitated. This complements the study of the moulds themselves.

* *With Plate F*

Notes

[1] Toytex No. 78, made by Rubber Latex Limited, Mosley Road, Trafford Park, Manchester, 17. It costs £2 per gallon. One gallon is enough for about 18 square feet.

[2] Experiments with a blowlamp to obtain vulcanization were unsatisfactory, as the outer surface dried first, sealing in the liquid latex beneath, which ruptured the mould. The time saved was very slight. If electricity were available, a hair-drier would probably be effective.

[3] Even quicker is the following method: three or four coats of latex are sprayed on to obtain the impression, then a mixture of latex and sawdust is applied by hand to build up the requisite thickness. This dries in one to two hours, leaving the mould supple, but using only half as much rubber.

[4] This method would probably be safe even on stones impregnated with salts, but I have not been able to test it.

[5] The photograph has been laterally reversed in printing, to aid direct comparison with the stone.

SOME INTER-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES ON THE DRAW-A-MAN TEST: GOODENOUGH SCORES*

by

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Introduction

127 The effect on human-figure drawing of cultural differences was first investigated by Paget (1932), who attempted to ascribe some cultural meanings to the variations in art type which were revealed in the drawings of non-European children.

The 'Draw-a-man' test is now a well established psychological device, capable of producing in a short period of time an acceptable though crude indication of an individual's mental age. Since scores are determined on the basis of an observational gradient which reaches its maxima at approximately 13 years 6 months, the test offers no discrimination of intelligence in adults above dull normal intelligence, using Wechsler's (1944) definition of the term. The test is capable of discriminating between the intellectual ability of adults below this age, however, and furthermore it has certain qualitative significances capable of valid objective interpretation (Copeland, 1953).

The test has been well validated for intelligence rating by Goodenough (1926) and Hilldreth (1941), both on 4,000 children, and studies of its usefulness in psychological investigations have been made by Bell (1948), Cameron (1938), Cane (1936), Earl (1933), Israelite (1932), Spoerl (1940) and many others.

The use of the test in the preliminary survey described here is therefore amply justified and the present paper attempts to provide a provisional explanation of the differences in quantitative scoring of the Draw-a-man test between adults of European and African cultures.

Sampling

The African sample consisted of 30 Nigerians, 25 males and 5 females, possessing a mean age of 26·2 years (S.D. 6·4 years). These represented a typical cross-section of the African classes: most of them were working, some in primitive native occupations, others in clerical and store-keeping jobs in a neighbouring Public Works Department establishment, and a few were in business on their own account.

The European sample consisted of 83 males and 17 females, selected to produce approximately the same distribution of age and sex as existed in the African sample. The former were all born in England of white parents, and possessed a mean age of 24·3 years (S.D. 7·4 years). The difference between means of age of the two groups, using the Guilford (1942) formula, and between the sex distributions using a chi-squared twofold table, was insignificant.

Procedure

The administration of the test followed the method laid down by Goodenough (*op. cit.*) and each subject was tested individually and alone, except for the examiner. A sheet of octavo-size paper was given to the subject, together with a 2B soft lead pencil in order that qualitative aspects of the drawing such as pressure, thickness of line, etc., would be more or less comparable. At the same time the instruction was given: 'I want you to draw a man.' No clues as to the type or kind of drawing required were given, all questions being countered with the statement: 'Just draw the best man you can.' When the drawings had been completed the sex, age and name of the subject were written on the reverse side of the paper, together with a capital *N* if the subject was Nigerian.

Scoring

The African papers were then flown to England and mixed randomly with the English papers: the combined set was then scored for intelligence, using the Goodenough criteria and scoring system, by an examiner who had not previously seen the drawings. After quantitative assessment, the papers marked *N* were then separated and a special weighting given to compensate for the penalization on lack of clothing imposed under the Goodenough system.

Additional points were given as under:

WEIGHTING OF NIGERIAN SCORES

Criterion	*Additional Points*
No clothing but well drawn body	2
One piece of native clothing	2
Two or more pieces of native clothing	1
No clothing but body in two dimensions	1
No clothing and body incomplete	0
One or more pieces of 'Western' clothing	0

Results

Seventeen Nigerians produced some westernization of dress in their drawings, and it would be true to say that the degree of Western clothing varied in direct proportion to the closeness of contact which the Nigerian enjoyed with the white man. No quantitative assessment was made on

* *With two text figures. The authors wish to thank Dr. K. R. L. Hall, Principal Psychologist, Barrow Hospital, Bristol, and his staff, and also Mr. G. M. Hocking, for their assistance in collecting the material from the control group. It is intended that this article should be followed by another on the qualitative assessment of the results.*

FIG. 1

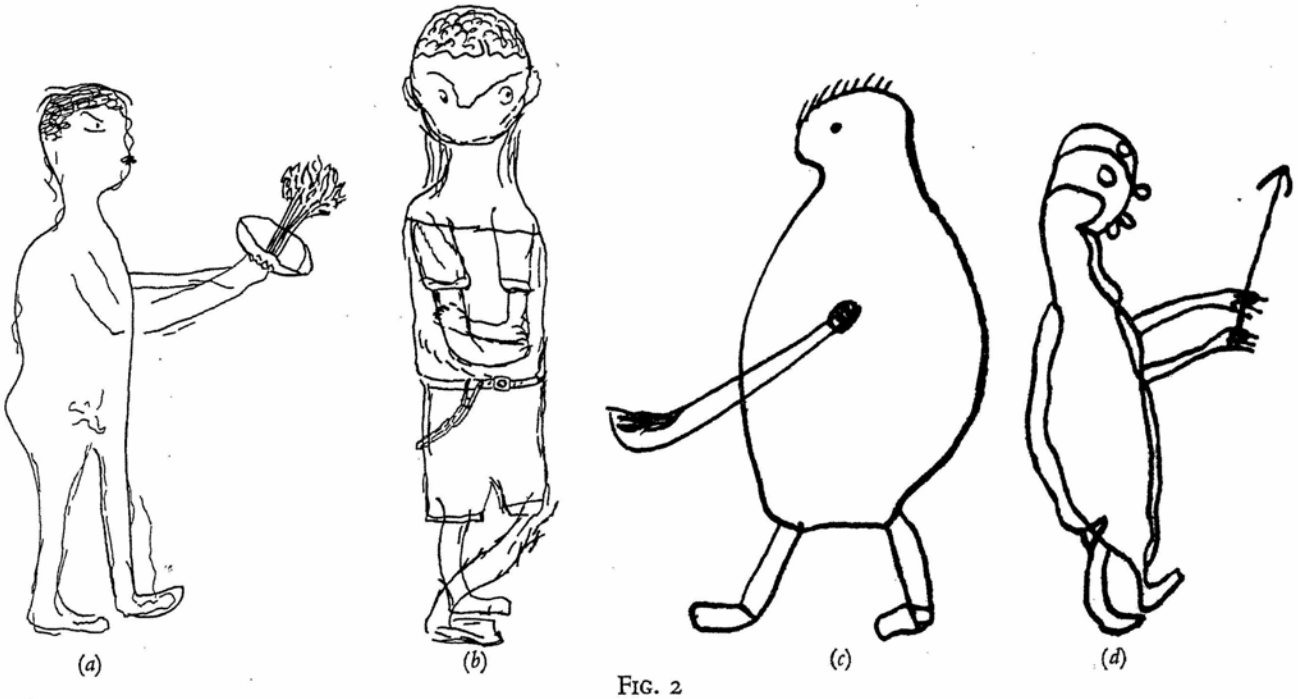
this point because of the difficulty in rating closeness of contact, but visual inspection of the drawings coupled with a long acquaintance with some of the subjects suggested that the correlation co-efficient would be high and positive.

Æsthetically, the African group produced a wider range of talent—from bad to superior (see fig. 1)—than did the European group, whose drawing ability was mediocre. Quantitatively, a marked discrepancy in scores was readily apparent, the Goodenough mental age for the white group being 12·8 years (S.D. 1·6 years) and for the African group being 8·8 years (S.D. 3·7 years) significantly different at *P* less than 0·01. Qualitatively, there were even greater differences apparent, especially in the Machover (1949) pathognomonic signs, and these are dealt with in another paper.

Discussion

The mean mental age of the African sample as measured by the Goodenough criteria cannot of course be held to be a true indication of the actual mental age of the subjects concerned. In the first place, the test scoring system has been standardized only on Western cultures, and the norms cannot therefore be validly applied to an unstandardized non-Western population. Secondly, none of the Africans included in the sample were mentally defective—on a purely subjective estimation—as the scores on the Goodenough criteria would imply, and many of the individuals obtaining a low score were employed in more or less skilled clerical occupations. On the other hand, the scores do reflect, superficially at least, the child-like simplicity of the African, for in practice, when introducing him to Western work routines, one often finds it convenient to adopt an approach suited to a European child of ten.

A more qualitative analysis of the native drawings reveals a number of features which provide further explanation. In fig. 2*a*, drawn by a male, aged 32 years, great attention has been paid to the details of the bouquet, whilst the figure itself consists of little more than an outline. Fig. 2*b*, produced by a girl of 18 years, shows that several items of clothing, such as the brace end and belt buckle, have been picked out and emphasized, although the parts of the body have been put together in a very vague and unco-ordinated manner. These are not isolated instances but merely typical examples of a general trend seen throughout the African sample with very few exceptions, and this aspect of the drawings, in our opinion, reflects the strong 'group outlook' of the Nigerian and his lack of individuation.



(*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*)

FIG. 2

The work of Hoernlé (1925) shows that the social unit of the Nigerian, whether he belongs to the Hausa ethnic group or that of the Lower Nigerian or Niger-Senegalese, is the extended family group, consisting of parallel generations equivalent to a small tribe. The group outlook in Nigeria is in fact a tribal outlook. In the social unit the common ownership of family property is universal, including until relatively recently the ownership of slaves, and still including the common ownership of wives.

That the human figure as such has little importance to the African is shown by the drawings of a highly intelligent technician of the Mines Department (fig. 2*c*) and of the headman of a village in the interior (fig. 2*d*) rating a Goodenough mental age of 5 and 7 years respectively. The African has an extremely strong loyalty to the tribe, and this bond remains stronger than any other which may develop in his work or social life. Few West Africans, however highly educated, grow out of this into a wider national or international consciousness, and those who remain in Nigeria, however westernized they may have become, often revert to their tribal fetishes when the opportunity occurs.

The low Goodenough scores also reflect the concreteness of the Nigerian's mental approach, a concreteness which is so rigid as to produce many schizophrenic signs in the drawings (Machover, 1949, 1951). In addition, the lack of synthetic ability shown in the drawings is typical of the general inability to synthetize which forms so marked a feature of African education. Lord Hailey (1938) in his monumental *African Survey* brings out very clearly the essentially practical and superficial attitude of the African towards education, and this has been confirmed in similar post-war studies, *e.g.* by Davis (1945).

More detailed investigations of the educability of the African, for example those by the Colonial Office (1944), Perham (1944), Pickard-Cambridge (1940) and others, show that the African has a prodigious memory for facts, but has great difficulty in synthetizing them into a comprehensive and cohesive whole. One of the basic features of the contemporary Nigerian education system is the premium which is placed on the accumulation of facts, and originality finds little place in academic success. This educational bias is partly the result of the innate concreteness of mentation, and is partly imposed by the examination system. In areas where such opportunities exist, the Nigerian is ambitious to obtain further education, and his choices of a career still reflect this factual-determinate attitude. By far the most popular vocation among West Africans is Law, in which, in Nigeria at least, little deduction is necessary to succeed—only memory. The binding force which precedent possesses enables the native lawyer with a vast memory of such precedents to apply the most appropriate one in each case which comes to his attention.

In the case of the African women, where a 'soft and secure sinecure' (Cork, 1943) cannot be offered as the excuse for education, other incentives are offered. Mackay (1951) describes an article in a contemporary magazine which urged young women of Nigeria to take up further education because a knowledge of Shakespeare would give them a higher value in the marriage mart. Another advertisement prospectus for classes in Philosophy suggested that ladies should attend this course since it would brighten up domestic conversation. Education for anything, in fact, except *qua* education.

Even at a higher level, as for example at the University College of the Gold Coast, Achimota, where Oxford and Cambridge M.A.'s coach undergraduates for the B.S. degree, the accent is still intensely practical (Colonial Office, *op. cit.*). Potential chemists are not trained to be the Boyles of tomorrow, but rather to do a chemical analysis or metallurgical assay accurately and efficiently, and the students are happy to be doing their routine tasks.

Rattray (1930) and Seligman (1939) both describe the African's pleasure when engaged in repetitive activity, whether it be in work, physical exercise (*cf.* tribal dances and songs) or even in the more advanced mental games such as *ayo*, and this love of repetition is doubtless but another manifestation of the rigid and concrete attitudes of the native.

Summary

Examples of human-figure drawing from 30 Nigerians and 100 European adults of approximately the same age range and sex distribution were scored on the Goodenough system. The Nigerian sample had a mean score of 8·8 years (S.D. 3·8 years) and the European sample one of 12·8 (S.D. 1·6) significantly different at the 0·01 level. The qualitative features of the Nigerian drawings which caused this depression in apparent mental age are discussed, and the role of 'tribal outlook' and concreteness of mentation in effecting this difference is emphasized.

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OBITUARY

Wilhelm Schmidt: 1868–1954. *With a portrait*

128 Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt was born in Westphalia, Germany, in 1868. He joined the Society of the Divine Word for Foreign Missions, but was never sent to work as a missionary abroad. His study of the Semitic languages led him to the science of language as such, linguistics, in which branch his missionary colleagues in New Guinea encouraged him. No wonder then that he early devoted himself to the field of linguistics, in which he won his first laurels. He had outstanding successes, particularly in his investigation of the languages of Oceania and South-East Asia. This activity soon brought him into close touch with noted English-speaking linguists. A masterly work is Schmidt's comparative study in 1901 of the languages of the inland tribes of Malaya with the Mon-Khmer languages. This laid the foundation for his epoch-making discovery of the southern language root, which he divided into a southern or Austronesian and a northern or Austro-asiatic group. This important discovery for linguistics won him the Volney Award of the Paris Academy.

Although Schmidt soon made ethnology his goal, he still remained true to his "first and deepest scientific love". In 1919 he was the first to trace out the division of the Australian languages, a task, successfully accomplished, that brought him once more the Volney Award. Right up to his last years he busied himself with the linguistic problem of the South Seas, as is proved by his last linguistic work, *Die tasmanischen Sprachen*, which appeared in 1952.

Schmidt's *Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde*, written in 1926, is an attempt at a synthesis between the known language families and the evolved culture 'circles' of historical ethnology. At this time he was at the height of his scientific attainment.

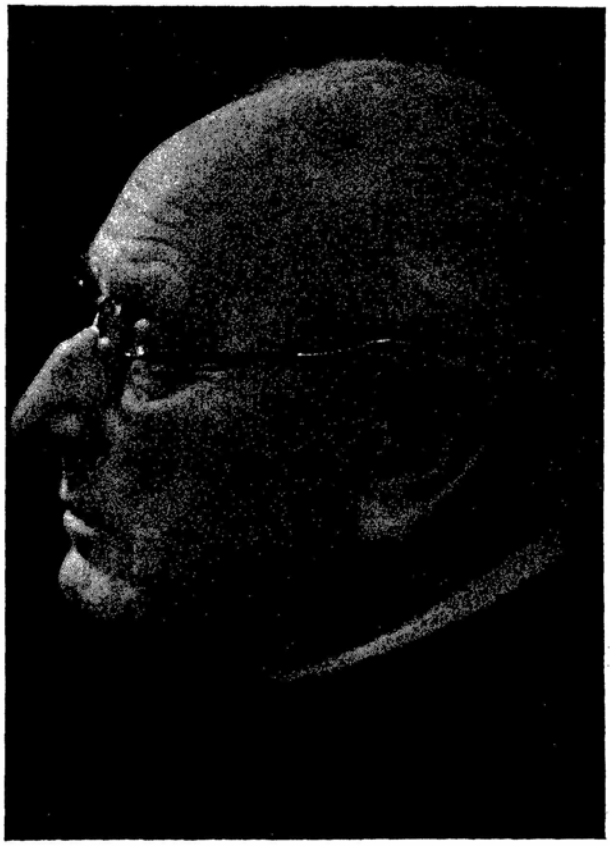
In the field of ethnology Schmidt's own activity was more limited, but the leadership which he gave in this field was incomparably greater, and he attracted a great following. He became best known through the founding of the International Review of Ethnology and Linguistics, *Anthropos*, in 1926. Its primary object was to encourage the ethnological investigations of the missionaries abroad by establishing a medium for publication of their articles. But he also opened its pages to experts of every school so that they could express their opinion on the problems of ethnology. No need to stress what a mine of information it has become in ethnological matters.

Encouraged by the work of F. Gräbner and B. Ankermann, Schmidt took up historical ethnology, and became not only its spirited defender, but also its gifted architect and organizer. Around Schmidt as teacher (he was Professor at the University of Vienna, and later at Fribourg, Switzerland) and as writer, there grew up an ethnological school, now known as the Vienna School. Three works mark the period of Schmidt's activity in culture history: 'Die moderne Ethnologie', a study which appeared in the first volume of *Anthropos*; *Völker und Kulturen*, 1924; and the *Handbuch der kulturhistorischen Method*, 1937.

In his many hundreds of publications Schmidt takes up a strong position as culture-historian against the evolutionist method in ethnology, a position that led this intuitive and brilliant intellect to identify large connected culture groups, the *Kulturkreise*, and their genetic dependence on one another. Schmidt's gifted conception of the historic-genetic succession of the culture-groups moves fascinatingly from the lowest rung right up to the advanced cultures.

Schmidt's *Urkultur*, which he believed could be derived from the primitive races living today, especially the Pygmies, opened out into three primary cultures: the patriarchal hunting culture; the matriarchal hoe culture; and the shepherd-nomad culture. A mixture of these three primary cultures gives rise to the secondary cultures, which in turn develop into the advanced cultures. Schmidt was conscious of the schematic form of his conception and allowed for some revisions, but he remained true to the scheme all his life.

His linguistic investigations had already brought him into close touch with primitive peoples, particularly those of Malaya and Australia. The controversy with Evolutionism forced him to consider the problem of the origin of cultures. Through a theory of



PATER WILHELM SCHMIDT, S.V.D.

the Swiss J. Kollmann, widely discussed at the time, that the Pygmies are the original stock of the human races, Schmidt's attention was directed to these dwarf people. He more or less adopted Kollmann's interpretation, and surmised that the Pygmies were the carriers of that primitive culture, the investigation of which he considered the paramount task of ethnology. This theory brought to the press in 1910 his best-known work, on the place of the Pygmies in the historical development of mankind.

The investigation of religion now entered into Schmidt's research into the origin of culture, and eventually took pride of place there. Here he followed in the footsteps of Andrew Lang, who in his book *The Making of Religion* was the first known writer to establish the belief of primitives in a supreme god. With tireless and loving devotion to his work he dedicated himself to the study of the religion of these primitive peoples, and to the publication of his monumental work, *Der Ursprung der*

Gottesidee, of which ten volumes have appeared, and two more are ready in manuscript. In the first six volumes he discusses his idea of the religion of the primitives (*Urvölker*), while the rest deals with the religion of the cattle-raising nomads.

Schmidt's intention in the composition of this work was to take a critical stand against the evolutionist interpretation of the origin of religion from the confused, twisted, magic-ridden ways of thought that had developed in the mind of man as he evolved from the animal stage. In opposition to this theory he firmly established the factual basis of the religions of the primitives, showing that there, if anywhere, there was an ethical, even if primitive, monotheism. Even though it must be admitted that Schmidt in his fight against Evolutionism exaggerated many a point, his is still the merit of having proved that the primitives have concepts of a personal god, and that this is the foundation of their morality.

Not only by means of his teaching and his publications did Schmidt give far-reaching impetus to the science of man, but also through his organizing abilities. Parallel to the founding of *Anthropos*, we must mention the establishment of the Anthropos Institute, the founding and equipping of the ethnographical museum in the Lateran at Rome, and also the organizing and promoting of expeditions, especially to the primitives—Semang, Aeta, Central African Pygmies, Bambuti and Batwa, the Bushmen and the Fuegians.

The scientific world was not sparing of acknowledgements and honours for Schmidt, the scholar and research worker. Six Universities made him an Honorary Doctor, and many academies and societies, among them the Royal Anthropological Institute, in London, named him an honorary member.

Professor Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt did not confine his activity to linguistics and ethnology, but this is not the place to mention his many other activities. He had indeed something of Leibniz's universalism about him. He was of the opinion that his life's chief work still lay before him, as he confided to me some months before his death. This, however, he did not have time to accomplish. He died rather unexpectedly three days before his eighty-sixth birthday in Fribourg, Switzerland. He was buried at St. Gabriel's, near Vienna, where he had worked most of his life.

PAUL SCHEBESTA

SHORTER NOTES

A Note on the Blood Pact in Borneo. *By Dr. Rodney Needham*

129 The blood pact has been reported from many parts of Borneo and in two chief forms. The blood of the parties to the pact is drunk, for example, on the lower Kahayan (Medhurst, 1837, pp. 234f.), the upper Barito (Schwaner, 1853, Vol. I, pp. 214f.), the mid-Mahakam (Dalton, 1831, in Moor, 1837, p. 52), the Belungan (Dewall, 1855, p. 444), the Baram (Hose and McDougall, 1912, Vol. II, p. 67), and the Tuaran and Tempassuk (Evans, 1922, pp. 168f.). It is put in a cigarette and smoked on the upper Mahakam (Nieuwenhuis, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 252f.), in the Bintulu-Rejang area (Burns, 1849*a*, p. 146), and on the Baram (St. John, 1851, pp. 684f.; 1862, Vol. I, pp. 107f.; Hose and McDougall, 1912 Vol. II, p. 67). The Ngaju smear the blood on a sireh leaf and chew it (Schwaner, 1853, Vol. I, p. 215).

There are many variations in the form of the ceremony, relating principally to the part of the body from which the blood is drawn, whether there is a third party who makes the incision or puncture, and whether there is a sacrifice. There is nothing to indicate that these variations have any importance.

The essential feature of the blood pact is that it is concluded between the leaders of two political groups, for whose future conduct in respect to each other the leaders are responsible. An infringement of the pact by any member of either of the groups causes the automatic ritual punishment of that group's leader, commonly by death.

There seems to be no general name for the blood pact. Dalton (p. 52) calls it *sobat*, which is also Malay for 'friend,' derived from the Arabic *sahabat*. Hardeland in his 'Dajak' (Ngaju) dictionary translates it as 'friend' and distinguishes it from other words of the same general meaning but used with specific classes of persons: *viz. ulä*, used between Ngaju men; *aring*, used between women; *urai*, used between Ngaju and Malay; and *tangkai* (=towkay?) used with Chinese (Hardeland, 1859). *Sobat* then marks in this language another sort of specific relationship from these. Schwaner calls the ceremony *badoendi daroh* (Schwaner, 1853, Vol. I, p. 124). *Daroh* clearly means 'blood,' but I have not been able to ascertain or deduce what *badoendi* means; possibly it means something like 'to exchange.'

From the Kayan of the Baram St. John reports that the ceremony is called *berbiang* by the Kayan and *bersabibah* by the Brunei Malays ('Borneans') (St. John, 1851, p. 684; 1862, Vol. I, p. 107), but this is incorrect. *Bĕr* is a verbal prefix in Malay, not used in the Kayan language. *Biang* is not Kayan, but is Brunei Malay for 'friend' (MacBryan, 1922, p. 376); and *sabibah* is a misrendering of *sabila*, which is not Malay, but Kayan for 'friend' (Burns, 1849*b*, p. 186, *s.v. savila*).

The general significance of the names recorded is therefore that the pact is a sign of friendship of a special sort.

I record here a report of the blood pact from the nomadic Penan of the interior of north-western Borneo. The custom is no longer practised and cannot be observed. The pact was never concluded between Penan groups, but only with longhouse groups of the settled tribes. These tribes were chiefly the Kayan and the Kenyah. Those in contact with the Iban may have followed a different procedure and used different names for the ceremony and the relationship. Among most of the Penan there is one word for the concluding of a blood pact: *pesere* in the Eastern Penan dialect, and *peseri* in the Western Penan dialect.

The pact was concluded between the elder of a Penan group and the chief of a longhouse group in whose neighbourhood the Penan habitually roamed. The ceremony usually took place in the longhouse and was very simple. The two parties sitting together, one would make a slight incision in the front surface of his left shoulder with a blade made of sharp bamboo. He smeared the blood on to the tobacco of a native cigarette, and gave this to the other to smoke. The latter did the same thing in return. As described, this was the whole ceremony, and there was no sacrifice. Each consumed only the other's blood, and there was no mixing the blood (*cf.* Dalton). The parties to the pact thereafter addressed each other as *sabila* (pronounced *səbilə* by the Western Penan), and so did their followers. This is the word that means 'friend' in the Kayan language and in that of the Kenyah (Stort, 1912, p. 29): the Penan word for 'friend,' *bakeh*, was not used. It should be noted that they did not address each other by any kinship term, such as 'brother,' nor by any other term or expression that implied some sort or degree of kinship.

The breach of this pact by any member of either of the groups was believed to cause the horrible and violent death of the leader of that group. This death was by vomiting blood; it was an automatic punishment and could not be averted. In the words of a

Western Penan informant: 'He is killed by the bamboo spirit (Balei Lepek). God (Balei Peselong) says to the spirit: "This man is bad. He has done wrong. Kill him." And the man dies.'

By the conclusion of this pact the Penan secured immunity from attack by the group of the settled party, and revenge if they were attacked by any other longhouse group, whether of the same tribe or not. The settled party in their turn secured the assurance that the Penan would bring the forest produce they collected only to them, and this was a source of very considerable profit. The settled group did not obtain an immunity from attack by the Penan, for this they already had. The Penan have no headhunting cult and have never out of wanton aggressiveness attacked anybody: their only remembered attacks on settled peoples were in revenge for headhunting attacks upon them.

The Penan believe that the pact was ritually effective. There are at least two tales of the son of a Kenyah headman killing Penan with whom his father was allied by the blood pact. When the headman saw the heads and learned that they were Penan he cried out 'Do you want to kill me?' and fell back dead. But such stories only bear out Elshout's report that the blood pact was not practically effective: 'It is known that even kinship was no protection against treachery. . . . The Kenyah does not attach much value . . . even to the conclusion of blood-brotherhood. These undertakings are all very fine, but it is not difficult to back out of them' (Elshout, 1926, p. 265). Certainly the Penan never relied on the Kenyah (still less on the Iban) to keep faith, and always fled at the rumour or sign of members of any settled tribe in their vicinity.

There was no customary intermarriage between Penan and a longhouse group allied by the blood pact, nor was there anything resembling a joking relationship. There was no exchange of names beyond the reciprocal use of *sabila*. Gifts accompanied any meeting between the groups, but none peculiar to the relationship. (*Cf.* Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 102: 'four modes of alliance.')

Penan do not conceive relations of kinship in terms of blood; and the Bornean blood pact in general seems not to have been an assimilation to kinship, but an alliance concluded by the ritual affirmation of friendship. (I do not imply that this has not been recognized before with respect to particular peoples: Schwaner and Nieuwenhuis both refer to the relationship as one of friendship, and Beccari (1902, p. 376) describes the ceremony exactly as the affirmation of a 'pact of friendship.') It is not a parallel to ordinary contractual relationships, but a religious ceremony witnessed and sanctioned by spiritual beings. Further understanding of the blood pact is to be gained by an investigation into the place of blood in the religious concepts of Bornean peoples.

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Horniman Museum Lectures, January–March, 1955

130 The following illustrated lectures of anthropological interest have been arranged for Saturday afternoons at 3.30 p.m. at the Horniman Museum, London, S.E.23 : 29 January, Mr. F. G. Payne on 'The English Plough'; 5 February, Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf on 'The Sherpas of the Nepal Himalaya'; 19 February, Mr. A. J. Arkell on 'The Magical Statuettes of Ancient Egypt'; 26 February, Mr. T. W. Bagshawe on 'Disappearing Country Occupations'; 5 March, Dr. G. E. Daniel on 'The Megalith-Builders'; 12 March, Mr. H. Shortt on 'The Development of Monumental Sculpture in the West'.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Institutions of Primitive Society: A Series of Broadcast Talks. *By E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Raymond Firth, E. R. Leach, J. G. Peristiany, John Layard, Max Gluckman, Meyer Fortes and Godfrey Lienhardt. Oxford (Blackwell), 1954. Pp. 107. Price 7s. 6d.*

131 The papers in this significant, small volume were first delivered over the Third Programme under the title of 'The Values of Primitive Society.' As such sponsorship would suggest, the papers were intended for a lay, rather than a professional, audience and they cover, in the order of authors, religion, orientations in economic life, æsthetics, law, the family and kinship, political institutions, mind, and modes of thought.

The anthropologist so frequently writes with highly specialized problems or purposes in mind that it is a fortunate chance which leads him to generalize on a subject of his main interest. Although he is apt to apologize for the results of such efforts, it is in just such work that some of his basic assumptions are revealed most clearly. This book, therefore, deserves much fuller review than it can receive here and anyone interested in any of its chapters (and which of us is not?) will wish to read for himself.

Three propositions seem to develop from these pages: (1) no clear line can be drawn between primitive and advanced societies; (2) primitive society is not a unity but is characterized by many groups with different values, different practices and concepts of organization, and different historical developments; and (3) various human institutions are related to each other and can hardly be studied in isolation. Whether implicitly or explicitly there seems, with few exceptions, general agreement on these points.

On the other hand, the attitude toward evolution, and hence toward fundamental human process, varies considerably. Without ever discussing evolution *per se*, the authors indicate markedly different opinions concerning its exact definition and its relevance to

social dynamics. Unsatisfactory as unilinear evolution has been demonstrated to be, it is clear that no social philosophy of comparable force has replaced it. The concepts left in the wake of its full tide are varied indeed.

Possibly the greatest value of such a book as this is that it encourages a sort of anthropological stock-taking. Better even than in a comparison of textbooks, it shows the elements held in common in our discipline and spotlights those on which there is divergence. This factor, in addition to the clear summaries of fact and theory provided, makes this an extremely rewarding series of papers.

MARIAN W. SMITH

Theoretical Anthropology. *By David Bidney. New York (Columbia U.) (London Agent: Cumberlege), 1953. Pp. xiii, 506. Price £3 8s.*

I32 Dr. Bidney starts with 'primitive man,' who lives in 'a magic world of perpetual miracles, where anything can happen and practically nothing is impossible. This primitive imagination is the source of poetry, myth, religion and art . . . Even primitive man has his myths, in which he gives expression to his creative imagination by speculating upon the origin of his society and culture' (pp. 4f.). Dr. Bidney seems not to realize that imagination is based on memory and that neither primitive nor any other man can create something out of nothing. Who this 'primitive man' is is obscure. He apparently exists today, for he is spoken of in the present tense, but he is apparently not the modern savage, for the latter is later discussed as 'the native,' and his mentality is equated (p. 165) with that of the peasant. Dr. Bidney can hardly suppose that peasants speculate about origins, or that they live in a world of perpetual miracles.

Most of the book is concerned with discussions of culture. One of the points at issue is whether culture is historical or psychological in origin, and Dr. Bidney follows Goldenweiser in holding that 'history' explains cultural peculiarities, whereas 'psychological universals will then serve to explain the recurrence of universal cultural institutions, such as domestication, religion, marriage and so forth' (p. 113). But these are universal only if suitably defined and Dr. Bidney gives no definitions. If the radio became universal, would its origin become psychological?

Of freedom we are told that 'by nature man is free insofar as he can and does act so as to satisfy his basic needs and desires' (p. 9). But this is what a tapeworm does; is it free?

'Myth,' according to Dr. Bidney, 'may be described as belief, usually expressed in narrative form, that is incompatible with scientific and rational knowledge' (p. 295). But there are many myths, that of William Tell for example, which do not answer this description.

Dr. Bidney's learning is great, but he never descends from the heights of abstraction and one is left with the impression that theoretical anthropology, at any rate in America, has become so theoretical that it is no longer concerned with what people actually do.

RAGLAN

Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification. *By R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1954. Pp. 725. Price £2 2s.*

I33 Bendix and Lipset have prepared an admirable feast catering to the recent American taste for academic smorgasbord. Over 60 authors have set forth in almost 500,000 words a multidisciplinary array of materials related to social stratification. Their papers provide the teacher or sophisticated reader with extremely stimulating points of view grouped by the editors to bring out currently meaningful differences in usage of the volume's key concepts. As one passes through the first section on 'Theories of Class Structure,' one feels the very emergence of social theory as a separate discipline. As one ponders the views of Marx, Weber, Schumpeter, Sorokin, T. H. Marshall, and a 'revised analytic' distillate in abstract Parsonian, one feels the linked tri-topical subject matter shifting and changing like the prisms of a kaleidoscope in a way most fruitfully provocative of discussion.

The special interest in the American scene, struck in the first section by the inclusion of such papers as a selection from *The Federalist* and a summary of some of the early American sociologists' views by Charles Page, is continued in the second, third and fourth sections. In section two, 'Status and Power Relations in American Society,' the material becomes more empirically based as it becomes more specific. Papers by David Riesman and Daniel Bell set the theme of vital contemporaneity that persists through the book. The last section consists of thirteen papers on 'Comparative Social Structures,' but anthropologists will miss detailed treatment of problems of stratification as they occur in non-literate societies. Boeke, in his paper on village communities 'in collision' with capitalism, and Hsiao-Tung Fei, in his interpretation of some of the changes in Chinese social structure, probably come closest to our interest.

It is in the middle sections that one feels most forcibly the fragmented quality inherent in volumes of this type. For example, in the section on 'Differential Class Behavior' Clark tells us of the distribution of psychoses by income and occupational prestige for over 12,000 first admissions to Chicago mental hospitals, while in another paper Arnold Green describes 'The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis.' We are set wondering about the middle class female, about other disorders of the middle class, about psychosis and other disorders according to Clark's class breakdown elsewhere than Chicago, about the patterning of these disorders by other kinds of breakdowns, about the representativeness of hospital admissions as a measure of the actual occurrence of these disorders in the population, etc. Similar points could be made about the papers on sexual activity, certain aspects of mobility, family stability, fertility, etc.

These defects are not, on the whole, the fault of the editors. While in some cases their selections could have more advantageously covered the areas in question, in most cases the answers are yet to be provided through research. Their way of presenting the material even serves productively to highlight contemporary deficiencies in this field, which, as Parsons points out, is only an abstraction of one aspect of social theory and research generally. One such provocative question that will certainly be stimulated here is why the editors have omitted materials on the social system of Great Britain, a country lacking neither in social stratification nor in sophisticated students of social structure.

ROBERT N. RAPOPORT

Sociology and Philosophy. *By Emile Durkheim, translated by D. F. Pocock, with an introduction by J. G. Peristiany and the original preface by C. Bougle. London (Cohen & West), 1953. Pp. xlii, 97. Price 10s. 6d.*

I34 Durkheim's writings have had such a major influence on the development of British social anthropology that the appearance of any new translation of his work is an event of importance for our subject. The essays and discourses reproduced here were originally published at various dates between 1898 and 1911 and were issued as a collection in 1924 with the French title *Sociologie et Philosophie*. They all deal in one way or another with Durkheim's views concerning the sociological study of values—particularly moral values. The translation by Mr. Pocock is competent, accurate, and honest; it has the unusual merit that where the translator finds his author incomprehensible he does not gloss over the fact, but frankly states his difficulty in a footnote (see *e.g.* p. 66); it is moreover a great advantage that Mr. Pocock is himself a professionally trained social anthropologist who fully understands the intricacies of the often confusing Durkheimian terminology.

Dr. Peristiany, who studied at the Sorbonne before coming to England, is certainly the best qualified of the younger generation of anthropologists in this country to make judgments of Durkheim's work. His lengthy and scholarly Introduction is an important paper in itself and deserves careful attention.

A review such as this is not the place to embark upon a commentary of a sociological classic, but two points deserve perhaps special emphasis. Recent Anglo-American views of Durkheim's work have been considerably influenced by Professor Talcott Parsons' study, *The Structure of Social Action*. It is a key theme in Professor Parsons' analysis that between 1893 and 1912 Durkheim's thought underwent really radical development; this contrasts with the views of other

commentators who have tended to treat the whole of Durkheim's writings as forming a coherent and consistent unity, such that passages from the earliest and latest writings can safely be considered side by side. Dr. Peristiany, whose citations include a lecture delivered in 1888 and an essay published in 1920, is, I fancy, to be included in this latter camp, and, as I have said, his views deserve respect.

My second point is more personal. Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, the creators of modern British social anthropology, can both be regarded, in their different ways, as 'followers of Durkheim,' so I have found it puzzling that, in my own intellectual development, I feel myself more and more in sympathy with Durkheim and less and less in sympathy with either Radcliffe-Brown or Malinowski. This development is not peculiar to myself; it is, I think, a general trend among the anthropologists of my generation, and relates to a general revival of interest in ideas and ideals for their own sake, in contrast, for example, to the extreme empiricism of Malinowski. In this connexion a quotation from Dr. Peristiany's Introduction (p. *xxviii*) seems to me illuminating: 'Durkheim declares that to explain the function of ideals by the contribution they make to the maintenance of the equilibrium, the solidarity or the survival of a society (as some sociologists tend to do, in the mistaken belief that they are following Durkheim's teaching), is to misconstrue the central tenet of his sociology, which assumes that, in social life, not only are all individuals subordinated to society, but that society itself is a system of ideas, a system which is neither an epiphenomenon of social morphology nor an organ devised to satisfy material needs' . . . . I urge every serious social anthropologist to read this little book. E. R. LEACH

Ethnologie de l'Union Française. *By A. Leroi-Gourhan and Jean Poirier. Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1953. 2 vols. Pp. 1083. Price 1,500 and 1,800 francs*

I35 Any attempt to treat of the anthropology of so vast and unrelated an entity as the French Union will obviously encounter several problems. In the first place there is the danger of being over-general—saying only what is commonplace and producing a work which is of little value. The authors have been able to avoid this by producing a work of over a thousand pages, large enough to give them a chance to say a good deal. At the same time it is not enough space in which to be encyclopædic. The authors have had to be selective, and have worked out a formula to which they have adhered carefully. The result is a well balanced survey of the present-day knowledge of the anthropology of the French Union.

The work begins with an introduction on the different branches of anthropological study, their functions and applications. The general purpose of the book is indicated: 'Mais la civilisation ne peut plus rester enfermée dans son humanisme méditerranéen, la période de transition douloureuse que nous traversons doit forcément faire naître un ordre où tous les peuples du monde joueront leur rôle comme dans l'Occident médiéval tous les peuples d'Europe convergeaient vers quelques grands centres pour mettre leur capital intellectuel et artistique en commun' (p. 48). Then follows an account of the peopling of Africa, as a necessary background to the study of the French territories, which follows, divided into white Africa and black Africa. The second volume surveys the anthropology of the French territories in Asia, Oceania and America. The work concludes with a section of a hundred pages on 'French Union and Anthropology.'

Each broad region is further subdivided, and the matter marshalled according to a basic pattern, but varied where necessary. It is this: the environment (including geology); prehistory; physical anthropology; the tribes, their history, linguistics and mode of livelihood; their social organization—especially family life, political organization and religion—their art and literature.

The survey is as impartial as possible and succeeds in keeping an even stress. The limited compass, of course, prevents a detailed description, tribe by tribe, so that detailed variations of implements or customs are omitted. Its usefulness is thus greater for the reader seeking a broad view of the anthropology of the French Union, than for the professional anthropologist who may well feel a little uneasy at some of the statements which are made, *e.g.* the acceptance, without adequate warning, of the Grimaldi remains as the earliest known Negroes (p. 73), or the statement 'l'égalité est inconnue outre-mer . . . [primitive society is always] très étroitement, très minutieusement hiérarchisée, depuis les chefs et les castes nobles jusqu' aux captifs.' (p. 981). To the English reader it is strange to be told that the Yoruba are 'très mal connue au point de vue anthropologique,' (p. 279), but this is due to the accident of a political frontier—the Yoruba of Nigeria are well known from English work, those of Dahomey have been little studied by the French.

It appears from the final section of the work that it was directed primarily at a non-specialist audience, with a view to arousing in the French public an interest in the Union and its problems, and especially those arising from culture contact. It makes general suggestions on the practical contribution which anthropological study can make to the wellbeing of the Union as a whole, and pleads for extensive facilities for research to be made available at once and for 20 years, by which time it will be too late to study these native peoples. The harms of European contact will then be irreparable.

A special feature of the book is a useful bibliography of over 100 pages; there is also an index.

The authors have attempted a very difficult task and have been very successful. It is useful to have such a survey as this of so large a part of the world. Very much information which is not easily obtained elsewhere has now been made available in a convenient and stimulating form. FRANK WILLETT

Archæology from the Earth. *By Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1954. Pp. 221, 23 plates, 21 text figs. Price £1 5s.*

I36 No archæologist can afford to miss this book, which is not only a mine of information but extremely enjoyable reading. There is hardly an aspect of archæology that is not treated in some original way, whether it be the history of excavation, chronology, stratigraphy, planning, publication, the actual technique of digging, or the duties of the staff of large excavations.

In the history of excavation, General Pitt-Rivers is held up as a shining example of how to dig; the lash is not spared on others who have shown how *not* to dig. Lack of adequate supervision has been a frequent crime. Stratification must not only be observed, but interpreted intelligently. The over-emphasis of 'accidental' and contemporary features (such as the variegated filling of a storage pit) can be as misleading as the under-emphasis of time values in a succession of strata which have accumulated intermittently. The 1927–31 excavations of Mohenjo-daro afford a deplorable example of the misrecording of evidence; every object was recorded mechanically in relation to a fixed bench level on the assumption that everything at the same height above sea level was contemporary!

Well chosen illustrations clearly emphasize the right and the wrong ways to excavate. Plate IV, for instance, shows dramatically the contrast between chaos and discipline. An excavation must not only be tidily executed, but based on long-term planning. Tactical planning was shown in the unravelling of the history of Verulamium, but large-scale strategic planning is exemplified in the way in which Sir Mortimer drew up a classification of the ancient cultures of South India by pursuing the significant association of Mediterranean ware with a local culture near Pondicherry.

The field archæologist must be a man of many parts. Not only should he be a strategist, but he must be skilled at 'watch-maker's jobs' with pen knife and paint brush. It is his duty, too, to provide the geochronologist with classified gravels or loess with related artifacts to 'transform the jellyfish of its [*sc.* prehistory's] chronology into something vertebrate.' He must recognize such things as the potentiality of earthquakes as a means of dating or, for instance, the 16 mud plasterings of a temple wall (Plate IIb).

In his account of the duties of the staff of a large dig, Sir Mortimer enumerates the qualities necessary in the director. He must have the combined virtues of the scholar and the man of action, scrupulous accuracy, and an informed and *informing* imagination, with, above all, an occasional gleam of elementary humour (never sarcasm). The description fits no one better than Sir Mortimer himself. Finally, in

the words of Sir Winston Churchill (quoted in the last chapter): 'No amount of technical knowledge can replace the comprehension of the humanities or the study of history and philosophy.' *Archæology from the Earth* is written in exquisite prose, liberally salted with 'gleams of humour,' and filled with widely drawn quotations which emphasize the exceptional mind of the author. SONIA COLE

AFRICA

African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological and Social Values of African Peoples. *Edited with an introduction by Daryll Forde. London (O.U.P. for Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1954. Pp. xvii, 243. Price £1 10s.*

I37 This valuable symposium (to quote the editor) provides brief but comprehensive descriptions and analyses of the character and the context of value systems of a number of African peoples; in other words, essays on African religion in its material and social context. The study of this subject has, the editor thinks, lagged behind that of the political and economic aspects of the indigenous social systems; and he is to be congratulated upon having brought together these contributions by professional anthropologists. The choice of tribes has to some degree been determined by availability of relevant material but is fairly representative. For the Bantu we have Mary Douglas on the Lele of Belgian Congo, Gunter Wagner on the Abaluiya of Kenya, J. J. Maquet on the Banyaruanda, and J. D. and E. J. Krige on the Lovedu of Transvaal; for the Nilotics, Godfrey Lienhardt on the Shilluk; for Sudanic peoples, Marcel Griaule and Germaine Dieterlen on the Dogon of French West Africa, Kenneth Little on the Mende of Sierra Leone, K. A. Busia on the Ashanti of the Gold Coast, and P. Mercier on the Fon of Dahomey. Each writer has personal knowledge of the field and, where available, makes use of previous studies.

The book would have been improved had the conclusions been synthetized in a final chapter. Amid the wealth of detail two things are plainly discernible: first, the great diversity of ritual forms and expressions of belief; and second, the substantial underlying similarities in religious outlook and moral injunction. The diversity is to be expected in view of varying physical environment, history and social tradition. We see it when comparing the forest-dwelling Lele for whom hunting is the supreme religious activity and who apparently have no need of 'rain-making,' with the Lovedu of the Transvaal steppes whose Queen is so bound up with nature that her very emotions are held to affect the uncertain rainfall. The Mende struck Little as apathetic to the supernatural; the Dogon are marked by their propensity for metaphysical speculation and their elaborate symbolism: for them social life reflects the working of the universe and, conversely, the world order depends on the proper ordering of society (p. 83). The fundamental unity is no less evident. Throughout the field there is shown to be a close interdependence of three factors: a traditional pattern of livelihood, an accepted configuration of social relations, and dogmas concerning the nature of the world and the place of man within it; in other words, intimate relation of religion with all aspects of African life. All have certain needs, aspirations, hopes and fears in common; and, as the editor expresses it, 'Gods, spirits and magical forces . . . are postulated in explanation of the workings of the universe, of the incidence of benefits and misfortunes, and of the strains of life in society.' They everywhere seek to enlist or avert the anticipated action of such beings and powers.

When Daryll Forde claims this to be 'the first collection of systematic studies' on the subject he apparently overlooks a book that is several times referred to by the contributors—*African Ideas of God.* All but one of the writers were missionaries of long experience. Three of the tribes appear in both books. The language of the present writers is more technical and they lay greater stress upon social relations but in general they arrive at the same conclusions; in particular they confirm what the missionaries wrote about the African concept of a Supreme Being. The missionaries insisted upon the necessity of studying African religion in relation to environment and social structure and while focusing attention upon one aspect of religion they related it to others—the three aspects being theism, spiritism and dynamism. These three categories correspond to Daryll Forde's 'postulates.' The term dynamism does not appear in this volume but there is ample recognition of 'magical forces' the belief in which, and the practices therewith associated, constitute dynamism.

Wagner says of the Abaluiya that the maintenance of the natural and social order hinges on the two notions of God as the supreme guiding and controlling principle of the world and of magical power which manifests itself in a great variety of ways, not only in material objects but in certain rituals such as family sacrifices. The two notions are so closely associated that it is difficult to separate the sphere of religion from that of magic; indeed they form one integral complex (p. 54). The Lovedu form of the widespread Bantu word *bwanga* is *vuŋaga* (Sotho, *bongaka*). It denotes, the Kriges say, the use of impersonal power inherent in matter and also the exercise of personal qualities or skills—it is not the power itself but its use. *Digoma* not only denotes 'drums' but connotes the power concentrated in the drum cult. The evil aspect of *vuŋaga* is *uloi*. The Mende recognize a non-material power known as *hale*—'a special kind of supernatural power or quality which becomes attached to the object through the influence of Ngewo'—God (p. 127). The Lele have but one word, *nengu*, for rites and medicines; the *ngang* (the *bwanga* root again) being both 'doctor' and 'priest'—their power is derived only from Njambi, God (p. 7). The essay on the Dogon is admittedly incomplete; no mention is made of *Nyama*, the *force vitale*, about which the authors write copiously elsewhere. Busia (p. 205) says of the Ashanti that the use of charms and amulets (*suman*) testifies to the belief in impersonal power but this is dwarfed by ancestor worship and animism: the *suman* are largely held in contempt. It would appear that the Fon come near to personalizing this power in the concept of Da. The name means 'serpent,' it is the symbol of flowing sinuous movement; Da controls all life and movement; without Da Mawu-Lisa could not have organized the world (p. 220). Of itself Da does nothing, but without Da nothing can be done. The king is identified with it.

It does not fall within the scope of these essays to discuss the effect of western civilization upon the African's world outlook, though some of the writers touch upon it. 'The very foundations of Dahomean culture are being shaken' are the final words in the book. The editor rightly says, however, that these studies have a practical as well as a scientific value for their 'portrayal of some of the background and points of departure from which African peoples are now making the extensive and often difficult cultural and social adjustments demanded by their progressive integration into the western world.' One hopes that the book will circulate widely and receive the close consideration it deserves. It should give a final quietus to those (if any such still exist) who imagine that the African mind is a blank sheet upon which Europeans can inscribe what they please. EDWIN W. SMITH

Missionary Statesmanship in Africa: A Present-Day Demand Upon the Christian Movement. *Civilisations, Vol. III, No. 4 (1953), pp. 465–564*

I38 This is a strange document, or perhaps a document with a strange title. It is a reprint of five papers delivered at a study conference at the Kennedy School of Missions in May, 1953. The first is a wholly admirable lecture by Professor Daryll Forde on 'The Conditions of Social Development in West Africa,' the connexion of which with the more pressing problems of the Christian mission today is far from apparent. The second is an entirely unexceptionable statement by Dr. William Bascom of Northwestern University on the problems of the missionary in relation to African culture—of the kind which has been a regular feature of most missionary journals since about 1910. The third by Robert T. Parsons, Professor of African Studies at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, discusses the degrees of social integration existing among missionaries and their immediate collaborators in the African Church, but without really facing the fact that the situation

can only be remedied by a drastic simplification of Western standards of life, which American missionaries above all others would find it extraordinarily hard to achieve. The fifth lecture, on the importance of presenting the Scriptures to Africans in their vernacular languages, can hardly be called a novel principle of missionary statesmanship. It is in fact only the fourth paper, that by Dr. George W. Carpenter, the Africa Secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the National Council of Churches of Christ, which really comes to grips with a set of problems which are basic to the Christian missionary enterprise in the nineteen-fifties. How far can the Church continue to collaborate and risk identification with governments which no longer carry the confidence of those they govern? How long can missions go on committing their exiguous forces to the ever expanding field of social services? What are the duties of Church and mission in speaking publicly for the politically underrepresented? What are the minimum rights involved in the concept of religious freedom? Carpenter's 'Criteria for Christian Action in Relation to Governments' are well worth study: certainly they cover many of the problems which are most constantly exercising the minds of the present-day directors of missionary organizations.

Perhaps the most unrealistic feature of this document is the failure of all speakers, except perhaps Professor Forde, to recognize that almost throughout Africa contact between Church and Church member is, and has been since the very early pioneer days, maintained not mainly by the foreign missionary but by the village schoolmaster, catechist and lay reader, and now increasingly by the indigenous African clergy, and that the mission no longer dominates the Church, but rather underpins it at certain vital points.

ROLAND OLIVER

Colour and Culture in South Africa: A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of the Union of South Africa. *By Sheila Patterson. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1953. Pp. 402. Price £1 10s.*

139 Dr. Patterson's exhaustive study of the political, legal, economic and social status of the Cape Coloured People will remain a standard work and, since of necessity it is largely concerned with the policy and consequences of *apartheid* (which is applied to all Non-Europeans) it has a much wider reference than its sub-title indicates. It seems the more unfortunate that many sections are written in the repellent and apparently unnecessary jargon of sociology, but students of South African affairs, or of societies governed by racial distinctions, will soon come to appreciate the wealth of material in the text, notes and admirable statistical appendices. Apologists for the Union Government can hardly gloss over facts such as an expenditure on education (in 1948–9) of more than twice as much per head for Europeans as for Coloureds; but occasionally, especially when discussing health and social welfare services, the author tends to paint too dark a picture, almost as if inadequate health and social services were confined to the Cape. However, one of the chief points made by Dr. Patterson is that societies, like individuals, change, and there is every reason to believe that the pressure of liberal opinion both outside and within the Union must in time bring about profound changes. Since the situation between Europeans and Coloureds is less complicated than that between Europeans and Bantu, she believes that it may not, perhaps, be 'altogether too late to hope for the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the lesser problem, which might serve as a guide to the other.' Possibly to save expense the notes (over 140 pages) are inconveniently printed at the back of the book instead of as footnotes. Most of them are invaluable, but it seems pointless to include some long quotations from easily accessible books.

HERMIA OLIVER

A Short History of Benin. *By J. U. Egharevba. 2nd. edn. Lagos (C.M.S.), 1953. Pp. xii, 118*

140 Growing national and tribal consciousness and a fear that the knowledge of old traditions and customs may be lost has led, in recent years, to many attempts by Africans to write the history of their own peoples. Among the best of these is the book under review written by Chief Egharevba, the Obakhavbaye of Benin and Curator of the Native Authority Museum, and now admirably reprinted by the Ibadan University Press.

The author divides Benin history into three periods, the first being that of the rather shadowy Ogiso dynasty. Perhaps he fails to stress sufficiently the mythical nature of this era; in the folk stories, Ogiso (literally the 'king of the sky') speaks with and takes advice from the Tortoise and other fabulous animals. Nevertheless he has salvaged some evidence of the existence of a kingdom on the site of Benin City before the founding of the present dynasty from Ife.

The last Ogiso was banished and the Edo sought a ruler from the Oni of Ife who sent his son Oranmiyan, legendary father of a number of Yoruba kingdoms. Oranmiyan did not stay in Benin but he left behind a son, born of an Edo mother, who became the first Oba, Eweka. The beginning of this second period Chief Egharevba places about A.D. 1200 and it ends in 1897 with the British conquest of the City and the banishment of Oba Ovonramwen. The dynasty was resuscitated in 1914 by Eweka II and continues in this, the third period.

Chief Egharevba has something to tell of the reign of each of the 37 Obas. Perhaps the most interesting section is that on the warrior Obas of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when the Benin Empire was probably at its greatest. The assumption has often been made that the Empire then fell into a sharp decline. Its effective boundaries may indeed have contracted from time to time but there is little doubt that even up to 1897, by avoiding the wars that disrupted the Yoruba kingdoms, Benin remained the most extensive and stable of the kingdoms of Southern Nigeria. It is indeed the relative stability of at least the nucleus of the Empire that gives it its distinctive character in comparison with many other kingdoms of the West African Coast.

The author has of course been hampered by the disadvantages that beset any historian of a non-literate people, attempting to create fact out of contradictory, many-versioned legends and traditions. By painstaking enquiry he nevertheless gives us a very plausible account.

Benin history still offers a fruitful field of enquiry. The Edo are a historically minded people, full of anecdotes concerning the reigns of the various Obas. It should, for instance, be possible, by collecting the traditions of villages in all directions from Benin to form some idea of the pattern of Edo conquest and expansion, and, by studying the history of the various groups of title-holders, craft guilds, etc., in Benin City, to get a clearer picture of the progressive elaboration of the state structure. Whoever undertakes such a task will owe much to Chief Egharevba's history as a source book and guide.

R. E. BRADBURY

Volkskundliche und religiöse Begriffe im nördlichen Waldland von Kamerun. *By J. Ittmann. Afrika und Übersee, Beiheft 2b. Berlin (Reimer), 1953. Pp. 68. Price DM 10.60*

141 Johannes Ittmann is well known in north-western Bantu studies for his *Grammatik des Duala*, written in collaboration with Carl Meinhof. The present work, a glossary of concepts in the folklore and religion of the south-western Cameroons, is again based on Duala, most of the actual entries being made in that language, but frequent reference is made to related or similar concepts in the languages of the Bakweri, Subu, Bakossi, Bafaw, Bakundu and many other tribes. These names are quoted here in their usual English spellings but it is one of the pleasures of the book that these tribes are given their indigenous appellations, phonetically and tonally transcribed. The Duala examples are also recorded in a phonetic orthography dispensing generally with diacritics (a surprising exception being the retention of *ń* (=*ny*), a symbol with little to be said for it in the conventional orthography and less in a scientific orthography in which ' is used as a high-tone sign). Tones themselves are recorded conscientiously, and the typography and format are most pleasing.

There is much to interest students of the neighbouring Bakweri (here rendered, for the first time correctly, as *Vakpe*) although some of the forms given (*e.g. ndimisi*) are Duala terms adapted to Bakweri phonology rather than true Bakweri concepts, while, in the short texts quoted, non-Bakweri forms appear (*e.g. bw* for *gb*). One also would like clarification when the author calls the Bota

people '*Bóbè*, erroneously named Bobea or Bota,' since they call themselves *Wóvèà* (of which Bobea is the Duala form), the Bakweri call them *Èwótá* (of which Bota is the Duala/European form) while *Bobè* or *Wovè* is the name given to the Bube tribe (Fernando Po) who supplied the ancestor of Wovea.

Entries number about 300, some brief, others 1500 words long, covering varied folk concepts concerning God, witchcraft, spiders, the moon, geographical direction, animal possession, and many more. Excellent cross-references, however, make the glossary a unitary study of its subject, and an invaluable handbook to all in the linguistic, sociological or mission fields in the south-western Cameroons.

E. W. ARDENER

Growing up in an Egyptian Village. *By Hamed Ammar. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1954. Pp. xvi, 316. Price £1 8s.*

142 The village which the author describes is his native village of Silwa in the province of Aswan. In this village there are no class distinctions between villagers because all claim to be descendants of the Prophet and all are landowners working on their own land, though the plots owned by many are very small. There are some merchants and craftsmen from outside, and these, however rich, are regarded as of lower status.

There is a dual organization. The nine clans belong five to one moiety and four to the other. Moieties have their own halves of the village, and if two clans of the same moiety fall out, a clan from the other moiety is called in to make peace.

The religion of the village enjoins a strict puritanism. Music, dancing, and games are taboo to adults, and nothing is read except the Quran and some lives of the saints. The sexes are strictly separated. In Lower Egypt the women work unveiled in the fields, but in Silwa, and Upper Egypt generally, the women never work in the fields, and are never seen unveiled by men. The author deals at length, and very interestingly, with relations within the family, and particularly the anomalous relationship of brothers, who are expected to be jealous rivals, but at the same time to help each other against all not of the family.

He perhaps gives psycho-analytical theories more credit than they deserve, and there are occasional slips in his usually excellent English and in translation. For 'cousin' read 'nephew' in several places, and for 'tiger' read 'hyena.' It is a pity that the transliteration is not done on any system. But these are minor criticisms of a book which is extremely interesting and does its author the greatest credit.

RAGLAN

Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa. *By Max Gluckman. The Frazer Lecture, 1952. Manchester (U.P.), 1954. Pp. 36. Price 3s. 6d.*

143 In the 1952 Frazer Lecture Professor Gluckman, taking the central theme of *The Golden Bough*, the killing of priest-kings, scapegoat kings and mock kings, has concentrated on those aspects of these customs which can be classed as rites of rebellion. Writing as a modern anthropologist he offers a sociological analysis of certain analogous ceremonies among the Southern Bantu. '[For Frazer] this sort of ceremony was a response to man's thinking about the universe: with more knowledge we can see that it reflects and overcomes social conflict as well as helpless ignorance.'

Two types of ritual rebellion are taken: the first in the context of domestic life, the second political. Zulu women are described as down-trodden creatures, dominated by their husbands, brothers and fathers. In an annual ceremony they used to reverse their normal roles, break taboos on herding cattle, and abandoning modesty, sing lewd songs dressed in men's garments. This open display of rebellion by the women was held to procure the prosperity of agriculture. Similar rites involving obscenities enacted by transvestite or naked women are apparently common to many of the South-East Bantu, and Professor Gluckman accounts for them by an analysis of the social and symbolic roles of women in these strongly patriarchal societies.

As an example of ritual rebellion in the political sphere we are referred to Dr. Kuper's account of the Swazi *inchwala* ceremony. Here the king is not killed, but songs of hate and rejection occur in the ceremonial. Opposition is expressed to the person of the king himself: the social order and the kingship remain unchallenged. This symbolic acting of ambivalence in social relations is regarded by Professor Gluckman as a cathartic rite, a cultural mechanism by which social unity is achieved.

Of the two parts of his lecture, that concerned with domestic rites is the less satisfactory. There is always a temptation to deal too boldly with the complex themes of male and female symbolism, and in this case over-simplifying has been necessary in order to crowd the interpretation into a few paragraphs.

The most stimulating part is where Professor Gluckman leaves ritual aside, to suggest that in some societies actual civil rebellion was also a real source of strength, insofar as tendencies to segment were directed to the centre by the struggle for the kingship. He cites various instances in Africa where the very structure of the kingship involves the nation in struggles between its component groups, and he suggests that the conflict of allegiance around the sacred kingship is itself a unifying force. Here again the argument has suffered from over-compression (and owing to careless proof-reading the footnotes are often confusing). In short, our main regret is that too many good ideas are expounded too briefly in one short lecture.

M. M. DOUGLAS

Economic Development and Tribal Change: A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda. *Edited by Audrey I. Richards. Cambridge (Heffer, for the East African Inst. of Soc. Res.), 1954. Pp. 301, illus., 4 maps. Price £1 10s.*

144 This is an important book. We have had several volumes lately in which different social scientists have studied what seemed to be the same kind of problems among different peoples in roughly the same kind of way. In the present study we have, for a change, different research workers studying the same problem (or a connected set of problems) among the same people in a number of different kinds of ways. This is important both practically and methodologically. Practically because when, as in the present case, a government wants information about something it usually wants to know all about it, not just what one specialist or another thinks about it in the light solely of his own particular specialization. And methodologically because it shows that the explanation of a set of connected social phenomena may usefully be sought on a number of quite different levels and in terms of a number of quite different frames of reference. Thus, if the student of human societies aims to acquire the broadest possible understanding of the phenomena he studies, he concentrates on one type of explanation only, neglecting all others, at his peril. And from the fact that different types of explanation are the province of different specialists it follows that somehow these specialists must be got to work together in the same social field.

This the East African Institute of Social Research has succeeded in doing, and this book is the result. First the problem, that of gaining as much understanding as possible of the immigration of hundreds of thousands of Africans from neighbouring areas and Territories into the Buganda kingdom, and their partial absorption in it, is set out by Dr. Richards, the editor of the book and its chief contributor. Then the history of this great and continuing population movement is set forth by a historian, so putting the contemporary scene in a temporal perspective. A geographer contributes a later chapter (and some useful maps) describing the ecological and demographic background against which this social drama is enacted. In the course of several chapters the editor gives a comprehensive account of the routes by which the immigrants come, the reasons they give for coming, the types of employment they take (most are employed on peasant smallholdings by Ganda farmers), and the manner and degree in which the members of different immigrant tribal groups become integrated into Ganda social and political life. The differential attitudes to the distinct groups of immigrants displayed by their Ganda employers are discussed, and actual and potential lines of conflict (such as may arise, for instance, from the ability of the immigrants to acquire land rights in Buganda) are considered. A chapter on the migration pattern of one such tribal group (the Alur), seen against their home background, is contributed by an anthropologist who has made an

intensive study of these people. It would, perhaps, have been an advantage if similar brief home-background studies could have been included for other (and numerically more important) immigrant groups, both Bantu and non-Bantu, to round out the picture. But one cannot have everything, and we have been given good measure here. The work is an important addition to the literature of social change.

It is not the least merit of this study that it adds something to our knowledge, now sadly in need of refreshment, of the contemporary social and agronomic organization of the Baganda.

JOHN BEATTIE

Sukumaland: An African People and Their Country. *By D. W. Malcolm. O.U.P. (for Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1953. Pp. xix, 224. Price £1 10s.*

145 Mr. Malcolm's detailed and very well produced study of rural problems in Sukumaland, Tanganyika, deals with a large number of the more important aspects of the life of a modern African people. Administrators, economists, agriculturalists, irrigation and other experts, last, but no means least well served, ethnographers, will read his pages with profit and enjoy the lucid and agreeable manner in which he treats his subject.

It is a nice point whether the economic or the political problems of Africa are, in general, the more recalcitrant. In the case of Sukumaland the political situation seems, for once, to be on the way to an unexceptionable outcome. Mr. Malcolm describes the Sukuma as 'happy, phlegmatic, industrious, and law-abiding'; and mentions that 'there is no idle class or sex in this contented and largely undifferentiated peasant society.' These virtues have probably played their part in the slow development under British rule during the last four decades of some 40 small independent and often warring chiefdoms into the well integrated, largely self-governing, populous and progressive federation of peasant farmers which Sukumaland is today.

Operating through the traditional hierarchy of chiefs, sub-chiefs, and village headmen, the policy of indirect rule has here met with what is clearly a very great measure of success. So much so that the Sukuma are plainly developing into the kind of politically stable entity, conscious of its own individuality and jealous of its possessions and privileges, which will in effect be a small (present population 1,000,000) self-governing African state.

The same process is at work in other parts of Eastern Africa. The Bantu tribes of North Kavirondo and the Hehe of Tanganyika are cases in point. Mr. Malcolm's description and analysis of the course it has pursued in Sukumaland is not the least interesting section of his work. As a political development it is not only of actual but of great potential importance. It may well foreshadow a future United States of Eastern Africa.

In conclusion perhaps it is not out of place to mention that one reader of this impressive contribution to African studies is left wondering what we take from Africa half so valuable as some of those whom we send there.

K. C. SHAW

Anthropologie et Groupes sanguins des Populations du Maroc. *By N. Kossovitch. Paris (Masson), 1953. Pp. 492, 24 plates. Price 2,200 francs*

146 The late Dr. Kossovitch was director of the laboratories of the Institut Pasteur. He is chiefly known for his researches in serology, including blood groups. Nevertheless, he retained throughout his life a keen interest in anthropology. During the course of several visits into the interior of Morocco he assiduously collected measurements of the heads, faces and noses, together with observations on the *ABO* blood groups, of a great number of individuals from different tribes. These data are now collected together in one large volume, published posthumously. It supplements other individual monographs, such as that of Coon on the Rif, and will remain a standard work of reference on the physical anthropology of the Moroccan tribes.

Very little effort is made to extract from the data generalizations concerning tribal origins and relationships. This is perhaps a wise precaution: the data indicate that the Moroccan people are far from uniform physically, and suggest that most of the tribes probably have diverse origins. This is reflected again in the extraordinary variety of the languages and dialects spoken in Morocco. It seems that the Atlas is a haven into which wave after wave of population retreated with each successive invasion of North Africa. The blood-group data are a little disappointing; and no reference could be found to the interesting discoveries of Horrenberger, Messerlin and others of areas of low *B* and high *Rh*-negative frequencies in the remote Atlas. An excellent and detailed map giving details of the distribution of the various tribes and tribal groups is included.

ANTHONY ALLISON

ASIA

The Hostile Sun. *By Tom Stacey. London (Duckworth), 1953. Pp. 182. Price 15s.*

147 *The Hostile Sun* is an agreeable account, personal and impressionistic, of a journey in the wilder parts of Malaya, and a visit to a group of aborigines in Kelantan. Unfortunately the book adds little to our scant knowledge of these folk. We know virtually nothing of the social organization of the Malayan aborigines; and as far as I know there is no European in Malaya who can even speak their language. And yet high-ranking officials, responsible for their administration, have condemned scientific sociological research as an 'academic luxury,' not relevant to current Emergency problems in Malaya.

Stacey considers the plight of the Malayan aborigines; he emphasizes that they must maintain their pride, so that they do not become decadent. (This is important not only for the Security Forces, to whom the aborigines can be as dangerous as they can be helpful; but also for the future administration of a country, vast tracts of which are virgin jungle.) 'They need Noone,' says Stacey, referring to the anthropologist who died in the jungle during the Second World War. They need Noone, but not for the reasons which Stacey gives. They need a trained anthropologist who is allowed to do research. They do not need a devoted admirer, of whom there have always been plenty: the element of personal contact is vital, and may be remarkably effective; but it is by no means enough, and its greatest weakness is the reliance on the individual, whose loss will always create a new vacuum.

Stacey's remarks about Noone reflect the current attitude to aboriginal problems in Malaya—honest and emotional, but not particularly thoughtful. Devotion is not enough: a long-term policy, which is to prevent the aborigines from being swamped by other communities, can only succeed if based upon the results of adequate sociological research. Although Stacey mentions many of the problems which concern the Malayan aborigines, the tone of the book is such that his remarks will almost certainly be taken in the wrong way, and will only increase the flow of unconstructive, sentimental aphorisms about Malaya's Little People.

JOHN BLACKING

Caste in Modern Ceylon: The Sinhalese System in Transition. *By Bryce Ryan. New Brunswick, N.J. (Rutgers U.P.), 1953. Pp. ix, 371, map, glossary, bibliog., index. Price U.S. $6*

148 As Professor Srinivas has recently pointed out in these columns the literature of caste is characterized by quantity rather than quality so that the unnamed expert who declares on the dust cover of this book that it is 'the best caste study for either Ceylon, India or Pakistan that I have ever seen' is not necessarily saying very much. In point of fact this is a useful book which adds substantially to our knowledge, but, for all that, it leaves a great deal unsaid. Despite the author's conscientious efforts to the contrary, it remains primarily a catalogue of facts rather than an analysis of a social system.

The only other recent study of Sinhalese caste is a paper by W. H. Gilbert, 'The Sinhalese Caste System of Central and Southern Ceylon,' *J. Washington Acad. of Sciences*, Vol. XXXV (1945), for which Dr. Ryan consistently expresses contempt. One feels that Mr. Gilbert might well reciprocate; in important respects it appears to be the latter who has the more scholarly approach to his materials. Certainly if one were trying to identify one of the less well-known castes as mentioned in the early literature, the necessary clues are more likely to be found in Gilbert than in Ryan.

The first 140 pages of Dr. Ryan's book are devoted to a review of the literature from the time of Robert Knox (1681) onwards and a listing of the principal castes now existing, as distinguished in Census reports and similar documents. Though this part of the book contains many details not readily found elsewhere, it is in many ways less satisfactory as a summary of earlier sources than Gilbert's much more compressed account.

Writing in 1944 Gilbert summarized the requirements of a good caste study in Ceylon as follows (*op. cit.*, p. 113):

> There seems to be a dearth of material on the internal structure of the Sinhalese castes. . . . There are no records of community surveys including caste data along with other relevant social facts concerning residence, segregation, present occupational activities, incomes, endogamy and tendencies toward disregard of caste rules. . . . There are no facts relevant to the effects of the European system on the native economy, especially as regard the caste obligations and how the transition was made from one to the other. . . . Finally data on the specific location of caste villages in Ceylon and the districts of major concentration for each of the groups would be helpful in relating the castes to their physical and social environments.

It is this programme which Dr. Ryan attempts to fill with the second half of his book. The material has the merit that it is first-hand. The author was for several years head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Ceylon, and he and his students engaged extensively in questionnaire survey work of various kinds. Most of Dr. Ryan's generalizations appear to be based on survey research of this type. Separate analyses are made for the Kandyan Highlands, the Jungle Country of the Dry Zone, the Low Country and the urban metropolis of Colombo, the story being told by reference to sample villages with fictitious names which serve as types for the particular area under discussion. Certainly the result is informative; the reader feels that he learns much more about how caste really operates than he would if the book had been written, say, in the inventory style of a Risley or a Thurston, but the total analysis remains far from satisfactory. Throughout his book Dr. Ryan writes of 'caste' as if it were a distinct institution capable of analysis as 'a thing in itself'—just as for example, in this country, one might reasonably attempt to analyse the institutional aspect of the Church of England as 'a thing in itself.' Such an approach to Sinhalese caste strikes me as back to front. Before we can go out with our questionnaires and our survey teams, we must know what 'caste' really means in its Sinhalese context. Dr. Ryan himself, of course, does give a formal definition of what *he* means by caste (p. 19), but he signally fails to convince me that this definition has any close relevance for the villages which he surveys. The incidents which he reports as manifestations of caste often have the appearance of straightforward kinship phenomena such as an anthropologist would find commonplace even in a society which lacked caste institutions altogether. We still need a detailed small-scale anthropological study of how Sinhalese caste works in one particular village or group of villages. Perhaps when this study has been made the significance of Dr. Ryan's data will become apparent. Meanwhile I am left with an uncomfortable feeling that the key elements which should give coherence to Dr. Ryan's facts have somehow been omitted. I think the reason for this is that the author has failed to expound, with adequate clarity, the framework of theoretical ideas in terms of which his material has been collected. A crucial instance is his treatment of the concept of class. Throughout his book Dr. Ryan makes a sharp contrast between the two categories 'caste' and 'class' and seemingly claims to be able to distinguish, quite sharply, behaviour which is a response to caste membership from behaviour that is a response to class membership. However, apart from a footnote reference to the work of Cox and Sorokin (p. 18), we are left in the dark as to how the author wishes us to oppose these two ideas; the distinction is indeed discussed but only on the last three pages of the book, which is hardly the most useful point at which to introduce a theme which is clearly crucial for the book's whole argument. E. R. LEACH

The Track of Man. *By Henry Field. New York (Doubleday), 1953. Pp. 448. Price $5.95*

149 Although his energies have been deflected from time to time to duties as varied as inventing shark-repellents for shipwrecked sailors and investigating crime in Trinidad, Dr. Field has kept steadily to the main task which Dudley Buxton suggested to him at Kish, of disentangling the racial history of the Middle East. Many of these memoirs, therefore, describe the risks, trials, humours and coincidences which lie behind the bare statistics of *Arabs of Central Iraq*, *Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran*, and the rest.

Dr. Field is a gifted teller of stories, with a simple and undramatic yet crisp and vivid style, and like all good *raconteurs*, with a taste for the uncanny. His book provides an entertaining record of many well-known personalities in the realm of anthropology during the last 35 years; for he has a talent for illuminating a character with one short anecdote, whether it be Sir Leonard Woolley showing Abraham's footprint at Ur, or the Abbé Breuil swimming the 'Siphon' at the Grotte de Ganties. Two of his most ambitious undertakings, a collection of camel brands, and a survey of irrigation prospects in the Near East, were inspired respectively by T. E. Lawrence and President Roosevelt, and there are moving accounts of his meetings with them.

This is of course only a first instalment of autobiography, for Dr. Field mentions many new enterprises which his imagination, zest and energy will surely bring to achievement. W. C. BRICE

EUROPE

Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles. *By Stuart Piggott. C.U.P., 1954. Pp. 420, 12 plates, 64 text figs. Price £3 10s.*

150 All those who know Professor Piggott's work, and that is to say prehistorians all over the world, will have waited with eager expectation for this volume, the first substantial modern work devoted to the neolithic peoples in Britain. It can be said at once that it is an invaluable addition not only to the prehistory of these islands but to that of Europe as a whole.

In recent years there has been (as the result of excavation and research) a 'shaking-up' of the rather static picture of the Neolithic, here and abroad, that was beginning to form in the mind. Here was a phase that was universally agreed to be a revolutionary climacteric in human history up to the present day, and yet the industrious, peaceable (?) and tradition-minded aspects of neolithic communities were engaging more and more attention. Some of these groups were almost on the way to becoming the 'smocked peasants' of pre-history!

It always gives a comfortable feeling to have captured the spirit of an age, but in fact the neolithic cultures are still capable of springing many surprises, as lately at Jericho, in South Italy, and not least in the British Isles. And, indeed, it is the ferment, the imaginative force, the inventive daring of this phase which have now again come to the fore, and above all the ability and will to travel and to move as settlers across great vistas of land and sea. The spread of neolithic cultures, for example, through and round the Mediterranean, and along the Atlantic seaboard of Europe—though still shadowy in its demonstrable mechanics—was none the less real, and a token of immense vitality. In fact the use of the sea by neolithic communities as well as the land is a subject which we have only begun to write firmly into prehistory.

Our islands were the terminal stop of several of the great natural

routes taken, and some of our own problems might best be tackled through well placed excavations among continental neighbours—a co-operative effort on an international basis that should not be impossible to plan.

But, first, we naturally needed to have our own house in order, and this we now have, thanks to Professor Stuart Piggott, and to Professors Childe and Hawkes among others. Not, of course, that Piggott's volume claims to present more than preliminary conclusions about some of the thorniest problems, *e.g.* the Neolithic colonization of the West and North, and the Chambered Tomb builders. It is made clear on the valuable Chronological Table (p. 380) that all the upper and lower limits of the cultures are approximate, to be adjusted up and down the time scale in the light of future work; although the interlocking sequence of cultures is made admirably clear. It may, however, be a little surprising to some to find the Early Neolithic (Windmill Hill culture) not beginning until soon after 2,000 B.C.

On the end stages of the Late Neolithic the discussion is particularly interesting. Unlike most art historians, archæologists (especially prehistorians) share, rightly enough, an almost passionate interest in the *endings* of cultures and things. The 'dying fall' is of no less consequence than the crescendo. Readers of this volume will see how stone-using communities merged into metal-using ones; in the process often defying our attempts at tidy synthesis. One could however, urge an increased use of the useful term 'Chalcolithic.' Perhaps the chief need at the moment is to unravel the change-over, without tying the straitjackets of labels too tightly. It is not as though the phenomenon were unique in world history; tribal peoples of America, Africa and the Pacific have been through it in varying ways in the last century or two, and in one or two remote parts of the world the metamorphosis was lately still to be seen and studied.

A brief review cannot do justice to the extraordinarily rich material set out in this volume. Certainly, one of the most interesting sections is that which examines the 'causewayed camps,' stock-rearing and agriculture of the Early Neolithic in England. But the exposition throughout the book is made so lucid, and the maps and figures are so well presented, that a summary here is almost superfluous.

JOHN BRADFORD

The Domesday Geography of Midland England. *Edited by H. C. Darby and I. B. Terrett. C.U.P., 1954. Pp. xvi, 482. Price £2 15s.*

151 This second volume of the series *The Domesday Geography of England* maintains the high standard set by its predecessor on Eastern England. The counties of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutland and Northamptonshire, with an additional chapter on the Midland Counties as a whole, are described with the same patient attention to detail, illustrated by numerous excellent maps, and following the same useful method of presentation.

At first sight, the numerous references to Maitland, Vinogradoff and other scholars who entered this field of study early give the impression that our knowledge of Domesday England has progressed surprisingly little during the past 50 years. Indeed, as the authors repeatedly point out, there are numerous problems of interpretation yet to be solved. Closer inspection, however, clearly shows the value of the historical geographer's contribution to Domesday studies. In particular, the use of maps to present large quantities of detailed information has not only facilitated our understanding of the Domesday economy, but also suggested further topics for investigation. The geographer's preoccupation with the landscape and with distributions has revealed factors in the life of eleventh-century England which have largely been missed (or at least ignored) by earlier workers in other disciplines.

Historical geographers in particular will be grateful to Professor Darby and his colleagues, since the *Domesday Geographies* establish once and for all their claim for serious recognition. In spite of the considerable work already done by geographers during this century (and the striking success of the geographical approach in prehistory) far too many historians have paid scant attention to it. The encouraging reception given to the first two volumes in this series will, it is hoped, serve as a stimulus to other geographers already working on such material as monastic chartularies, Lay Subsidy returns etc.

W. M. WILLIAMS

Manuel de Folklore français contemporain. Part I, Vol. VI, Les Cérémonies agricoles et pastorales de l'Automne. *By Arnold Van Gennep. Paris (Picard), 1953. Pp. 309. Price 1300 francs*

152 In the same year in which his seventy-fifth birthday was celebrated M. Van Gennep published this sixth volume of the first part of his *Manuel*, which brings to page 2,854 the description of familial and periodical ceremonies. The publication began before the war with Parts III and IV of the *Manuel*, which contain a bibliography of 6,510 titles methodically arranged and kept up to date in the subsequent volumes of the publication. This, in actual fact, constitutes *the* bibliography of French folklore.

After the war came out in succession two volumes of 'Familial Ceremonies' (Part I, Vols. I and II: General Introduction; Theory of the 'Rites de Passage'; Birth, Baptism and Early Childhood; Late Childhood and Adolescence; Betrothal; Marriage; Funerals) and four volumes of 'Cérémonies périodiques cycliques et saisonnières' (Part I, Vols. III–VI: Cycles de Carnaval-Carême, de Pâques, de Mai, de la Saint-Jean et de la Saint-Pierre; Cérémonies agricoles et pastorales de l'été, de l'automne). Vol. VII will close the year with 'Cycle des Douze Jours (Noel, Jour de l'an, les Rois).'

This monumental undertaking, the first of its kind, already almost complete in its first and probably most important part, does not recommend itself solely by the personality of its author, to whom we are indebted for the theory of the *rites de passage*, but still more by the fact that it is a critical epitome of the evidence enlarged by M. Van Gennep's own inquiries and those of his correspondents.

It is not possible here to appraise this work as it deserves. I can only refer the reader to the detailed analyses of the successive volumes given in *Le Mois d'Ethnographie française*. I am sure that I express the feelings of his English readers in wishing that a long life will enable the master of French Folklore to complete his daring enterprise.

LOUIS DUMONT

CORRESPONDENCE

Bridewealth and the Stability of Marriage. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 75, 122, 223, 279 *and* 1954, 96, 97

153 SIR,—Copies of the letters by Professor Gluckman and Dr. Watson (MAN, 1954, 96, 97) have just reached me. It would appear that, in their anxiety to refute me, your correspondents have successfully refuted one another. Professor Gluckman is angry because I suggested that many of the terms he used in his original essay were vague and elastic, but Dr. Watson in his third paragraph points out that Professor Gluckman himself recognized that they were 'vague and embracing.' Likewise Professor Gluckman is indignant at my suggestion that the Africanists lineages were once 'exogamous by definition,' but it seems that Professor Gluckman himself wrote the definition and the expression used was '*usually* exogamous.' Is not this an 'elastic' use of terms? Again, Dr. Watson boldly claims that 'Professor Gluckman's hypothesis that father-right is associated in subsistence societies with jural stability of marriage is a hypothesis that is capable of proof or disproof.' Though I do not understand how one might prove a hypothesis of this sort, it can clearly be disproved by a single negative instance, and Professor Gluckman, in his second paragraph, claims to have long ago cited the Arabs as a negative instance—so presumably this form of the hypothesis has already been abandoned?

Such comments as these are no doubt mere quibbling, but they are related to the real issue involved in this controversy—which concerns the basic methodology by which one should seek to reach comparative generalizations as between one society and another.

Social anthropologists are always looking for sociological 'laws,' regularities that will apply to all societies or to all societies of a particular type. It may be in vain that they pursue this quest, but so long as they pursue it at all, it must be through the careful definition of terms and the painstaking elimination of extraneous variables. If we are to retain such a concept as 'lineage' for purposes of comparative analysis then we must define the term, and in this definition exogamy is either relevant or not relevant. If we merely say with Professor Gluckman that it is 'usually' relevant, then we make all further discrimination in terms of this criterion impossible.

So too with the topics of bridewealth, marriage and divorce with which this correspondence originated. Provided that Professor Gluckman and I could come to some agreement about the terms we use, an interesting comparison might be possible between the Kachins (patrilineal) and the Sinhalese (bilateral), which are societies that I have studied, and the Zulu (patrilineal) and the Lozi (bilateral), which are societies that Professor Gluckman has studied. But if such a comparison is to be useful, definitions need to be very precise. In his 1950 essay Professor Gluckman specifically recognized that current anthropological definitions are altogether too imprecise for such comparative purposes. He claimed merely that 'the posing of problems may help to clarify descriptions.'

I greatly regret that because I took him at his word and sought tentatively to clarify the description of bridewealth, he should have imagined that I was making a personal attack on his professional integrity.

Pulleliya Village, Madawachchiya, N.C.P., Ceylon E. R. LEACH

Field Research in South America

154 Sir,—In an article entitled 'Some Critical Remarks on Ethnological Field Research in South America' (Societas Scientiarum Fennica, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, Vol. XIX, 5, 1954) Professor Rafael Karsten repeatedly takes me to task for what I am supposed to have written about the Jivaro Indians. Not a single statement (pp. 6f., 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 23f., 30f.) which he cites comes from my pen; and in consequence views diametrically opposed to mine are attributed to me. The article in the *Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. III (Washington, 1948) to which Professor Karsten takes exception is by Drs. J. H. Steward and Alfred Métraux. Contrary to what his readers must infer, I have regarded his account of the Jivaro as useful and meritorious, and I certainly have never, on principle, preferred superficial writings by American ethnographers and laymen to the serious studies of trained European investigators. To be sure, my confidence in a writer is shaken when he wrongly ascribes to me sentiments and views by other authors.

ROBERT H. LOWIE

Department of Anthropology, University of California

The Meaning of Mau-Mau. *Cf.* Man, 1954, 17

155 Sir,—May I supplement the suggestions which Dr. Prins has made in his letter regarding the meaning of the term 'Mau-Mau'?

It should be remembered that the capitals and hyphen are of European origin; the term is *maumau*. It is not clear that the word is a circumlocution of the concept of rebellion or revolution; it might equally well describe some other characteristic of the membership of this secret society. Reduplication in a Bantu language usually weakens the action expressed by the original word. It is not clear that *maumau* is a reduplication of *mau*.

Whilst it is interesting and instructive to consider words with a similar sound which may point to the origin of the word, one must beware of the danger of singling one of a number of such similarities. For instance, I might add confirmation to Dr. Prins's suggestion about the connexion with urination by pointing out that the Meru word for urine is *maumago* (from the verb *-umaga*, 'urinate'). On the other hand one must also take account of the fact that *-uma* in Kikuyu and related dialects may mean 'to leave,' 'to exude,' or 'to be initiated,' the meaning only being made clear by the context in which the word is spoken. Also, in these languages, *muuma* means 'oath' and *-nyua muuma* 'drink (or take) an oath.' A Kikuyu to whom I spoke recently made another suggestion when he said that *maumau* may be derived from *Kamau*, a very common personal name amongst the Kikuyu.

My suggestion would be that *maumau* is almost certainly a word of Kikuyu origin and therefore related to the Kikuyu language. It may well be derived from the root *-uma* 'to be initiated.' By prefixing *ma* we obtain *mauma* meaning 'initiations' or 'those who are initiated' and corresponding to the word *muuma* 'oath.' If the suffix *ga* be attached, one derives the idea of continual (or a series of) initiations, *maumaga*, and the final *a* may be changed to *wo* forming the passive voice and producing a word *maumagwo* 'those who are subjected to a series of initiations.' In normal speech, certainly in Meru, the *gw* would tend to disappear leaving a word *maumao*. It remains to be investigated whether the vowel values in the two syllables of *maumau* are, or were originally, identical.

It is noteworthy that a person admitting to membership of the society usually describes himself as having been oathed using the words *-nyua muuma* mentioned above.

Meru, Kenya W. H. LAUGHTON

156 Sir,—In view of the fact that both Dr. Leakey (*Mau Mau and the Kikuyu*, 1952, p. 95), an authority on the Kikuyu, and Jomo Kenyatta, their leader (as reported in the Johannesburg *Star* during the preliminary investigation before the magistrate of the charges against him), have said that they do not know the origin or meaning of the term Mau-Mau, Prins's speculations in Man, 1954, 17, appear to be *ad hoc* ones and not based on any sound principles. There are other derivations. In *African Affairs*, Vol. LII, No. 206 (January, 1953), p. 15, one finds: 'What is the meaning of the word itself? Is it a gabbling noise, is it linked to the A.U. of the Kenya African Union, or to the word *muma* oath, or the stem *mau* for strength? What seems certain is that it is an atavistic *jacquerie*, organized by the Kikuyu tribe on old models . . .' So one must search for old models of atavistic movements and one finds that these are based on appeals to, and beliefs in, spiritual aid. One has only to think of the Ama-Xosa diviner Nongqause who in 1856 (J. H. Soga, *The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs*, 1931, p. 121) ordered the destruction of all crops and cattle as a sacrifice to the ancestral spirits so impelling that they would come to the help of the Ama-Xosa and drive the Europeans into the sea. *African Affairs* (*ibid.*, p. 14) hints at a similar origin for the Mau Mau movement: '. . . it is perhaps worth considering another movement on the Uganda border, proscribed at the same time as the Mau Mau years ago. The *Dini ya Msamba* of the Kitosh are the subject of an interesting study by Bishop Usher-Wilson in the *Uganda Journal*, from which we learn that this cult of the spirits of the dead, also with a programme for expelling the whites, was formed in 1935 by Elijah Masinde, a Kitosh expelled from the Friends Mission.' So here is that ancestral spirit pattern appearing again.

An examination of the Kikuyu leader's views, those of Kenyatta, confirms that the Mau Mau movement is actuated by a belief in ancestral spirit aid. In a recent broadcast I mentioned that the dedication of Kenyatta's book, *Facing Mount Kenya*, published in 1938, runs: 'To Moigoi and Wamboi and all the dispossessed youth of Africa: for perpetuation of communion with ancestral spirits through the fight for African freedom, in the firm faith that the dead, the living and the unborn will unite to rebuild the destroyed shrines.' Hence it is abundantly clear that the Mau Mau is an atavistic movement, and hence one must look for a meaning in the name that will connect the movement with the spirits of the dead.

There is an Ur-Bantu root *mu* or *mo* which means essence, or spirit, as for instance the word *mmo* among the Ibo, meaning ancestral spirit; and it would seem that the term Mau-Mau connotes the ghostly dead much as the young French officer in the siege of Verdun in the First World War, as he led a forlorn hope over the top at zero hour, called to his men '*en avant les morts.*'

I may mention in passing that Sir Harry Johnston in 1886 mentions the Mau. He writes (*The Kilimanjaro Expedition*, p. 429) 'The ivory on which these people [the Masai] trade is secured for them by the helot tribes of hunters—En dorobo, El-mau, and others, who actively pursue the elephants with spears and poisoned lances.'

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

(*a*) CUP-MARKED ROCKS IN THE PARE MOUNTAINS

(*b*) A GENERAL VIEW OF A MARKET IN PROGRESS, WITH ROCKS OF ASSORTED SHAPES AND SIZES, ALL BEARING CUP MARKS

MARKS ON ROCKS IN NORTHERN TANGANYIKA

FURTHER LIGHT ON ROCK ENGRAVINGS IN NORTHERN TANGANYIKA*

by

H. A. FOSBROOKE, M.A.
Senior Sociologist, Tanganyika

157 The Kilimanjaro area of Tanganyika recently yielded a discovery which shed light on the meaning of the linear meandering engravings on rocks which cannot be interpreted without reference to the social environment in which they occur; a description of these rock engravings and their relationship to the Chagga age-grade system was recently published by Chief Petro Marealle and myself in MAN, 1952, 244 and 263. But another type of engraving on rocks, namely the cup or pock marks which have been described by Leakey ('Preliminary Report on Examination of the Engaraka Ruins,' *Tang. N. and R.*, No. 1 (1936), p. 59) and myself ('Rift Valley Ruins,' *Tang. N. and R.*, No. 6 (1938), p. 59) as occurring on various sites in this area remained unexplained. An answer to this latter riddle has now come to light in the North Pare mountains, less than 25 miles from Marangu where the previously described engravings were found.

The Site

The Pare mountains rise 2,000 feet or more above the level of the surrounding plains. They present for settlement neither gentle slopes such as occur at the foot of Kilimanjaro, nor plateau conditions such as are found in the Kenya Highlands. But in spite of a very broken topography they are thickly inhabited by a group now known as the Pare. Historically those at the extreme north are more properly called Gweno and the remainder Asu. It is in the country of the former that the site of the pock-marked rocks occurs.

The site in question is a market place on a narrow ledge on a steep hillside just below the crest of the ridge and looking down some 100 or 200 feet to the valley below, in which is situated Mruma Lutheran Mission School. The valley itself lies about 2,000 feet above the Masai Steppe which stretches uninterruptedly, west and south, for 100 miles or more.

Barter markets were in existence before the advent of the European; amongst the Gweno there were three such markets, one at the site under consideration, called Ufuva, a second in an adjacent hill site, whilst a third was established far out in the plains for trading with the Masai. These markets were held in rotation on successive days and in fact provided Pare with a 'week' in pre-European times.

The Pock-Marked Rocks

On the ledge about 50 yards long and 10 yards wide are a dozen and more granite blocks. They occur there naturally and are of random shapes and sizes, scattered irregularly over the area. Some present flat horizontal surfaces a little above ground level (Plate G*a*), others are standing on edge so as to present an upturned keel about 3 feet above the ground (Plate G*b*). They have the appearance of having been neither placed nor shaped by man, but all in common bear varying numbers of cup or pock marks, which are obviously artificial. Each pock mark is about 2 inches across and ½–¾ inch deep. In fact the depressions are very suggestive of the series of cups, cut out of stone, wood, or sometimes the beaten earth, which are the necessary apparatus for playing the common game of *bau* (or *mancala*; see, *e.g.*, MAN, 1953, 262). But the irregular numbers and positions of the holes rule out such an explanation in this case.

One rock, which presents a horizontal surface of triangular form, some 2 feet 9 inches long, and tapering from a 1 foot 3 inches base to a blunt apex, contains 53 such depressions. A little calculation shows that more than half the surface is thus taken up by the pock marks. At the other extreme one of the 'upturned keel' rocks has a mere three or four depressions on the keel itself. Between these two extremes all the blocks in the area bear varying numbers of pock marks. Markets are still held on the site, which is thus kept clear of grass and bush; but the fact that some of the pock-marked rocks are now in the surrounding bush indicates that the cleared site was larger in the past.

Local Iron-Smelting

As will be explained later, the pock marks are associated with the pre-European trade in locally smelted iron; for which reason it is necessary to digress, and to describe briefly the nature and extent of this trade. A further paper will deal with pre-European agricultural implements in this part of Africa, which were largely of wood owing to the lack of iron in the area. It was in fact so scarce a commodity that even when a tribe could obtain a small supply of iron by smelting or by trade, it could not always be put to the extravagant use of making hoes. Available supplies were more often used for making knives and axes, with which wooden agricultural implements, hoes and digging sticks could be fashioned. As an example of relative values in the past, I have been told that the pre-European rate of exchange was one ox to two hoes. Today an ox is valued at about Sh. 150/- and a hoe at Sh. 1½/-, so the hoe has depreciated from 1:2 to 1:100. Another informant put the exchange rate at 2 hoes, 1 large and 1 small, to 1 goat, but even at that rate a hoe was worth, in terms of livestock,

* *With Plate G*

many times its value today. A realization of the scarcity value of iron is necessary before its place in the marketing system can be appreciated.

The North Pare area, being non-volcanic, provided one of the few sources of iron in Northern Tanganyika. Within a very few miles of the market site which I am describing but at the base of the North Pare Mountains there occurs an iron-smelting site which must have been in use for many years. This site is a projecting foothill, and the little plateau on the ridge was used time and again for a smelting site. The evidence indicates that after each smelting the site was swept clear; for on the hillside below there is a veritable scree slope of broken clay bellow mouths (*tuyères*) and lumps of slag. A count of bellow mouths over a limited area and the pacing of the total area indicate that there are at least 800 bellow mouths exposed on the surface alone; how many more are hidden can only be ascertained by excavation. The ore supply consisted of black sand which, owing to variation in specific gravity, collected in pockets in neighbouring stream beds. Similar sites are reported as existing at the extreme north tip of the Pare Mountains and in the vicinity of the Central Pares. In addition I know of and have visited a couple of sites in Central Masailand, some 80 miles distant. None of the above sites are worked today; the last two are far distant from any settled habitation, and it is not known who worked them. The former sites were worked by Pare, who have ceased smelting since alternative sources of iron—imported—became available for use by the smiths who still ply their trade.

Such then is the background picture of a barter marketing system in an area suffering from a severe shortage of iron. The link with the pock-marked rocks is unexpected.

The Explanation

Numerous independent informants have described how in pre-European days when iron was scarce the smelters, who came from a single endogamous, low-caste group, would come to market with their iron in the form of small pebbles of metal. Such a smelter might wish to purchase a bunch of bananas from one vendor, a basket of beans from another and a quantity of salt from a third. In these circumstances he would take one of his lumps of iron, hold it on the rock, secure in a bent twig or reed, and shatter it by hitting it with a stone. The resulting fragments of iron provided the small change with which varying requirements in varying quantities could be purchased. The vendors on their part collected the fragments of iron till they had raised sufficient to make a hoe or other implement, whereupon they repaired to one of the iron-working clan—distinct from the iron-smelting group—handed over the iron and placed their order, together with twice the amount of iron required for the implement ordered.[1]

The constant breaking of these nodules of iron is said to account for these numerous pock marks. The explanation is convincing, for it is natural that a subsequent trader, wishing to break a lump of iron, should use the slight indentation caused by his predecessor doing the same. For such a depression would hold the lump firm when struck and also prevent small fragments from being lost. In this connexion it will be recalled that iron in those days had approximately the value of silver to us today.

The profusion of the holes may be wondered at, but the large attendance at these markets even today when established shops provide an alternative channel of trade, is quite remarkable. (Plate *Gb* gives the impression of a sparse attendance, but only when the numbers have dwindled is it possible to see and photograph the rocks.) When a depression became too deep, a small lump of iron would be protected from the blow of the hammer stone by the surrounding surface of the rock, so that it would be necessary to commence hammering on another spot and so start off a new hole.

It is not suggested that the above explanation accounts for all the cup or pock marks to be found engraved on rock, but in the particular circumstances of this northern area of Tanganyika it is a more likely solution than any other so far propounded.[2]

Notes

[1] A similar system prevailed in the neighbouring Chagga area till the time when C. Dundas wrote his *Kilimanjaro and Its People* 30 years ago. He describes on p. 273 how '. . . the metal must be supplied by the customer, the rule being that he must supply enough to make two of each article he requires, the second being for the smith himself, or if sufficient metal is not supplied, the second article must be redeemed by payment of one goat; but for the forging of arms, sufficient metal is given to furnish material for three of every one weapon ordered.'

The reliance of the Chagga on Pare iron is illustrated by the following extract, p. 274: 'The art of iron-smelting is not known to the Wachagga, for they have no known iron deposits in their country. Iron was therefore formerly obtained from Pare, where it was, and is still, smelted by the natives.'

[2] Confirmation of the association between pock-marked rocks and the iron trade is obtained from a recent find in Central Masailand, 90 miles south of the Pare country. This area is now confined to pastoral use, and waters are few and far between. There is, however, a growing body of evidence that some time back, possibly 200 or 300 years ago, it was inhabited by iron-age agriculturists. One such dwelling site is at Londergess, adjacent to a deep well dating from the pre-Masai era, where typical evidence of inhabitation is found: kitchen middens, potsherds, shell beads, rubbing stones, *tuyères*, and a considerable quantity of iron slag. The remains of an actual smelting furnace do not occur on the spot, but one has been found within a few miles.

Significantly placed between the dwelling area and the wells, just where a visiting party would naturally halt to rest and to trade with the locals, is to be found a pock-marked rock. It contains about half-a-dozen depressions identical, as far as can be ascertained, with those in the Pare Hills.

The association between the marks on the rock and the iron trade can, of course, only be based on circumstantial evidence. The people of Pare—and those living 90 miles away—might possibly have had some custom of communal snuff-grinding or ochre-grinding parties, which may account for the marks under discussion. In the former case, the depressions could be expected to be smoother; in the latter, traces of the pigment should still be found.

However, it seems much more probable that the verbal tradition, corroborated by this new circumstantial evidence, provides the correct solution to this mystery.

A TROBRIAND MEDUSA?*

by

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158 Objects of the type illustrated in fig. 1 are to be found in a number of museum ethnographical collections where they are variously listed as dance shields, shields and war shields. The type is exclusively Trobriand. Published variations include: Finsch (1888), Plate XII; Ratzel (1896–8), Vol. I, p. 236; Edge Partington and Heape (1890–8), Part 1, Plate 345; Webster (1900), figs. 13, 17 (the latter also shown in Chauvet (1930), Plate LIII, fig. 191); British Museum *Handbook* (1910), p. 133; Linton and Wingert (1946), p. 148.

Finsch (1888), p. 13, describes the type as already rare; elsewhere (1891, p. 35) he makes it clear that these shields were at least sometimes used for warlike purposes, as he mentions a specimen in which were embedded a number of spear points. Malinowski (1920) explains these circumstances:

> 'Very seldom, and only in the case of very brave and distinguished warriors, were the shields painted. Thus during the last serious war between Omarakana and Kabuaku, in 1899, only two or three men had their shields painted. . . . To have one's shield painted was a challenge, since it was a great honour to split such a shield or to kill such a man. Therefore a painted shield attracted many more spears than a plain one, and it was distinctly dangerous to use this form of bravado. One of such shields used in the above-mentioned war showed as many as fifty-six spear marks. The warriors were decorated with exactly the same feather headdress as is used in dancing. . . .
>
> 'One very important factor of warfare [was] . . . war magic. . . . In each belligerent district there was a family of experts in war magic, whose members handed down from generation to generation the sacred formulæ. When all the men were assembled at the chief's bidding in the main village the magician *coram publico* chanted over the shields so as to impart to them the power of warding off all spears. . . .'

Given this social context it seems intrinsically probable that the design painted on the shields was itself of symbolic magical significance, and it becomes a legitimate question to enquire why the design shown on fig. 1 should in fact be deemed by the Trobrianders to have these magical properties.

The design has on several occasions evoked comment, sometimes favourable and sometimes unfavourable, but, so far as I can discover, it has always been taken for granted that the pattern as a whole is an abstraction and non-representational.

The following comments may be noted:

> Finsch (1888), p. 13: 'These rare Trobriand shields are remarkable for the artistic painting (red and black on a white ground) and for the altogether singular design. These shields perhaps represent the most perfect works of painting made anywhere by Papuans.'
>
> Haddon (1894), p. 240: 'The shape of the Trobriand shield is very characteristic, sometimes the surface is quite plain. When ornamented the design is simply painted on the smooth and whitened surface of the shield, with black and red pigments.'
>
> Haddon, in this same reference, states that shields of this type were known as *vai ova*, but this cannot have been first-hand information. Mr. H. A. Powell, an expert in the Kiriwinan language, informs me that this expression has no obvious significance. He has never heard it used in any context in present-day Kiriwina.
>
> Linton and Wingert (1946), pp. 144f.: 'The shields are ovoid in shape with marked convex longitudinal curvature. On the background of white a strictly symmetrical design composed of curvilinear geometric elements is painted in red, black and yellow. This has the characteristic fineness of all Trobriand work, but although the patterns show considerable variety within a basic design they are generally highly formalized and ornate and lack the vitality and verve of other objects from this area.'

In what follows two distinct hypotheses are advanced concerning the nature of this design, the second being dependent upon the validity of the first. The hypotheses are: (1) that the seemingly abstract design on the shield is in fact a rationally ordered representation of a winged anthropomorphic figure; (2) that the figure represents a flying witch (Trobriand *mulukuausi*) and that the reported mythology concerning these beings is consistent with the observable character of the shield design and also the magical function of the design suggested in the above-quoted report by Malinowski.

I will discuss these two hypotheses separately.

If we exclude the seemingly debased example of Edge Partington's *Album* all published illustrations of Trobriand *vai ova* shields conform to the same general design, though details vary. Thus all examples include the feature *d* in fig. 2, comprising several parallel lines arranged symmetrically on each side of the shield, but the number of lines varies from two on each side to four on each side. Again, all specimens include a motif *a* in fig. 2, but whereas in some examples this is a clearly defined face, in others it is featureless. I shall proceed therefore to analyse fig. 2 as if it were representative of all particular examples of *vai ova* shields. In the key to fig. 2, left, the various design features are listed *a*—*k* and interpreted as anatomical details, *e.g.* *a*=face, *b*=ears, breasts. At first sight some of these interpretations are likely to strike the reader as surprising and arbitrary but the analysis will be found more convincing if reference is made to the more obviously anthropomorphic figure shown in fig. 2, right. It will then be seen that fig. 2, left, can be derived directly from fig. 2, right, by, as it were, 'folding the paper.' The indications are self-explanatory, but perhaps it should be added that the creature is supposed to have the wings and legs of a flying fox, a creature resembling a bat.

Whether this interpretation will be found convincing or not will presumably depend to some extent upon the individual temperament of the reader. It is not, I think, a matter capable of proof one way or another. It may be noted, however, that the design in its revised form (fig. 2, right) has a certain resemblance to certain other Melanesian designs, for example Trobriand clubs of the type figured in Firth (1936), p. 96, British Museum *Handbook* (1925),

* *With two text figures*

Plate VIc (facing p. 126), and Chauvet (1930), fig. 192, and the Solomon Islands shields shown in Leenhardt (1947), p. 44, and in *Traditional Art of the British Colonies* (1949), Plate XX.

If this interpretation of the Trobriand design be accepted, we may proceed to enquire what the figure represents and why it should be an appropriate decoration for a shield. My hypothesis is that the figure is a 'flying witch' and that

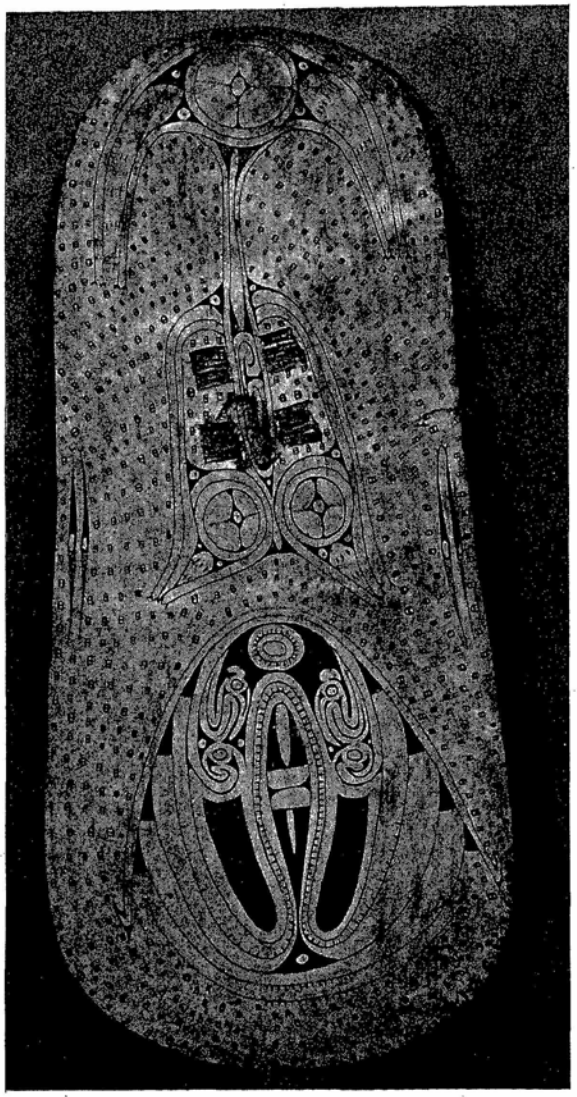

FIG. 1. SHIELD FROM THE TROBRIAND ISLANDS

Photograph: University Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge

it is a shield decoration because of the poisonous emanations that are believed to be emitted by the vulva and anus of such witches. If this suggestion is correct, the witch design on Trobriand shields had the same logic behind it as the story that Perseus carried on his shield the petrifyingly beautiful head of the witch-dragon Medusa.

Our main source of information concerning Trobriand ideas about flying witches (*mulukuausi*) is, as might be expected, Malinowski. The principal references are Malinowski (1916), and Malinowski (1922), pp. 237ff. In both cases he stresses that the Trobriand belief closely resembles that reported by Seligman (1910), Chapter XLVII, for Bartle Bay. As a result of his Mailu researches Malinowski (1915), p. 648, was at first critical of Seligman's analysis, but for the Trobriand data he seems to have accepted the correctness of Seligman's views. Fortune, who reported on very similar beliefs current in Dobu, also stresses the close parallels between the Dobuan data observed by himself, the Trobriand data reported by Malinowski and the Bartle Bay data reported by Seligman (Fortune (1932), p. 297).

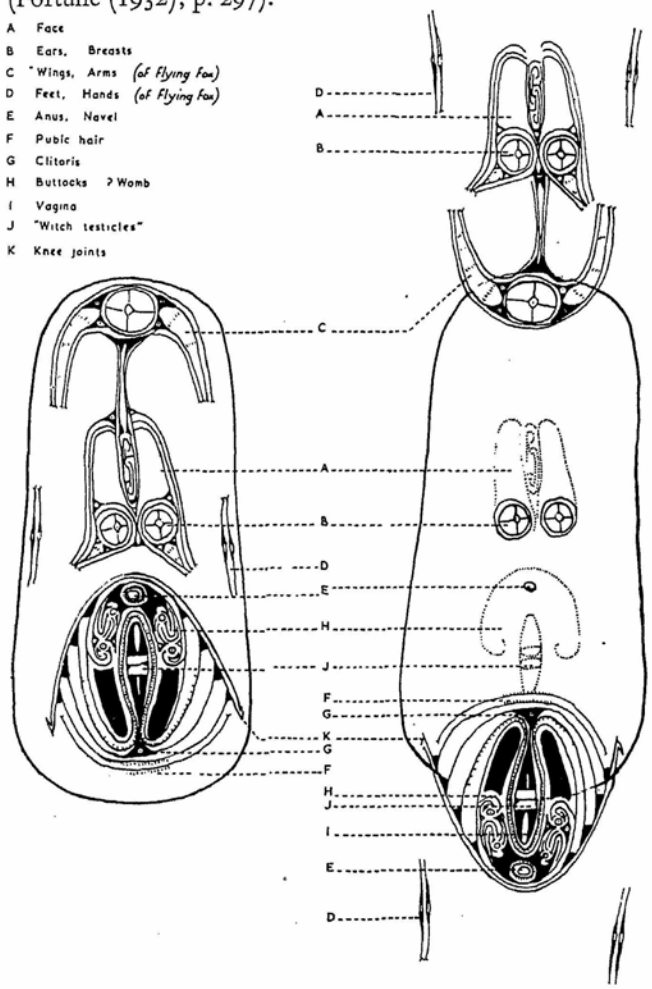

FIG. 2. AN INTERPRETATION OF DESIGNS ON THE TROBRIAND SHIELD

Malinowski's report (1922, p. 238) is as follows:

> 'The orthodox belief is that a woman who is a *yoyova* can send forth a double which is invisible at will, but may appear in the form of a flying fox, or of a night bird or a firefly. There is also a belief that the *yoyova* develops within her a something, shaped like an egg, or like a young unripe coconut. This something is called as a matter of fact *kapuwana*, which is the word for a small coconut. This idea remains in the native's mind in a vague, indefinite, undifferentiated form. . . . The *kapuwana* is anyhow believed to be something which in the nightly flights leaves the body of the *yoyova* and assumes the various forms in which the *mulukuausi* appears. . . .'

The parallel Dobuan belief is that 'if one sleeps touching the legs of a witch a gigantic testicle within her body will

pass over, mount the leg, and lodge in the scrotum, hence elephantiasis. The gigantic testicle emerges at night and is seen, a ball of fire, as the witch flies in mid air'; '. . . the *kaiana* fire of witchcraft issues from the pubes of flying witches as they go through the night' (Fortune (1932), pp. 297 and 296).

The corresponding Bartle Bay belief is in a witchcraft substance called *labuni* which the witches send forth at night (Seligman (1910), p. 640):

> 'it was said that the *labuni* existed in and was derived from, an organ called *ipona* situated in the flank and literally meaning egg or eggs. The *labuni* was said actually to leave the body and afterwards to re-enter it *per rectum*. Although *labuni* resemble shadows they wear a petticoat which is shorter than that worn by the women in this part of the country.'

The Trobrianders, like the Dobuans, believe that the flying witches can be seen as fire flying through the night, but the precise source of the fire is not specified and the clothing of the witch is uncertain. Malinowski says (1922, pp. 241f.):

> 'According to some versions, the *mulukuausi*, that is the witch in her flying state, moves about naked, leaving her skirt round the body which remains asleep in the hut. Other versions depict her as tying her skirt tightly round her when flying and beating her buttocks with a magical pandanus streamer.'

If we accept the general hypothesis that our fig. 2 represents a Trobriand flying witch, and that, as a shield design, the pattern is intended as a source of dangerous emanation, it will be seen that the design and the mythology fit very nicely. The exaggerated emphasis given to the anal and vaginal orifices becomes meaningful, and also the fiery red colour of the pubes, and the claw-like character of the arms and legs. The two curious egg-like objects (fig. 2*j*) are clearly the witchcraft testicles or 'coconuts' (*kapuwana*).

My interpretation of the upper half of the design is perhaps much more doubtful, especially the curious design identification between the 'ears' and the 'breasts' of the creature. It is, however, logically correct that the ears should be strongly emphasized in any representation of a *mulukuausi*. According to Malinowski (1922, p. 241):

> 'By a special sense . . . 'a *mulukuausi*' can *hear*, as the natives say, that a man has died at such and such a place, or that a canoe is in danger. Even a young apprenticed *yoyova* will have her sense of hearing so sharpened that she will tell her mother: "Mother, I hear, they cry."'

Conclusion

The interpretation which I have given to an apparently abstract Trobriand design, though highly hypothetical, seems to me to raise a number of points of theoretical interest.

In contradistinction to writers such as Boas and Haddon, I hold that the designs of primitive peoples are seldom abstract in any genuine sense. Designs, both as wholes and as parts, usually have a definite functional significance for the artist who makes them. Frequently of course the design element has moved very far indeed from anything that might be described as photographic realism, but nevertheless the 'realistic' element remains. Primitive designs are mostly representational. Given this hypothesis, it is a reasonable proposition to attempt to interpret as functionally meaningful designs, such as that of fig. 2, which at first sight seem to be total abstractions. In this case the evidence that can be adduced is wholly circumstantial, since the objects are no longer made and memory of them no longer survives in their place of origin; in other cases, however, investigation of 'abstract' designs for their contemporary functional significance might prove very rewarding. This is certainly an aspect of material culture to which social anthropologists might usefully pay greater attention.

The second point of interest is that, so far as I know, no one has previously recognized the 'folding-up' of the human figure (as here postulated) as an æsthetic device. It is, however, only the logical opposite of the extremely important æsthetic device of 'unfolding,' which figures so prominently in the art of the American North-West Coast (see Boas (1927), pp. 224f.) and which has had a powerful influence on many twentieth-century European artists, including Picasso.

The Trobriand technique of 'folding-up' has interesting psychological implications since it permits a graphical representation of the association of ideas. Thus in this case there is a graphical association: ears=breasts; anus=navel; hands=feet; head=heart; vagina=womb=a folded flower, etc. The whole seems to provide a sort of Melanesian Rorschach test which, at the very least, should be of interest to Kleinian psycho-analysts interested in the 'introjection' of 'good' and 'bad' objects through the medium of the witch-mother's breast!

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OBITUARY

Henri Frankfort: 1897–1954

159 Each year, as age or accident take toll of workers in the field of science, the gaps least easy to fill are left by those abruptly cut off at the height of their capacity and promise. One such case in 1954 was that of Henri Frankfort, Director of the Warburg Institute and Professor of Pre-Classical Antiquity at London University. To scholars of many nationalities who admired his work, the news was a matter of deep professional concern. For his friends, there was also a sense of acute personal loss and of near-incredulity, engendered by their recollection of his extraordinary vitality.

Frankfort was a man of catholic and pre-eminent intellectual ability. Initially an archæologist by profession, he was for some years in control of large-scale field operations in the Middle East; but afterwards preferred to exploit his peculiar talent for reasoned deduction, in the interpretation, not only of his own finds, but of the whole interrelated assemblage of comparable archæological material. From this his field of vision was extended to a study of primitive art; through art to psychology and so to the linked subjects of metaphysics and social anthropology, where his remarkable insight soon enabled him to challenge the giants of earlier generations on their own ground. This was not all: for such leisure as he allowed himself was absorbed in music and the consideration of modern art, which stimulated his interest in the critical articulation of æsthetic abstractions. In this way, in a single year, his signature could appear beneath a preliminary report on archæological excavations, a treatise on rain-making rituals in Kurdistan, and a critical discussion of Barbara Hepworth's sculpture. That such versatility failed to impair the integrity of his cardinal purpose, his major published works bear ample witness.

A Dutchman by birth, Frankfort went to Egypt in the early nineteen-twenties as a pupil of Flinders Petrie, and obtained his first excavating experience under the Egypt Exploration Society at Abydos and Armant. While directing similar work at Tell-el-Amarna, he was approached by James Henry Breasted, at that time planning a multiple programme of excavations in Iraq for the Chicago Oriental Institute, and accepted responsibility for its organization. During seven winter seasons, the conduct of this work (sometimes involving the excavation of three or more sites simultaneously) was deputed to a large and increasingly competent staff. Sargon II's great citadel at Khorsabad was exposed and a group of unknown Sumerian cities in the Diyala region east of Baghdad. The whole enterprise was directed from Frankfort's headquarters at Tell Asmar, with a clear-sighted intelligence which enabled him to avoid the extravagance and over-elaboration of method which characterized some parallel undertakings. No less impressive than the material results in the museums of Chicago and Baghdad, are the final publications: seven volumes in the important series *Oriental Institute Publications*, all of which depend to a greater or lesser degree on the standard conclusions of his 'pilot' works—*Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East* and *Archæology and the Sumerian Problem*.

Another outcome of Frankfort's work during this period was his remarkable and authoritative *Cylinder Seals*, published in 1939. His profound study of these stylized engravings and their documentary significance suggested a new approach to the subject of Mesopotamian religious concepts, and provided a directive for a new period of research in the quieter atmosphere of the Chicago Institute. A fruitful partnership with like-minded epigraphists produced *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, a symposium of essays on ancient thought processes and their reaction to the implications of abstract truth. It was afterwards published in England under the title *Before Philosophy*. The theme of pre-Greek religion was amplified in *Kingship and the Gods*, which carried his mental exploration over the frontiers of a new discipline; yet in 1951, a fresh definition of archæological origins, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East*, signalled a timely return to his earlier interests.

Frankfort spent much time during the last six years of his life in preparing the Pelican *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, which has been published posthumously. This fine book should remain a monument to his greatness, both as a critic and a scholar; and its editor, in a foreword, lays his finger on the secret of an exceptional quality which animates the text. Just as it was unusual for an orientalist to become director of an Institute devoted to research in the history of art, so was it equally remarkable that a writer on a subject such as this could lay aside the antiquarian approach, in order to 'present oriental art as art, and not as archæological evidence.'

But it is for personal qualities that 'Hans' Frankfort's friends will remember him: for the illuminating brilliance of his conversation and the capacity to communicate his own enthusiasm; for the kindness which modified his impatience with stupidity and the clear intelligence which enabled him to encompass all aspects of a problem, while the less gifted peered from one angle in patient bewilderment; for the characteristic gesture which would scatter the 'trees' and reveal some unsuspectedly significant 'wood.' Many who depended upon his judgement have been deprived of it a score of years too soon. SETON LLOYD

SHORTER NOTES

Three Tanged Bronze Sickles in the Manchester Museum

160 *By Frank Willett, Manchester Museum. With a text figure*

The three bronze sickles shown in fig. 1 have recently been purchased by the Manchester Museum with the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society Fund.[1] None of them has been previously recorded.

Description

Nos. 1 and 2 (fig. 1, top and middle) were found at Faversham, Kent. They are unusually good specimens of their respective kinds. No. 1 (Register No. 0.8408*a*) belongs to Sir Cyril Fox's Group IA, sickles riveted but without talon.[2] He describes eight other specimens in this class, all of which are either damaged or of derivative form (*i.e.* made in Britain, not on the continent, *cf.* fig. 1, bottom). The specimen here illustrated is evidently imported (*cf.* Fox's Nos. 17 and 18, probably from the Thames at Brentford). The maximum length of the specimen is 138 millimetres. It is very strongly curved and bent up towards the tip. It is heavily ribbed, especially at the proximal end, where the ribs stand 4 millimetres higher than the intervening groove for the handle. The base is deeply notched. The rivet hole is large and was apparently intended to be oval, but the metal did not run properly to the intended edge of the hole. The cutting edge has been hammered to toughen it, producing a facet on parts of both faces. The slight indentations of the edge are recent. Near the tang, the edge appears to have been cut away after casting. The reverse

side of the implement is flat, and appears to be the plain surface of the casting, but one cannot be sure whether the sickle was cast in an open mould.[3] [4] The specimen is soundly patinated to a medium green colour.

No. 2 (fig. 1, middle; Register No. 0.8408*b*) belongs to Fox's Group IIA, sickles with a single knob. There are ten other specimens in this class, seven of which are fragmentary, and the three complete ones are different in shape. The specimen, illustrated in fig. 1, middle, has the recurved tip of Fox's No. 13 (from 'Lincolnshire'), but its general curvature is much sharper. This, like the previous one, is an imported specimen. The maximum length of the specimen is 145 millimetres, and the maximum thickness (at the knob) is 9·5 millimetres. It is less strongly curved than the

FIG. 1. THREE SICKLES IN THE MANCHESTER MUSEUM
Scale: ½

preceding one, and has a recurved tip, but it shows the same upward curve from the handle to the tip. The ribs are clearly marked, but the groove between them is not as deep (1·5 millimetres) as in the other sickle. The cutting edge has been hammered, producing a flange which is especially pronounced on the back. The reverse is the untouched top of the casting, probably not produced in an open mould.[3] There is a flaw in the casting affecting both surfaces about the middle of the implement, as may be seen in the figure. Along the tang, the cutting edge has been removed after casting. The back edge shows some signs of hammering to make it less sharp in use. The patina is of a medium green colour, but has been rubbed off the cutting edge, revealing the fresh bronze.

The third sickle (fig. 1, bottom; Register No. 0.8663) belongs, like the first, to Fox's Group IA, and is a native-made imitation of the continental type. It is less curved than the seven other derivative specimens in this class, and lacks the ridges which characterize the continental ones. The section of the blade is roughly triangular, with the upper surface slightly concave, unlike most of the other derivative ones, which are symmetrical in section. The asymmetry of our specimen suggests that it is relatively closer to the continental prototype. The maximum length of the specimen is 188 millimetres, and its maximum thickness 5·5 millimetres. The rivet hole has been punched through from above and the resulting burr rubbed or hammered down. The cutting edge has been hammered as usual, producing a facet which can be most clearly distinguished on the back. Some attention has been given to the smooth finishing of the back. The implement has a smooth, brownish-green patina, the surface of which bears a number of scratches which do not appear to be modern; the patina is, however, rather pitted in places, especially towards the tip on the upper surface.

This sickle is British, but its more detailed provenance is unfortunately not known; an earlier owner believes that he bought it at Sotheby's along with other British bronzes, but without a proper provenance. A small paper label stuck on the sickle has proved impossible to read as the surface has been completely abraded.[5]

It may be noted that all three sickles are for the right hand.

Distribution

We can consider here only the two sickles from Faversham. The second specimen fits into the area of distribution of Group IIA sickles shown in Fox's map.[6] The first specimen, however, is an outlier from the main distribution of Group IA sickles (in the Middle Thames), but to the east, whereas the outliers shown on the map are to the north-west (North Wales and Man), but these are both derivative types. Both Groups IA and IIA have their ultimate origin in the West Alpine region, and both appear to have reached the Thames Estuary *via* the Somme-Seine area, and to be datable in Lowland Britain respectively within the periods 700–500 B.C. and 750–500 B.C. It is not therefore a cause for surprise that a sickle of Group IA should have been found as a not very distant outlier in the area of Group IIA, for Faversham lies between the main English centre of distribution of Group IA and their continental home. There is unfortunately no record of the conditions of finding. It would be particularly interesting to know whether they were found together.

Metallurgical Report

All the specimens have been examined spectroscopically by Professor F. C. Thompson and Mr. M. L. Mehta. Professor Thompson reports:

> All these are true bronzes, the amount of tin present probably being in the region of three to seven per cent, but this is a guess only. The fact, however, that they have clearly been worked on the edges seems fairly conclusive evidence that the tin content cannot be very much higher, and is in fact more likely to be on the low than on the high side of the figure mentioned. The spectra of all these samples were much the same, and so far as the other elements are concerned, these were those to be found in a good modern commercial copper and in amounts such as that material would normally contain. No other special line was observed. Considering therefore the date of these specimens, the copper must be regarded as being of good quality, and there is little hope, I am afraid, of being able to identify its source from any of the impurities present.

Notes

[1] For details of this fund see *Trans. Lancs. and Ches. Antiquarian Soc.*, Vol. LXI, 1949 (publ. 1951), pp. 186f.

[2] 'The Non-Socketed Bronze Sickles of Britain,' in *Archæol. Cambr.*, Vol. XCVI, 1941, pp. 136–162.

[3] This is the opinion of Professor Thompson.

[4] The moulds for implements of this kind (which survive in continental museums) might have had covers.

[5] I should like to thank Superintendent F. G. Law, head of the Photographic Department of Scotland Yard, who very kindly subjected this label to most exhaustive tests before declaring it unreadable.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 151, fig. 5.

161 The Magdalenian Tectiform of La Mouthe and its Modern Counterpart. *By A. D. Lacaille, The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London. With two text figures*

Among the many engravings and paintings of the Magdalenian period to be seen on the walls of the cave of La Mouthe[1] near Les Eyzies, Dordogne, is a fine engraved and polychrome picture of the kind known as a tectiform (fig. 1*a*; 34 centimetres in length).

The textbooks show that tectiforms as a class admit of several variants, and include examples arranged in different ways with representations of animals. Thus, in other painted and engraved caves around Tayac, some tectiforms are imposed upon the body of an animal, others are so disposed as to appear partly or wholly enclosing a huge beast, or, again, in some the animal seems to be inextricably entangled. From these scenes it is naturally inferred that certain tectiforms were intended to illustrate traps with the much desired quarry safely captured. The La Mouthe tectiform, however, belongs to another order. Being unaccompanied by any pictorial representation of an animal, it seems to be the painting of an artificial dwelling or shelter, such as the Upper Palæolithic hunters are thought to have built for use in the open during the summer. In character it is similar to the plain tectiforms (*e.g.* fig. 2) outlined on the cave wall at Font-de-Gaume, about 2 kilometres from La Mouthe, up the valley of the Beune rivulet.[2]

All these plain tectiforms from Tayac suggest strongly that the summer huts or shelters of the Magdalenian hunters comprised a framework of branches that was probably thatched with grass or other vegetation, or covered with skins. To find support for this in an actual structure we have not far to seek. Outside the cave of La Mouthe there stands a hut (fig. 1*b*) which appears to be the replica of that represented by the Magdalenian artist inside the cave, a resemblance that is even enhanced by the small size of the modern version. Built by the present owner of the land, the new hut is very skilfully made—as one likes to think—in the Upper Palæolithic tradition. Used to house agricultural necessaries, it serves also as a tool store, entry into which can be gained only by stooping low.

Fig. 1*b*, *c* shows well the construction of the modern hut. This is seen to be of the simplest, and to consist fundamentally of two main straw-covered hurdles of thin, closely set poles lashed with withes to cross members and together at the tops. Since the base of each long hurdle is set parallel to that of the other and they are as far apart as possible, the maximum internal area is obtained. The back or end of triangular shape is made up and tied in the same way to the lateral hurdles which form at once the sides and leaning roof. While the front is left open, it can of course be closed immediately with another hurdle. This modern erection assuredly embodies the same principal elements as its palæolithic predecessors which, even when reduced to a mere roofing, yet included certain components identical with some of those essential to the stone dwelling house of the present day.

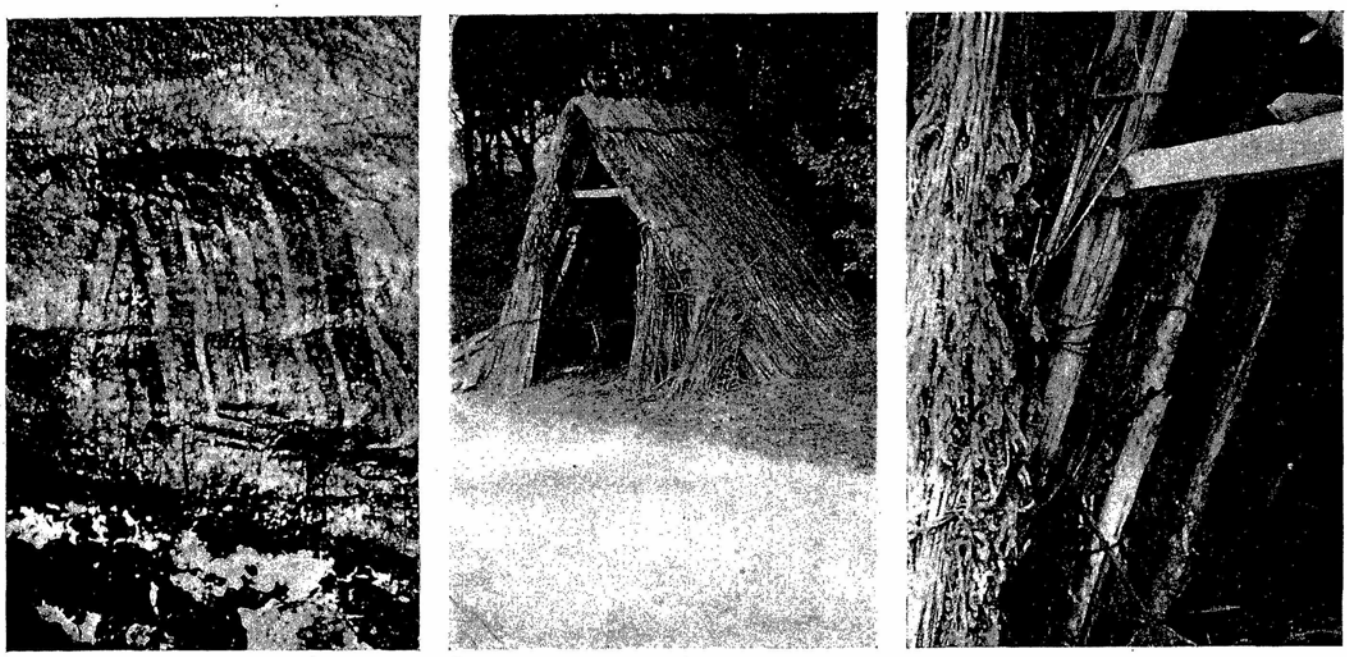

FIG. 1. THE TECTIFORM OF LA MOUTHE (LEFT, LENGTH 34 CM.) AND THE MODERN HUT BUILT OUTSIDE THE CAVE, WITH DETAIL OF CONSTRUCTION (RIGHT)

Hut photographs: I. W. Cornwall

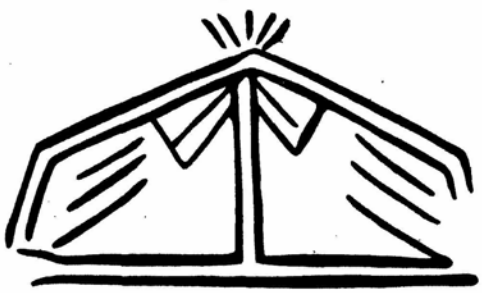

FIG. 2. A TECTIFORM IN THE CAVE OF FONT-DE-GAUME

After Breuil: width about 20 inches

Notes

[1] The principal accounts of Émile Rivière's investigations at La Mouthe are in *Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris*; 4th Ser., Vol. VIII (1897), pp. 302–29 and Vol. X (1899), pp. 554–63; 5th Ser., Vol. II (1901), pp. 509–17 and Vol. IV (1903), pp. 191–96.

See also his *Les Parois gravées et peintes de la Grotte de La Mouthe*, 2nd. edn., Paris, 1905.

[2] L. Capitan, H. Breuil and D. Peyrony, *La Caverne de Font-de-Gaume aux Eyzies (Dordogne)*, Monaco, 1910, Nos. 263–5.

A Magdalenian 'Churinga'. *By Henry Field, M.A., D.Sc. With a text figure*

162 About 25 years ago M. Peyrille of Périgueux excavated at La Roche de la Lalinde, Dordogne, an ornamented thin section of ivory ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches) from a rich Magdalenian deposit. This object (fig. 1), tapering to a point at both ends, was perforated for suspension (C.N.H.M. No. 199114). The Abbé Breuil identified this ivory specimen as the first complete Magdalenian '*churinga*' (bullroarer) ever found; two decorated

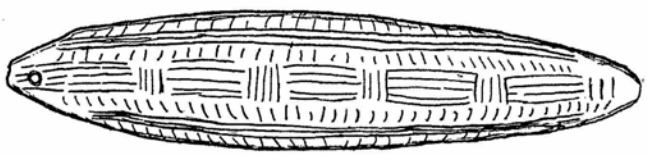

FIG. 1

fragments were in the Musée National, St. Germain-en-Laye, but their purpose was unknown until this complete specimen revealed them as central sections of *churinga*.

The simple geometric pattern resembles that on Australian *churinga* and wooden shields.

Since the Australian aborigines consider sacred the whirring noise of a *churinga*, no woman, child or uninitiated person is allowed to see a bullroarer. Thus, in Magdalenian times a similar veneration may have been observed.

The '*churinga*' from La Roche de la Lalinde is on exhibition in the Hall of the Stone Age of the Old World (Hall C) in the Chicago Natural History Museum.

Lake Rotoaira Pa Pillars. *By W. J. Phillipps, Dominion Museum, Wellington, N.Z. With a text figure*

163 Lake Rotoaira is situated in the hills to the south of Lake Rotorua. Here last century were a carved house and a small *pa*—now vanished so completely that not a sign of former Maori habitation remains. In company with Mr. W. Cobeldick, I first visited this lake in 1918 and even then only a clearing indicated where the *pa* had stood at the southern end of the lake. However, we are grateful to J. F. Robieson of Rotorua who made a collection of carvings from this area. These passed into the hands of Augustus Hamilton about the year 1910. Three *pa* pillars, perhaps *tukuwaru* or *pou matua*, large main carved posts in the outer defensive stockade, are seen in fig. 1. All are conventional Maori carved figures. The one on the left has a double tongue. This is a common feature of Te Arawa who believed most firmly that the right side of man was *tapu* and good, and the left side *noa*, or common. So the double tongue symbolizes the good and evil attributes of speech.

The central and largest figure and also the right-hand one have each a raised chevron extending from th. eyes to the centre of the forehead above which is a circular raised knob. This is also found in the carving of South India where it is said to represent the highest spiritual centre of man. The next lowest centre is found in the throat and this is also seen represented in our carvings. We notice in all figures that the head is decorated much more

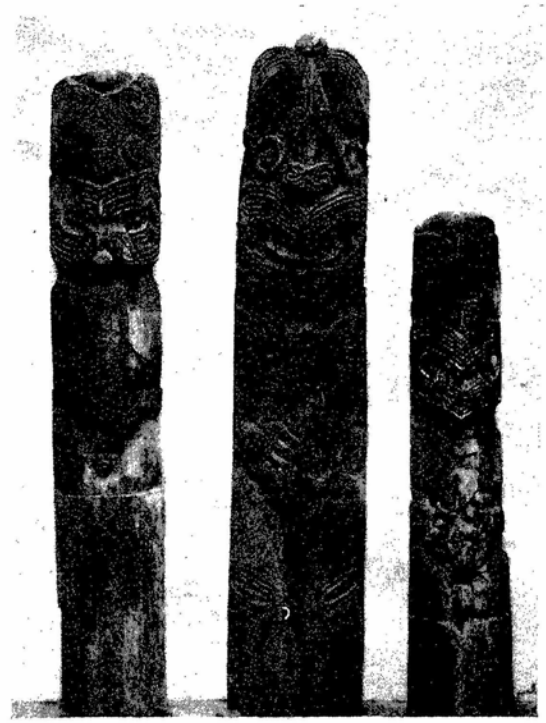

FIG. 1. PA PILLARS FROM LAKE ROTOAIRA
Photograph: A. Hamilton

than the body. This is not unusual and agrees with a general belief in the importance of the head as the most *tapu* part of the body. Evidently all figures represent warriors, for each holds a short weapon in his right hand.

Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory

164 At the invitation of the Northern Rhodesian Government, the third meeting of the Pan-African Congress on Prehistory will be held in Livingstone in July, 1955. The invitation is in connexion with the centenary celebrations to commemorate the discovery of the Victoria Falls by Livingstone, and the beginning of the systematic exploration of the interior north of the Zambesi.

The business of the session, which will take place between 11 and 16 July, will be partly devoted to the reading of papers and to discussions on discoveries made since the second session. Various symposia (*e.g.* on the dating of the Australopithecinæ and on the C14 method of dating) are planned, and among proposed subjects for discussion are research programmes in prehistory and allied subjects in the various African territories; terminology; and the control, care and protection of excavation sites.

Delegates will have the opportunity of taking part in a number of excursions: during the session, to the Victoria Falls and the more important prehistoric sites in the Zambesi and tributary valleys near Livingstone; at the close of the session, it is hoped, an excursion of between a week and ten days will be made to the main prehistoric and proto-historic sites in the Rhodesias. This will give delegates the opportunity of seeing the principal type sections upon which the Quaternary climatic and prehistoric successions have been built up, and will include visits to sites such as the Bembesi River and Chelmer near Bulawayo; rock paintings in the Matopos Hills and near Salisbury; the Zimbabwe and Khami ruins; one or more of the Lusaka fissure deposits; Broken

Hill; pebble culture sites at Kalomo, and a visit to the Wankie Game Reserve. If possible, there will also be an excursion of a week or ten days to visit some of the more important southern Katanga sites in the Belgian Congo. The Northern Rhodesian Government has made a grant towards the cost of transport for these excursions.

Delegates who wish to attend and read papers should communicate with the Organizing Secretary (Dr. J. Desmond Clark, P.O. Box 124, Livingstone). Also, since July is a holiday month in Livingstone and hotel accommodation much in demand, booking requirements should be stated without delay.

VIII International Congress for the History of Religions, April, 1955

165 The VIII International Congress for the History of Religions will take place in Rome from 17 to 23 April, 1955, its venue being the Palazzo dei Congressi, which is situated in the Universal Exhibition area.

As at former Congresses (the first took place in Paris in 1900 and the last at Amsterdam in 1950), the character of the Congress will be 'scientific, international and non-confessional.' All scholars interested in the history of religious and related studies are invited to attend. Relatives of members, also students and others who apply, may be admitted as associate members. The official languages of the Congress will be English, French, German and Italian.

The central theme for discussion is to be 'The King–God and the Sacral Character of Kingship,' and the subject will be treated in both its historical and phenomenological aspects. More specialized discussions will come under the following sections: (1) Non-literate peoples. (2) The Far East; India and Central Asia; Buddhism. (3) Iran; Zoroastrianism; Manichæism. (4) Ancient Egypt; Ancient Near East. (5) The Old Testament; Judaism. (6) Classical antiquity (including Mediterranean and Etruscan religions); Hellenism; Gnosticism. (7) Pre-Christian Europe (the Celts, Germans, Slavs and others). (8) Christianity, (9) Islam; (10) General questions; religion from the phenomenological, psychological and sociological aspects; methodology.

A break in the work of the Congress will be made for a joint excursion by motor coach to visit the monuments of oriental religions discovered at Ostia, as well as the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina (Præneste). At the close of the Congress individual excursions (organized by the Wagons-Lits Cook Agency) will be available. The membership fee is 3000 lire (£1 14*s.* 5*d.*). All correspondence relating to the Congress should be addressed to the Secretariat of the VIII International Congress for the History of Religions, Via Michelangelo Caetani 32, Rome.

A note to British scholars. The International Association for the Study of the History of Religions (which has evolved out of the several History of Religions Congresses held in different European capitals over the past half-century) has a number of national sub-associations. Professor R. Pettazzoni of Rome (President) and Professor C. J. Bleeker of Amsterdam (Secretary) are anxious that Great Britain should be represented among these. A British section has therefore been formed, and those interested are asked to write to the Rev. D. W. Gundry, Neuadd Reichel, University College of North Wales, Bangor, as soon as possible, and are also invited to attend the Congress. Members of the Association may obtain the new journal of the history of religions, *Numen*, for a reduced subscription of 16 Dutch florins (about £1 10*s.*; full rate 20 florins).

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Method in Prehistory. *By A. J. H. Goodwin. 2nd. edn. Cape Town. (S.Afr. Archæol. Soc.), 1953. Pp. 184, 15 figs., 1 plate. Price 17s. 6d.*

166 This useful handbook by one of South Africa's leading prehistorians, first published in 1945, now makes a welcome reappearance in a new and revised edition. It is, of course, written primarily for use in South Africa, where the great wealth of archæological sites still largely unrecorded, together with the relative scarcity of trained investigators, creates conditions in which the enthusiastic amateur archæologist must play an even more important part than, say, in Britain. In such circumstances the publication of an authoritative guide for the amateur, combining a statement of fundamental principles with practical instruction in field methods, is clearly a necessity.

The earlier chapters are concerned with the nature of archæological evidence, the scope of prehistory, and the significance of the contemporary natural environment of early man. Some of the definitions given here look a little strange, since Mr. Goodwin largely follows French practice, using 'prehistory' in the absolute sense of 'before documents *anywhere*,' and restricting 'archæology' to the study of later civilized or semi-civilized communities.

The two succeeding chapters deal with the elements of technology and the evolution of techniques in the manufacture of stone tools. The reader is very rightly urged to understand the mechanics of flaking not only through reading, but through practical experiment. More might perhaps have been said here to distinguish the use of a stone hammer from the practice of direct percussion of the core on a fixed anvil, a technique demonstrated, for instance, by M. Leon Coutier for the production of the earlier handaxes, and probably employed also in 'Clactonian' industries.

Three chapters follow on practical field methods, applied first to the examination of surface scatters, to which alone the amateur archæologist in South Africa has unrestricted access; and secondly to stratified caves and rock shelters, with the burials frequently found in them, which are rightly protected by law from unauthorized excavation. The recommendations made here for excavation, surveying and photography, are based upon the best canons of European practice, and the section on caves in particular is valuable as the only treatment of the subject so far published in English. Rather more prominence might, however, have been given to the fundamental importance of digging by layers, and to the drawing and interpretation of sections, without which the most meticulous care in other directions is valueless.

The final chapters comprise a discussion of geological evidence (including a timely warning against facile long-range correlations of glacial with pluvial phenomena); a description of South African prehistoric 'art' material, with practical suggestions for recording it; an assessment of the value of regional surveys and distribution maps, which makes the valuable and often ignored point that distributions of single types are frequently useless unless related both to their associated culture and to the contemporary natural environment; and a chapter on publication. If it be true, as Mr. Goodwin suggests, that in South Africa the danger 'lies in the tendency to reduce scientific publication to a standard usually kept elsewhere for popular journalism,' it is no less true that elsewhere there is an equally undesirable tendency towards professional 'scientific' jargon, for which this chapter forms a valuable corrective.

The book ends with an annotated list of the necessary field equipment and a useful bibliography. As Mr. Goodwin admits, his handbook is 'necessarily compressed, and may sound dogmatic.' In a work covering so large a theoretical and practical field, it would be surprising if dogmatism were not occasionally carried too far,

as in the statement (p. 65) that the various microlithic techniques 'are certainly part of a single Old World dissemination preceding the Neolithic spread'; or if compression did not sometimes lead to obscurity, as in the discussion of the meaning of the terms *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem* (p. 124). Such minor defects are inherent in the difficult task which the author has set himself, and has achieved in a way that cannot but advance the study of prehistory both within and outside South Africa.

R. J. C. ATKINSON

Mennesket og Kulturen: En Sammenlignende Etnografi. *By Gutorm Gjessing. Oslo (Gyldendal Norsk Forlag), 1953. Vol. I., pp. 297, 125 illus.; Vol. II, pp. 363, index, 80 illus.*

167

Since 1947, when he abandoned archæology for the Chair of Ethnography at the University of Oslo, Professor Gjessing has published several popular works attacking racial prejudices and ethnocentricity. In the present work, the first popular book on comparative ethnography to be published in Norwegian, he continues the campaign as well as introduces the principles of anthropology to the layman. In the first volume he shows the futility of such words as 'primitive,' and demonstrates the unity of mankind. However, in his attempt to provide a summary of anthropological theory, Dr. Gjessing is less successful. The task of a pioneer cannot be an easy one, but he makes it still more difficult by introducing several extraneous topics which could appropriately have been omitted. Such observations as 'Darwin transferred the ideals of economic liberalism to biology' (p. 17), 'Race prejudices are in reality a result of calvinistic puritanism' (p. 29) and 'Protestant missions have had far more unhappy results socially (than Roman Catholic ones)' (p. 161), are too equivocal to stand as unqualified statements in an introductory manual, whilst his discussion of Kropotkin and Darwin is more suited to a history of philosophy.

Professor Gjessing in this work carefully eschews joining any current theoretical school: he condemns the 'urmonotheism' of the Vienna school, he attacks economic determinism, whilst to confound most contemporary British social anthropologists he disapproves of the importance at present placed upon the family in preference to other social groupings. (He supports this by arguing that a communal hunting and fishing unit is the basis of Lappish society, an analysis that will be stongly contested by some students of that society.) On the whole his position seems to be nearest to that of some ethno-psychologists in the United States, whose co-operation he asks for; but whilst he praises the Rorschach test, he says that the years of adult life are as important as those of childhood in the formation of personality. Thus he is in the position of seeing defects in all the principal anthropological positions, and in their place he offers some sort of synthesis.

Chapter by chapter, he discusses such topics as housing, dress, handicrafts, nomadism and religion, demonstrating a very wide ethnographic knowledge. The section devoted to art is perhaps the least satisfactory: he begins it by the observation that there are no people who are not drawn to the colour red. Later, he discusses such problematic theories as that naturalistic art is masculine whilst stylistic art is a feminine expression, and thus leaves no space for the discussion of, for example, the diffusionist theories of such serious students as Strzygowski.

In the second volume the author briefly describes 20 societies, providing excellent ethnographical summaries of many widely differing ethnic groups, one of them, that of the Incas of Peru, being known only through historical and archæological evidence. It is unfortunate, however, that he has not been able to reinforce his initial plea against ethnocentricity by including some western European peasant community, or even an urban society, to show the catholicity of the anthropologist's field of investigation. In a final chapter entitled 'The white man's burden,' Professor Gjessing very sharply criticizes the colonial policy of protestant nations, particularly that of Great Britain. In this very bitter discussion he compares British imperialism with Soviet Russian colonial policy, to the disadvantage of the former; but then he conveniently omits mention of both the Chechen-Ingus and the Karachay!

It is of course always easy to pick holes in a one-man encyclopædia, and such works are all too often condemned for a few slight errors. The present work, written with great humanity and humour, deserves a different fate. It has, too, the finest photographs I have ever seen in an anthropological textbook. Whilst the unusually wide knowledge of the author ranges from Yakut archæology (a brief but valuable summary) to the development of the plough, he emphasizes the importance of a study of the natural environment towards an understanding of social dynamics, a factor all too often ignored by contemporary anthropologists. IAN WHITAKER

Franz Boas: The Science of Man in the Making. *By Melville J. Herskovits. New York and London (Scribner), 1953. Pp. 131. Price 10s. 6d.*

168

As one in the series of The Twentieth Century Library, this book is not only a biographical study but also intends to present 'the origins of . . . (Boas's) thought in the history of ideas and with its ramifications in the contemporary world.'

For those aware of changes in every-day attitudes during the twentieth century, especially in America, it is not surprising to find Boas in a series with such figures as Marx, Freud and Einstein. The revolution in thought to which he so largely contributed is by no means complete, but the radical shifts in idea and action which it foreshadows can already be perceived. Human relations of the twentieth and the latter half of the nineteenth centuries are considered in a fundamentally different light, and Boas is as fitting a symbol of one aspect of this change as are Marx and Freud in their respective fields. The measure of the change may be judged by the fact that *The Mind of Primitive Man*, first published in 1911, read now in retrospect seems apparent enough. Yet the article of 1895 which held Boas's first statement of its theme was considered scientifically as 'somewhat speculative'; and in 1933 the German edition was burned by the Nazis as politically dangerous. Its scientific position is of course now unassailable, but its implications for politics and human relations, and for the total concept of man, have still to be thoroughly realized.

Quite wisely, Herskovits does not handle Boas's thought in this broad perspective although it is suggested in several of his chapter headings: Man, the Biological Organism; Man, the Culture-Building Animal; and Man, the Creator. These actually indicate a means of dividing up the content of Boas's work for ready discussion within the present framework of anthropological subjects, and as such they run parallel to the chapters in the memorial volume published the year after his death (*Mems. Amer. Anthrop. Ass.*, No. 61, 1943; this volume also contains Boas's complete bibliography of some 625 items). Herskovits has chosen to describe the growth of 'the science of man' and of Boas's place in that growth. He is impressed, as one cannot fail to be, by the fact that so much of the development of anthropology lay directly in the hands of Boas, and he has seen the twentieth-century revolution in thought in terms of the emergence of the discipline.

Boas's characteristic approaches to data and his scientific contributions are, therefore, contrasted with their non-anthropological, and often earlier, counterparts; their positions within the discipline are specified or implied; and there is a constant awareness of various theoretical discussions which have taken place in anthropology against which one or another aspect of Boas's thought may be highlighted. All this makes for good exposition. In addition, the events of Boas's life are clearly focused in an effort to determine why this particular man wielded so much influence. As always, an author's ideas may get confused with those of the person whose thought he is assessing but, on the whole, Herskovits has skirted this abyss with the objective nature of his reporting—and one must remember that as a student of Boas he was himself participant in much that he describes. In short, the book may well stand as an important and skilfully executed chapter in the history of anthropology.

However, I suspect that many recognized anthropologists will feel as little at home with its judgments as they do with some of Boas's own published works. This lack of *rapport* seems to me to centre in a dichotomy of which Herskovits makes very little, but which is evident in many aspects of social science today. Boas was an exponent *par excellence* of what is coming to be known as the natural-history approach in the social sciences. Herskovits stresses

the fact that he began his career in physics, with a minor in geography. But the reason for his early trip to the Arctic, which did so much to set the pattern of his interest in primitive people, is not thought by Herskovits to be 'satisfactorily explained' (p. 9). Herskovits rejects Benedict's statement that he went 'specifically to study the reaction of the human mind to the natural environment' (memorial volume, p. 27). Yet this is apparently a direct quotation, for Boas himself wrote in a paper to which Herskovits seems not to have referred: 'By a peculiar compromise, presumably largely dictated by the desire to see the world, I decided to make a journey to the Arctic for the purpose of adding to our knowledge of unknown regions and of helping me to understand *the reaction of the human mind to the natural environment*' ('An Anthropologist's Credo,' *The Nation*, 1938, 147, reprinted without title in *I Believe*, ed. Clifton Fadiman, New York, 1939, p. 20, italics mine).

Although this statement may conceivably be a rationalization, it is not incompatible with Boas's general attitude: 'An early intense interest in nature and a burning desire to see everything that I heard or read about dominated my youth.' He also speaks in the same paper of his 'intensive, emotional interest in the phenomena of the world. . . .' That he regarded the mind as part of these phenomena is made clear by an incident he gives and by his further statement: '. . . my whole outlook upon social life is determined by the question: how can we recognize the shackles that tradition has laid upon us?' (*ibid.*, pp. 19–21). In his own and others' thinking, then, he recognized no ultimate security. This view, so closely allied to that of the natural historian for whom the description and analysis of phenomena are interrelated processes, is almost directly opposed to faith in reason. Those who rely upon analysis by process of reason, therefore, often have little sympathy for Boas. These two approaches to the social sciences are not clearly contrasted by Herskovits and he has, therefore, omitted one clue to the appreciation of Boas's thought. This is, however, a small point in the excellence of the overall picture of one of the great figures in anthropology.

MARIAN W. SMITH

The Study of Culture at a Distance. *Edited by Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux, U. of Chicago P. (U.K. agents: Cambridge U.P.), 1953. Pp. x, 480. Price £1 17s. 6d.*

169 This book, or Manual as the authors call it, is a report of the methods used to study culture at a distance by the Columbia University Research in Contemporary Cultures. The research, which was inaugurated by Ruth Benedict with her wartime study of Japanese character, has been extended and expanded, under the direction of Margaret Mead, to include China, France, Russia, Thailand, Poland, East European Jews and several other groups. It grew out of the wartime inaccessibility of certain countries and has been continued during the cold war. Sources of funds and research purposes link the work to national policy. The conditions out of which the work developed have set its central problem: How can contemporary cultures (more specifically in this case, national character) be studied in offices located in New York City. Accordingly, research data are secured from 'secondary' sources and from single informants.

Over the years the project has employed 120 people, and has accumulated a vast body of published and unpublished material. For this volume the editors have selected from this material only those items which pertain to the methods and technical problems of studying cultures from afar.

Like most books which are made up of the work of many people, this one is not unified around any set of related ideas. The contributions include such items as an anonymous informant's account of 'My Inner Self'; A Russian Double Image Cluster; 'Not-So: So'; Notes on Two French Films; Male Dominance in Thai Culture; The Soviet Style of Chess; and many others equally specialized. On the whole, however, the book centres in three problem areas which stem directly from the research task. These are the personal and administrative problems which arise in team research, finding the data needed to study from a distance, and problems arising in evaluating the available data.

Mead's comments on team research in her introduction and in an appendix are illuminating. The project attempted to co-ordinate the work of a large staff within an organizational framework which would not violate the integrity of the individual research worker. Benedict and Mead were both sensitive to the personal character of research, but at the same time the magnitude of the task required integration and organization. The contradictions which arise from this dualistic approach colour the whole discussion of team research. In the nature of the case, none of the contradictions are resolved, and this reflects on the character of the book. Research workers were very little disciplined to a central problem and, hence, the most disparate ideas appear between two covers.

About 300 pages of the book illustrate the specific sources of data available to the distant anthropologist. These include the minutes of research group discussions, interviews with informants, written and oral literature, films, and projective tests. Their finding that projective tests are almost useless to this type of research comes as no surprise. However, it is surprising indeed that historical writings, which exist in abundance for the cultures studied, are given no place at all.

The absence of history and historical documents is partly explained by the fact that the research is on national character, not culture or social structure. More specifically, national character, which remains a vague concept here as elsewhere, is presumed to be intimately derived from early childhood experience. Since character formation is not linked to institutional settings outside of childhood, history loses its place.

One analytical tool and one 'process' are offered to evaluate national character data. Bateson's analytical tool is called 'end linkage' and is a technique for describing the 'highest common factor' of character 'of individuals in a human community in terms of bipolar adjectives' (these are hyphenated expressions such as 'dominance-submission' and 'exhibitionism-spectatorship'). Rhoda Métraux describes the process of 'resonance in imagery,' the impressionistic understanding of imagery and the 'echoing relationship' (resonance) of these images. Neither of these formulations is systematic or comprehensive, and neither appears to be applicable. However, Métraux's contribution is an admirable discussion of poetic insight and creativity in the research process.

It is an ironic footnote to the history of anthropology that with this book we have completed the circle, and are now back to the basic method employed by Tyler.

ARTHUR J. VIDICH

L'Influence de la Hauteur du Buste sur l'Allométrie des Segments particuliers chez l'Homme et divers autres Primates. *By É. Boné. Arch. Suisses d'Anthropologie générale, Vol. XVIII. Geneva, 1953. Pp. 192*

170 Adults vary, both in absolute size and in proportions, and although many dimensions are correlated, the relationship is not always simple. The study of these variations is complementary to that of changes in proportion which occur during growth. Although some of the general problems associated with these correlations were recognized by Albert Dürer as long ago as 1527, they have been studied systematically and by quantitative methods only in recent years. The present monograph describes one such analysis of variations in the proportions of men and sub-human primates.

Dr. Boné's raw material comprised dimensions of some 67,600 men, and approximately 400 sub-human primates. Some of the data were abstracted from the literature; others are unpublished and were placed at the author's disposal by other students. An account of these dimensions, together with certain empirical corrections necessary to eliminate differences arising from variations in the techniques of measurement, is outlined in the first section of the monograph. Whenever possible, the author has used the sitting height as a basis for standardization. In general, his approach has been to compare the relative sizes of each dimension in the 25 per cent. of the population with the smallest sitting height with the corresponding dimensions in the 25 per cent with the longest trunks.

The main part of the work deals with various homogeneous populations of adult men and sub-human primates. The results are simple, and for the most part consistent. If the sitting height is small, the other parts of the body are disproportionately big. Conversely, if the sitting height is big, the other parts of the body are reduced correspondingly. Collateral studies outlined in later sections of the

monograph show that this generalization also applies to populations which have migrated into a different environment or whose diet has been changed. The law also appears to apply generally, although less constantly, to hybrid populations. Males and females follow the same general pattern, although the relative proportions of their limbs and pelvis differ quantitatively.

Another collateral study deals with the corresponding changes in proportion during post-natal growth. At birth, the trunk is disproportionately long, and many dimensions of the limbs (but not of the head) increase relatively until puberty. The growth rates then change, and the characteristic adult pattern emerges.

Dr. Boné concludes his work with the thesis that the exceptionally short limbs of individuals with long trunks may result from an acceleration in the rate at which their centres of ossification fuse.

The results, as a whole, are so consistent that there can be little doubt that Dr. Boné's generalization is well grounded. It is possible that the value of the results would have been increased had the data been subjected to a more extensive statistical analysis for, as they stand, it is often difficult to assess the validity of any particular set of results, and especially of aberrant observations. Furthermore, apart from introducing an artificial discontinuity into a continuous series of variations, Dr. Boné's approach eliminates 50 per cent. of individuals, and therefore of the available data. In addition, it only shows whether or not differences exist between the smallest and biggest people and does not demonstrate whether the relative change that has been operative follows the logarithmic pattern for which the term 'allometric' is often reserved. Finally, after using the sitting height as an arbitrary base line, the author concludes that '. . . . il existe indubitablement une *influence* de la hauteur du buste sur l'allométrie des segments. . . .' It would seem that the analysis has not excluded the possibility that both may be equally dependent upon a third set of morphogenetic factors. In this connexion it would be interesting to make further investigations of the possibility that the relative growth rates of different bodily dimensions are determined genetically (*e.g.* by a comparison of their values in the hybrid populations described in chapter 10 with those of each parental group).

Nevertheless, Dr. Boné's results, as they stand, add valuable information to the field of human biology, and it is to be hoped that the author will attempt to extract further information from his data by subjecting them to analysis by the more rigorous techniques which are now available. E. H. ASHTON

AFRICA

Baba of Karo. *By Mary Smith. London (Faber), 1954. Pp. 299. Price £1 5s.*

171 It is always humiliating to find that another has carried out a task one had been meaning to do oneself, yet in reading Mrs. Smith's vivid pages, rendering so well the tang of Hausa speech, remorse and regret are forgotten in admiration of the work accomplished.

As Professor Daryll Forde says in his preface, only a woman could have obtained this detailed account of a Moslem Hausa woman's life, an account obviously given freely and frankly and, one would guess, with many a chuckle at the vagaries of human nature and the tricks of fate. The story begins about 1890 and goes on to 1950, thus covering a vital period of the history of Northern Nigeria. But Baba is so taken up with family affairs, with her own and others' frequent marriages and divorces, with births and deaths, feastings and dances, that she seldom casts a glance on wider scenes. Her few references to the coming of the white man are happily laudatory, since their coming meant the cessation of the many slave raids and kidnappings, descriptions of which fill her first chapters; fortunately she is more explicit, not to say garrulous, concerning the life within the compounds.

It is perhaps this that makes her story so valuable: she describes 'from the inside' as it were, and within the easy flow of her own narrative. There is no striving after effect or seeking to say what she thinks her white listener wishes to hear. She gives significant details which no elaborate questioning could have brought out, simply because they amuse and interest her and form part of her own personal and, on the whole, happy memories. There are also most human touches, and shrewd appraisals and criticisms which reveal once more how unsafe it is to regard the African woman as a mere pawn in the man's game. If one thinks Baba is exceptional, one has but to read the story of Hasana, or the description of Gude in her golden-yellow mantle with the silver tassels riding ahead on her beautiful mare . . .

But the book is not only of value as an, at present, unique human document; it has a wider importance as giving us sidelights on such questions as kinship, joking relationships, the adoption of 'substitute offspring' by childless mothers, bond friendship between women, 'marriage of alms,' the manifestations and implications of *bori*, and other vestiges of pre-Islamic beliefs.

This double interest, enhanced by the excellent introduction and notes, should win for Baba's story a wide public. S. LEITH-ROSS

AMERICA

Excavations at Wari, Ayacucho, Peru. *By W. C. Bennett.* **On the Excavation of a Shell Mound at Palo Seco, Trinidad, B.W.I.** *By J. A. Bullbrook. Yale Univ. Publ. in Anthrop., Nos. 49 and 50. New Haven (Yale U.P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1953. Pp. 126, 114. Price $3*

172 The first part of this volume is a posthumous work of our Honorary Fellow, Professor Wendell Bennett, and it is fortunate that he left it practically ready for publication, since it adds one more to his long series of notable contributions to South American archæology. The excavations he describes were done in 1950 at the very large habitation site in the Mantaro Basin spelt variously Wari and Huari. The basin lies in the highlands northwest of that of Cuzco in an archæologically strategic position in relation to the southern coastal valleys, but it has been little studied so far. Professor Bennett distinguished two main periods with an intermediate one, the earlier or Wari period being by far the most prominent. This shares many features, including dressed stone construction and carved stone statues, with the Classic period at the important ceremonial centre of Tiahuanaco, with which it seems to be contemporary, but it has features of its own which make Bennett regard it as basically indigenous to the valley. The most important pottery style, however, is closely related to the coastal Tiahuanaco pottery and textiles, though the coast lacks what Bennett calls 'the total Wari culture,' including some pottery styles, the stone-working and some non-ceramic artifacts. To account for this, he puts forward the hypothesis, to be tested by future work, that the spread of Tiahuanaco influence was a religious one backed by strong military force. He suggests that Wari was directly invaded by people from the Tiahuanaco area, and that the spread to the coast was from the Wari district. An interesting by-product of the work was the discovery of sherds of the Marañon 'cursive' style which must be direct importations from the Cajamarca basin in the extreme north, though there was also an indigenous cursive style, probably influenced by the Cajamarca one.

The idea that the Tiahuanaco spread was basically religious is not new, but what Professor Gordon Willey has called its 'obliterative quality' makes the idea of a military backing practically certain. Bennett suggests that the motifs found at Tiahuanaco on stone carvings, but at Wari and on the coast on pottery and textiles, were carried from one area to the others on textiles, a very probable explanation which cannot be proved because textiles have only been preserved on the coast. Many problems in connexion with Wari remain to be solved, and the book contains suggestions for further field work which should be done. Many of his friends will deeply regret that Bennett is not here to follow them up.

The British West Indies have never received the attention they deserve from British archæologists, and the credit for nearly all the modern work there is due to the Americans, particularly the Yale

school. Mr. Bullbrook is one of the few exceptions, and he is a geologist with archæological experience, including work at Jebel Moya; it was due to his initiative, with the support of Sir John Chancellor, then Governor of Trinidad, that his work at Palo Seco was done in 1919. The artifacts found and the report went to the British Museum, and the human remains to Sir Arthur Keith, with the intention that the report should be published by the Royal Anthropological Institute. This was delayed, at the author's request, until Sir Arthur Keith's report should be ready, but he was unable to complete it for some years owing to pressure of other work 'by which time the Institute lost interest.' In the mean time Mr. Bullbrook continued to live in Trinidad, but he was ploughing a lonely furrow, because Sir John Chancellor left and his successors were not interested in archæology, so little more could be done until 1939, when various amateur enthusiasts arrived and, a little later, the Yale school began its work. Most of this was done by Dr. Rouse, whose excavations have confirmed Mr. Bullbrook's conclusions; in fact his work was so well done that Rouse considered the report worth publishing as it stood, with the addition of a few footnotes and an appendix giving a summary of what is to be found on other sites on the island, both by himself.

The people who lived on the Palo Seco mound, at two stages separated by a short interval, ate mainly shellfish, fish and game, and though there is no direct evidence of agriculture, they probably cultivated some plants. A very few bone and shell artifacts were found, also some simple polished stone celts, mostly of stone foreign to the island. The potsherds come mainly from bowls, and their most noticeable feature is a large variety of zoomorphic lugs; they form the basis of one stage, the Palo Seco style, in a succession of related types which Rouse has established in Trinidad and has described in MAN, 1947, 103. The Palo Seco stage is entirely pre-Columbian. A fact which emerges from Rouse's part in the present publication is the existence of a pre-ceramic stage in Trinidad, which had not been recognized when he wrote in MAN.

Rouse's full publication is yet to come, but in his summary he concludes that the pre-Columbian Indians of Trinidad lived in a simple way and did not share in the ceremonial developments of other parts of the Caribbean, which are exemplified by such things as three-pointed stones, ball courts and elaborate burials. Throughout his editorial comments Rouse pays generous tribute to Bullbrook's work, which has at long last received the recognition it deserves.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

The Chugach Eskimo. *By Kaj Birket-Smith. Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Roekke VI. Copenhagen, 1953. Pp. ix, 262*

173 We knew very little about the Chugach Eskimo of King William Sound, in the Gulf of Alaska, before the author's visit in 1933. We were not certain, indeed, that they really were Eskimos, and not Indians deeply tinged with Eskimo culture. Their number was never great, only 500–600 according to the estimates of Meares and other explorers of the late eighteenth century; and it has now shrunk, we are told, to about 200. The present population, too, has become greatly Europeanized, at least outwardly. However, the author was able to obtain a surprising amount of information concerning their social life and religious beliefs in earlier times, and still more concerning their material culture. He sets this forth with his usual lucidity in the first half of the book, and adds a number of traditions and folk tales recorded in English. He then analyses his material, relating it to what we know from other regions; and, finally, appends some excellent linguistic notes, both lexical and grammatical. These notes deserve much closer study than I have had time to give them, for besides proving that the Chugach spoke an Eskimo, not an Indian tongue, they suggest that the King William Sound dialect may have been closer to the Arctic ('Inupik') group than to those spoken in the intermediate region along the Bering Sea coast.

In his analytical section the author breaks down Chugach culture into 278 discrete elements, traces the diffusion of these elements in the circumpolar regions and adjacent areas, and assesses their significance in interpreting the complex and still obscure history of Eskimo origins and wanderings. He concludes that 'the culture of the Chugach . . . is essentially an Eskimo culture based upon both Paleo- and Neo-Eskimo foundations, with some archaic and a few local or at least South Alaskan traits, but highly modified by foreign influences, some of which spread from the interior of Alaska and others directly from Asia, while the majority was derived from the Northwest Coast of America' (p. 234).

Historical reconstructions based on a comparative study of culture traits must necessarily check with the conclusions derived from archæological discoveries. The author has tried to apply this check, but during the last few years discoveries have succeeded one another so rapidly that theories which only yesterday seemed reasonable must today be thrown into the discard. It will not be surprising, therefore, if many anthropologists hesitate to follow the author in rejecting the Carbon 14 date for the Ipiutak site in North Alaska, and in accepting without qualification the Rainey-Larsen theory that Ipiutak predates the earliest Old Bering Sea horizon on St. Lawrence Island; and they may wish to reserve judgement on the validity of distinguishing two main phases in the development of circumpolar cultures—an Ice-hunting or 'coast' phase and a Snow-shoe or 'inland' phase—until they know more about the ages and relationships of the various 'microlithic' cultures that are now coming to light in many different localities—from Mongolia and the Lake Baikal region of eastern Siberia to Alaska (Cape Denbigh, Anaktuvuk Pass, and Fairbanks), and from Alaska to northern and central British Columbia (Liard River and Natalkuz Lake) on the one side, and Hudson Bay and Greenland (Dorset and pre-Dorset sites) on the other. At the same time, however, archæologists will need to correlate their own findings with the author's ethnographic data, and give full weight to the distribution of the various culture elements that he has so carefully worked out in this and earlier reports.

DIAMOND JENNESS

Inuk. *By Roger P. Buliard. London (Macmillan), 1953. Pp. vii, 338. Price £1 1s.*

174 It is always an inspiration to meet a man who has chosen his path in life from the urge to be of service to his fellows, and it was in this spirit that the author of *Inuk* set out to minister to the Eskimos. He was also impelled by the challenge of his faith.

Dedicated to a life of isolation and privation, he underwent a seven-year period of preparation for the priesthood, and when at last he found himself appointed to a missionary post at Coppermine in the North West Territories of Canada his first step in equipping himself for the fulfilment of his dream was to set out to learn the Eskimo language. The reader will agree that this was an estimable step to take: much that is obscure can be revealed through language. But a worker among primitive peoples needs also an understanding heart and a sympathetic mind. The anthropologist, also, discards his own standards of ethics and accepts what he finds without condemnation or appraisal. But Father Buliard was shocked by the crudities and perversities he found among his people and 'thanked God who had sent [him] to evangelize those who were so poor, physically and morally' that 'they were just like beasts.' He regards it as evidence of the sin of pride in the Eskimos that 'they introduce themselves to the world as, Inuoyugut: We are the men of the men, the men par excellence,' but is unaware of the parallel of the concept in his own mind when he states, 'They are greatly honoured when I go into a showhouse to eat with them.'

There is valuable material in this book: the way of life of the modern, but still primitive, Eskimo in the more remote north at Oloksartok on Victoria Island; his dependence on his dogs; his skill in hunting the polar bear, the seal and the caribou; the techniques by which he constructs and maintains his means of transportation, the sled and the kayak; evidences of the still surviving practice of shamanism—all are described by a man who in his 15 years among them learned to live by learning their skills. There are also vivid descriptions of Arctic storms; the recurrence of the two seasons; the beauty of the Northern Lights.

One perhaps gets a little tired, in reading books on the Canadian north, of the recurring theme of accusations of neglect and exploitation against officials of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Dominion Government. If it had not been for the impetus of the fur

trade, there would have been no route to the north. As for governmental neglect of the native, when one has seen the present-day policy of medical care for young and old in the Western Arctic—the prenatal supervision; maternity care; child welfare; the regular X-ray surveys; inoculations and hospital treatment—one can at least rejoice that enlightenment *has* been reached.

Besides presenting a powerful picture of life in the north, this book is also a chronicle of missionary endeavour, high endeavour and great achievement. The reader's appreciation of this is not enhanced by the author's apology for his failure to achieve more: 'In the forefront of Christian missionary work in the North stands the Catholic Church. . . . Yet the number of our converts is small for we are a minority in the country, and the Anglican church represents those with political power, the majority. . . . In some ways the Protestant religion seems to sit more comfortably with the Eskimo character . . . Faith unaccompanied by works. That is the kind of deal which appeals to the Eskimo imagination.' In describing the missionary work done in the North West Territories Father Buliard states: 'At the turn of the century, along the Mackenzie River, missions, schools and hospitals were blossoming. . . . But on the Arctic coast there was nothing.' It needs to be said that an Anglican mission had been established on Herschel Island in 1897, and the first Eskimo baptisms were into the Protestant faith at Kittigazuit in 1909. PHYLLIS M. TAYLOR

Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church. *By Dwight W. Culver. Yale Studies in Religious Education, No. 22. New Haven (Yale U.P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1953. Pp. xii, 218. Price £1*

175

Dr. Culver, a distinguished sociologist, here examines the racial 'policies' of America's largest Protestant denomination. Although termed a study 'of conflict in values,' it might equally well be thought of as an exposition of individual and collective rationalization reflecting accurately the historical panorama of America's attempt to deal with a grave problem. Hence it is perhaps inevitable that the line between scientific objectivity and value judgement is a fine one. Could this be the result of a mating of the historical and sociological approaches?

As a methodological device, Dr. Culver had divided the Methodist community (hierarchy and laity) into two groups, which appear to be mutually exclusive: the 'Integrationists' and 'Segregationists.' This division, cogently expressed by numerous direct communications to the author, does not cater for those people who happen to be Methodists and who find themselves squeezed between these two social systems and whose actions are variously determined by community, economic, social, and personal pressures. Dr. Culver obtained his material through personal interviews and mailed questionnaires (containing some very suggestive questions) directed solely at the Methodist hierarchy. Lay church members do not seem to have been incorporated in the operative sample.

Theoretically, the author is strongly opposed to the view that 'The Church' is a 'Social Institution' as it is conventionally viewed by sociologists. His own view, not made at all clear, leads him to 'describe the distinctive ideology and function of the churches.' One would have thought that Troeltch, Simmel, Wach and Liston Pope have created a sociology of religion on those lines. The author's use of the term function leads him to an unclear theoretical orientation and to more than a functional description of the racial 'policies' of Methodism.

The average middle-class Methodist soon learns that what the Negro wants is what he, the White Man, will let him have. He also learns that social integration is to be avoided to prevent any possible miscegenation. Hence, segregation is not an evil but an instrument of the social order. For the Negro Methodist, some 346,000, it remains only too true that the White Man's floor is the Negro's ceiling. This will be so as long as the Negro is organized into a predominantly separate 'Central Jurisdiction,' a device which helped to reunite, after bitter factionalism between Northern and Southern Methodism, the whole Methodist community. Methodists had learned that they could not be openly hostile to the institution of slavery. Yet there is much evidence that the Negro is not always treated as an equal in the 'free' Northern Methodist Churches.

Numerically, Methodism has made little impact on the 13,000,000 Negroes who continue to find greater satisfaction in the 'livelier' denominations, the evangelical sects and ecstatic cults. Of 8,000,000 church-going Protestant Negroes, 7,500,000 meet in separate Negro churches. They may be happy there, but they are not likely to misinterpret God's message to all men. PETER C. W. GUTKIND

ASIA

Khirokitia: Final Report on the Excavations of a Neolithic Settlement in Cyprus on Behalf of the Department of Antiquities, 1936-46. *By P. Dikaios. O.U.P., 1953. Pp. xxii, 447. Price £8 8s.*

176

Thanks to the patient work of Mr. Dikaios and his colleagues, the neolithic cultures of Cyprus are now better known than those of any other part of the eastern Mediterranean. Although no site of long and continuous occupation has yet been found, the cultural sequence has been traced back, by bracketing a series of excavations, from Erimi through Troulli and Sotira to Khirokitia, the earliest neolithic settlement yet found on the island. This was a village of round *tholos* dwellings, usually containing richly furnished burials. It was on the southern slopes of the Troödos range, about four miles from the sea, and just above a river to which there was access by means of a paved road. The remains, in which the excavator recognized three levels, are four metres deep, and represent, it is calculated, three centuries of occupation, extending from about 3700 to 3400 B.C.

The place is unique among east Mediterranean neolithic sites by reason of its abundant and skilful stonework, including quantities of stone vessels and figurines, as well as a great variety of tanged points, burins and backed blades. A little crude and perhaps experimental grey pottery was found in the lower levels, but this has no connexion with the painted pottery which intruded suddenly at the last stage.

Even by the standards of the earliest neolithic at Mersin, the Khirokitia culture wears a very archaic look. Yet the intrusive pottery sets a firm lower date, and the spouted red-burnished jugs and the high-necked painted jars with comb ornament, whose nearest parallels at Mersin are in Level XIX, cannot be earlier than Halafian.

Consequently, the Khirokitia culture must be considered as a very late survival by mainland standards—a conclusion confirmed by Dr. Angel's study of the human remains, which show features of short-headedness and pædomorphism produced by long isolation and inbreeding. The island seems at this period, as also later, to have been culturally retarded, and this must be kept in mind when comparing the Khirokitia remains with those of pre-pottery levels on mainland sites (pp. 337f.).

The report is most carefully and fully documented, with copious maps and illustrations, and is in consequence bulky and expensive. Since many of the *tholoi* are very similar, it may be hoped that Mr. Dikaios will also prepare, for the benefit of small libraries, a shorter and more selective publication, perhaps including extracts from the accounts of his other neolithic excavations, which are now printed in a number of journals and are not easily accessible.

W. C. BRICE

A Village in Anatolia. *By Mahmut Makal, translated from the Turkish by Sir Wyndham Deedes, with a Foreword by Professor Lewis V. Thomas and edited by Paul Stirling. London (Vallentine, Mitchell), 1954. Pp. xvi, 190. Price 18s.*

177

Mahmut Makal, himself of village origin, is a young Turkish village school-teacher who, moved by the ignorance, suffering, poverty and superstition he saw around him, wrote a book (*Our Village*) about his day-to-day experiences. This book, which appeared just before the 1950 elections, caused a great stir in Turkey,

and the author received both severe blame and extravagant praise. *A Village in Anatolia* consists of extracts from *Our Village* and from a sequel, *From My Village,* published in 1952.

The villages of Anatolia differ greatly from district to district, and the conditions described by Makal are typical only of the poor semi-nomadic communities of the central plateau, in a season of exceptional famine. Even so, the kinds of hardship he reveals include nothing new to anyone familiar with rural Turkey. What is surprising is that this account should have caused such a sensation in the capital. It would seem that the gulf between town and countryside in Anatolia is as wide now as it was in the time of St. Paul.

In this English version considerable liberties have been taken with Makal's books. Much of the rough vigour of the rustic dialect is unavoidably lost, and the photographs show a landscape more mellow than that described. Moreover, the text has been shortened and rearranged, so that it now looks more like an ordered thesis than impetuous random notes. Even so, the translator manages to convey both the humourless adolescent zeal of the author and his intense abbreviated style, which occasionally recalls Doughty's.

The editor has written a cautionary introduction and explanatory footnotes, but he over-simplifies his theme by treating the struggle in rural Turkey as one between traditional Islamic practice and European ways. In fact many of the customs castigated by Makal, such as those of paying respect to religious fraternities and making pilgrimages to holy places for cures, are in origin neither Islamic nor Turkish, but old Anatolian. They are by no means as mischievous as Makal contends, and having ridden out many storms before, they will certainly survive the very desirable material improvements which Makal's books have helped to speed on.

W. C. BRICE

CORRESPONDENCE

'The South Seas in Transition.' *Cf.* MAN, 1954, 40

178 SIR,—I would not ordinarily reply to a review criticism if it were based on even fairly sound grounds. But I do not think this can be said of several criticisms Dr. Belshaw has made of my book *The South Seas in Transition.*

I refer mainly to his statements that it is either caricature or undisciplined terminology to say, as I did, that the (traditional) Melanesians did not find it necessary to 'economize time' or 'progressively to provide capital for future security', and that I am 'unable to admit the possibility of peasant economic development.'

Now, I made it plain enough that an economizing of resources is always implicit in Melanesian life, sometimes fairly explicit, sufficiently so anyway to allow the use of pre-arranged concepts drawn from theoretical economics. If this were not so there would, of course, be no 'economy' to describe. But the concepts must obey the data, not rule them.

I could find nothing in traditional Melanesian cultures which put a premial value on the deliberated savings of time, even on its close calculation in economic matters. Nor could I find anything in the social organizations to be regarded as a reward system or a penalty system connected with the careful, let alone the economic, use of time.

On the other hand, the uses of land, equipment and labour were obviously more measured and careful, sufficiently so anyway to allow one to speak of economic uses, without too great a strain. They were *husbanded* resources in a sense in which time was not.

The difference is between an implicit economizing and a cognitive economizing. Dr. Belshaw may not see the need for a distinction at the explanatory level because he may not have made himself aware of the empirical distinction or, if he has done so, may not think it important. If this is the case, he simply has not grasped the problem.

It is, clearly, the implicitness of the attitude to the economic use of time which remains one of the great blockages in development even *after* the uses of land, etc., have become more rationalized.

I see no caricature of the facts in thus saying that in the traditional system time was not 'economized.' And my intention was to correct a looseness in terminology which already exists.

The misunderstanding of my reference to capital-building is of the same kind.

The key word in my phrase 'progressively to provide capital' is of course, 'progressively.' The reason why Melanesian economies need to be 'developed,' that is, made 'progressive,' is that in their traditional state they are stationary. The stationariness is in part an effect of a particular ethos, in part a technological effect, and in part an effect of the absence of any positive capital-building. The three things are interdependent, hence the 'vicious circle' so often referred to in the literature.

I was unable to find anywhere in primitive Melanesia even a hint of true progressiveness in the building of stocks or funds of a capital nature. The production of garden surpluses and the accumulation of exchange media can scarcely be regarded as such. There is capital maintenance, but replenishment is not the same thing, or process, as capital-building. Here again is an empirical situation which needs distinctions to be drawn at the explanatory level.

I see no caricature in my usage. It appears to me to represent the situation exactly. Nor can I see looseness in the phrasing. Many of Dr. Belshaw's other pejoratives seem as unfounded. What I have done is really very simple. I decided to examine a number of assumptions, optimisms and credulities which are held by other people. Some I found without intellectual justification, some merely confused, some supported only by sentiment.

By a process of mirror-writing, Dr. Belshaw is able to transform these conclusions into 'pessimism,' 'inability to admit' this or that, 'naivété' and so on. In other words, what are no more than policy ends are set up as absolute criteria. I will simply say that, whatever this is, it is not criticism.

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New Painting Sites in the Brandberg, South-West Africa

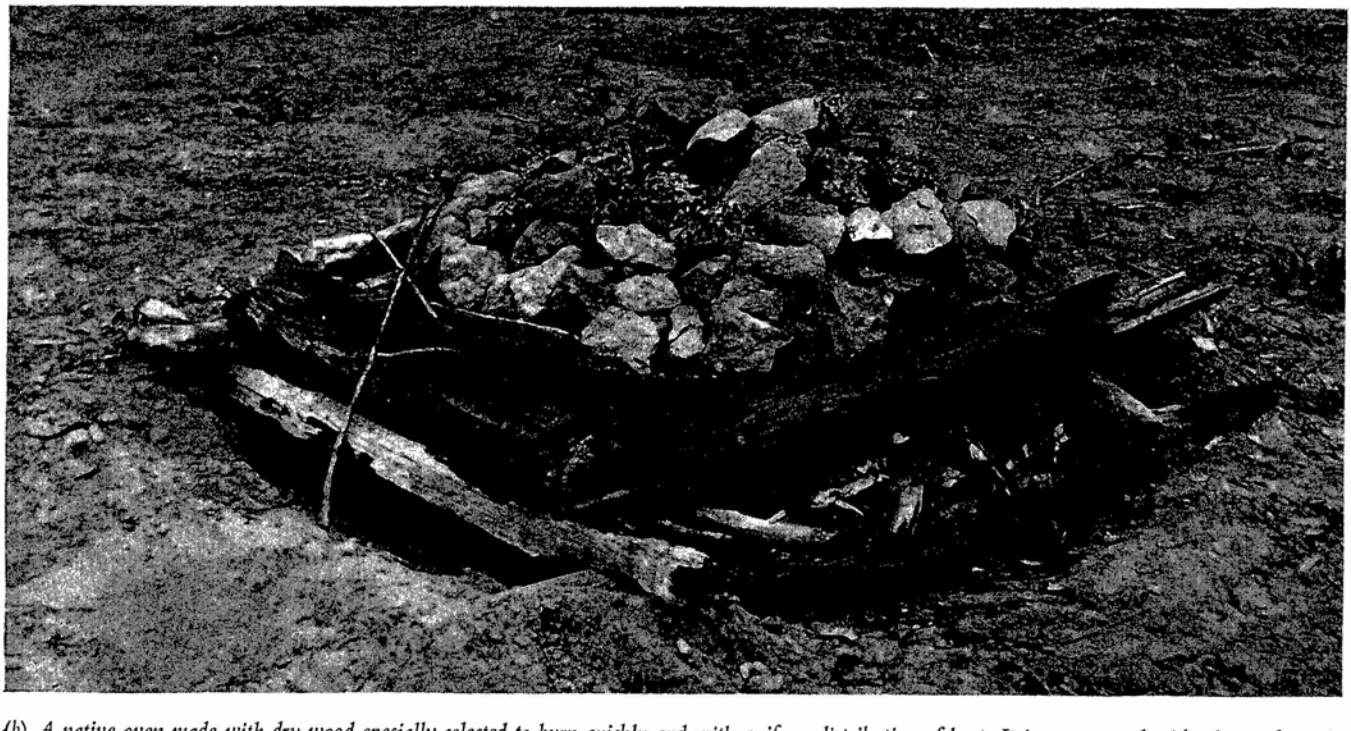
179 SIR,—The prehistoric rock paintings of the Tsisab Ravine, Brandberg Mountain, have been known for many years. First Maack, then Frœbenius and now the Abbé Breuil have drawn the attention of the world to these remarkable works of art.

In March, 1954, I worked on the Tsisab paintings with the object of determining cultural associations at the painting sites. A week was spent in exploring the mountain. While traversing the north ridge of the Brandberg, about 4000 feet above the level of the Tsisab site, I discovered a hitherto unknown valley containing nine new painting sites. One of these sites is outstanding by virtue of a remarkable painting covering about 24 square feet of rock surface. This painting is almost entirely abstract in composition and as such is unique in prehistoric African rock art, which is almost all naturalistic in conception. Here at the new site, for the first time, is a painting conceived in terms of colour areas, carefully balanced and organized to give the impression that the artist represented an idea in the abstract and was not merely playing with colour. Were its associations and situation unknown, this new painting could easily be assigned to the atelier of some European painter in the twentieth-century abstract tradition. The painting appears to belong to the 'Maack Shelter' period, and is associated with a number of other paintings at the same site. The subject matter of these associated paintings is important from the dating point of view.

I have completed a preliminary description, have made natural-size copies on cellophane at the site, and intend to publish a preliminary description of these remarkable new art sites in the near future.

R. J. MASON
Assistant Professional Officer
Archæological Survey, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

(*a*) *A fishing party plastering with mud the face of a weir used to dam up water in the fishing technique known as* gorl. *Much skill and experience are required to build a wall with wet clay that will withstand water.*



(*b*) *A native oven made with dry wood specially selected to burn quickly and with uniform distribution of heat. It is surmounted with pieces of termite mound or antbed which will be raised to incandescent heat when the pyre has burned out.*

THE MOULDING OF CLAY IN ARNHEM LAND

Photographs: D. F. Thomson

THE MOULDING OF CLAY IN ARNHEM LAND*

by

DONALD F. THOMSON, O.B.E., PH.D., D.SC.
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I80 The absence of pottery or the knowledge of the moulding of clay among the Australian aborigines and other primitive people at a similar level of material culture has long been accepted.

In Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia, water is carried by the aborigines in vessels made from the bark of a tea tree, *Melaleuca spp.*, chiefly *M. leucadendron*, or *barrukalla*, and sometimes in woven baskets which are known generically as *bati*, of which one type is called *bati marind* or just *marind*. Sometimes these *bati marind* are smeared inside and out with the black wax of the native bee, called *kallanyin*, to make them impervious to water. Less frequently wooden water vessels were made. Shells were also used as balers, dippers, scoops, and vessels for carrying water, and were adapted for this use by cutting hand grips and by the fitting of handles of cane or bast fibre.

It seems possible that vessels of more permanent type made from shell, which are widely used among coastal people, might have served as models and furnished an incentive for the development of pottery. But in spite of the introduction of cooking pots and other earthenware vessels by the early voyagers from Macassar and Celebes and elsewhere in Indonesia, the natives of this area never adopted the art of pottery as they did the carving of wood and the working of iron. Once provided with iron, the people of Eastern Arnhem Land quickly acquired the technique for working it. They never learned to use heat but beat the iron out cold, in this way shaping expertly spearheads called *kaiyit*, and even knives. They also learned to cut wooden dugout canoes, called *lippa lippa*, on the pattern of the craft which were brought by the visiting *praus* and used as tenders for fishing operations of the Macassar people. They adopted the characteristic sails and the masts and carved mast steppings that accompanied the *lippa lippa*. From the Macassar people the Arnhem-Landers learned to carve in the round and made grave posts surmounted by human heads, skilfully executed but displaying unmistakably the stamp of the conventionalized Indonesian influence which inspired them. They also adopted many other elements of material culture as well as ceremonial objects[1] which have had an important influence on their culture.

Mr. and Mrs. Berndt[2] have published recently a paper entitled 'Discovery of Pottery in North-East Arnhem Land,' in which they describe the finding of potsherds and other evidence of Macassar occupation in Eastern Arnhem Land. The title of this paper is unfortunate, for it places undue emphasis on what was only one aspect of the extensive culture contact and 'contact metamorphosis' resulting from the visits of the early Indonesian voyagers to this area over a long period. This account points the fact that the aborigines did not learn the art of pottery but that they rejected it, although as I have said, they did adopt the techniques for carving wood and working iron, and proved very adept at them.

FIG. 1. RUDIMENTARY SCULPTURE IN NORTH CENTRAL ARNHEM LAND
A small girl with breasts moulded in mud feeding a mud doll which she supports realistically on a sheet of paper bark. A typical mud breast measured 970 × 380 millimetres.

The rejection by the aborigines of Arnhem Land of pottery, particularly if, as stated by Mr. and Mrs. Berndt, the technique of this industry was actually demonstrated to them in their own territory by the seafarers from Macassar who employed local materials with which they were familiar, is of some interest. It should be pointed out that these people had already learned, apart from this Indonesian influence, how to work clay in a wet and plastic

* *With Plate H and a text figure. The expeditions of which this work forms a part were carried out under commission for the Commonwealth Government by Dr. Thomson, who was on loan from the University of Melbourne*

state, and they employed this material skilfully for forming the breastwork of certain fish weirs. They used mud to mould life-size replicas of human breasts as playthings for children. They made also, although much less skilfully, somewhat amorphous 'dolls' which were used by children in conjunction with the moulded breasts. The people of north-east Arnhem Land employed beeswax also to mould the heads, hands and feet of animals and supernatural beings, which served as ceremonial objects, sometimes naturalistic, at others highly symbolical and with mystical import. For these the people used the wax already referred to (*kallanyin*) collected from native bees, black or chocolate in colour and becoming soft when worked by hand. But this material does not become hard and lacks the permanence of clay.

In many parts of Arnhem Land occurs a stiff blue-grey mud of fine texture which can be worked almost like plasticine. As long ago as 1803 this mud attracted the attention of Matthew Flinders[3] when, on rounding Cape Barrow and entering what is now Blue Mud Bay, he made the following observations:

> The bottom here, and in most other parts of the Bay, is a blue mud of so fine a quality, that I judge it would be useful in the manufacture of earthenware, and I thus called it, Blue-mud Bay.

Mud of similar texture and of a high degree of impermeability to water occurred also on the Glyde River, Castlereagh Bay, on the northern shoreline of Arnhem Land. Here, in adaptation to the peculiar local geographical conditions, a remarkable type of fish trap called *gorl*[4] was developed, its distribution restricted to this one area. The successful operation of this trap depends on the construction of a wall impervious to water, to dam up the flood waters which are draining back into the main channel of the Glyde at the end of the wet season. This weir is constructed by erecting forked sticks at intervals across the stream, driving these deep into the mud, resting poles across these forks and again placing a palisade of strong saplings upright against the transverse timbers. The fence thus formed across the stream is now faced with a layer of grass and this in turn is plastered with thick blue clay. The clay, which is reinforced and protected against water erosion by the mat of grass, is laid on by hand by a team of men standing in the water (Plate H*a*). This mud is plastered over the face of the weir and carefully smoothed by hand. By means of this breastwork the level of the water is raised about three feet, and the trap operates for upwards of a week without any breakaway of the wall, thus demonstrating not only the skill of the builders and the impermeability of the clay, but also their understanding of its properties. This is the same locality in which the human breasts which I have described are made. Each breast is moulded around a central supporting stick to which a piece of twine is secured so that the breasts can be suspended around the neck of a child to hang down on each side of her chest (fig. 1). This playing at mothers is typical of the imitative games of Arnhem Land children, who spend much of their childhood mimicking in play the activities of their elders.

The significant feature of the building of fish weirs faced with clay and the moulding of this material into a very good resemblance of a human breast is that it shows that the aborigines of Arnhem Land had themselves made two important discoveries. They had already learned sufficient about the physical properties of this mud to fix and use, in terms of their own culture, the smooth plastic clay of the Glyde River area to render a wall impervious to water and to withstand a considerable amount of pressure for periods of a week or more, and they had started to mould this material in the round, forming it into the shape of a human breast. Although they dried these moulded breasts, and without producing cracks, they did so by the aid of air and sun alone, and not by fire. It is suggested that this represents an important advance towards the employment of clay for the making of pots and other domestic utensils. The same people had long been accustomed to heating pieces of broken termite mound or 'antbed' to incandescent heat for use in ovens of their own construction. This was done by fires skilfully made of dry wood selected to assure quick and even combustion, thus leaving the pieces of broken termite mound raised to an even, red or white heat (see Plate H*b*).

An instance in which a plastic material of another kind was used in a wet condition was recorded by early observers from the neighbourhood of Lake Eyre. Here a white compound of burned gypsum with an admixture of sand, called *kopi*, was plastered on the head of a widow during mourning. Material was added to these so-called 'widow's caps' until they sometimes attained large size and bulk.

Examples of so-called 'aboriginal sculpture' were described by R. H. Goddard from Queensland,[5] and other figures moulded in clay have been figured by Dr. Leonhard Adam[6] from the Kimberley area of Western Australia. But these show unmistakable influence of outside cultures and cannot be regarded as examples or adaptations of aboriginal techniques.

Professor Gordon Childe[7] has said that the development of pottery has a great significance for human thought and for the beginning of science. He suggests also that processes involved in pot-making are probably the earliest conscious utilization by man of chemical change.

A study of the material culture of the Australian aborigines suggests, however, that even earlier in their evolutionary development primitive people heated various materials which they learned, by chance, or by a process of trial and error, changed colour when subjected to heat, and produced the pigments of the colours they required. The people of Caledon Bay, in eastern Arnhem Land, were accustomed to collecting yellow clay or yellow mudstone and to heating it to obtain a brick-red ochre. Large quantities of red ochre manufactured in this way were transmitted within the ceremonial exchange cycle in this area.

In North Queensland the natives are in the habit of heating the fleshy greenish-coloured stems of a *Dendrobium* in which the outer skin turns a rich golden yellow. The epidermis is stripped off, scraped and used for the adornment of personal possessions, particularly for the

tubular holders in which the fire sticks are carried when not in use. When the colour has been changed in this way it will remain for years without further alteration—another example of chemical change brought about by the natives deliberately, by the application of heat.

These facts suggest that the aborigines of Northern Australia were in possession of the essential knowledge for the moulding of clay and the making of pottery—not as the result of culture contact or acculturation, but as a development of their own traditional culture. It would be interesting to know just what stimulus would have been required to have achieved this advance.

Notes

1 See D. F. Thomason, 'Arnhem Land: Explorations Among an Unknown People,' *Geograph. J.*, Vols. CXII, CXIII, CXIV, 1948–49, 'Indonesian Influence,' Vol. CXIV, pp. 58–61; and *Economic Structure and the Ceremonial Exchange Cycle in Arnhem Land*, Melbourne and London, 1949.

2 R. M. and C. H. Berndt in *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2 (1947, published 1951), pp. 133–8.

3 *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, 1814, p. 199.

4 For an account of this remarkable fishing technique see my article in MAN, 1938, 216.

5 'Aboriginal Sculpture,' *Austr. and N.Z. Assoc. Adv. Sci.*, Vol. XXIV (1929), pp. 160–3.

6 *Primitive Art*, London (Pelican Books), revised 1948, p. 187.

7 *Man Makes Himself*, 1951, p. 90.

SHAMANISM IN THE SHAKER RELIGION OF NORTHWEST AMERICA*

by

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181 The Shakers discussed in this paper should be sharply distinguished from the Shakers of England and New England. The latter, and better-known, Shakers owed their origin to Ann Lee, a native of Manchester, who emigrated to America in 1774. There is no connexion between them and the Indian Shakers of the Northwest Coast except the correspondence of name which was based in each case upon the fact that devotees 'shook' when at the height of religious participation. Since, however, this is a phenomenon which occurs among many religions in various parts of the world, it is not in itself sufficient to form a link between them. In geography, chronology, history, doctrine and ritual, the two religions are distinct.

The Indian Shaker Church of the Northwest is an indigenous sect, founded and spread by American Indians in the State of Washington. They belong to the larger region of the Coast Salish among whom various beliefs, and some practices, of pre-contact religion are still in existence. Many Coast Salish now belong to and are regular attendants of Roman Catholic and Protestant churches; and many are Shakers. The sect has, indeed, spread beyond them. At the present time it is active in places east of the Cascade Mountains and in Oregon and parts of northwestern California.[1] It also embraces a small number of whites.

The sect is avowedly Christian and contains a number of elements obviously Christian in derivation. The wooden churches are reminiscent of New England with steeples at one end above the doors. The interior is plain with an altar, facing the main entrance, complete with white altar cloth, candles, religious pictures and texts, and large handbells which are used during the services. Services bear many resemblances to services in other Christian faiths. Shakers pray, read and quote the Bible, say grace at meals, and often have home altars which contain the same accoutrements as those of the churches. Ethics have a Puritan cast and good Shakers refrain from drinking alcohol and smoking. The inspiration of the sect, moreover, lies in Christ, and His name is called upon in prayer, preaching and testimonial.

It is not, however, with the Christian aspects of the sect that this paper is concerned. The persistence of native beliefs among the Coast Salish has been suggested above, and Waterman noted in 1922 that dominant elements in the sect had been taken bodily from aboriginal shamanism.[2] Spier, in 1935, agreed with this judgment, only adding: 'But an even better case can be made than he presents.'[3] I believe that I can follow one step farther in the same direction and say of Spier as he had of Waterman that an even better case may be made than he allowed for. The founder of the sect was a Sahehwamish from the neighbourhood of what is now Shelton, on 'Mud Bay,' and to control the data more carefully I shall limit the area covered to this southern Puget Sound region, and the time to approximately the first 25 years of the sect's existence.

Not only did native practices persist in the new sect, but it can also be shown that the new religion arose where the old practices were most active and that it attracted persons who were themselves engaged in the old ways. Although it is often bracketed with 'nativistic movements,' I suggest in this paper that a new concept of native religious cults is necessary to explain the Shaker sect. This suggested concept is called here a 'vitalistic' movement and is defined at the end of the paper.

According to present-day Shaker doctrine[4]:

> An Indian by the name of John Slocum died at Shelton, Washington. His relations went to Olympia in a canoe to buy a casket, and while they were gone he came back to life again. He told the people that he had died and gone to the gates of heaven, but could not get in because he had not lived the right kind of Christian life, so that he was sent back to be reborn. He was told to tell the people . . ., spent his life as a preacher among the Indians and founded the Shaker Church.

* *The substance of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 3 June, 1954*

This occurred in 1881, 1882, or 1883, the exact year being uncertain.

Other accounts add the fact that it was Mrs. Slocum, John's wife, who first got the 'shakes'[5]:

> The year following his return from the dead, John Slocum was taken ill. His relatives wished to have a regular Indian shaman for him but he refused. His wife was greatly upset, later fell down on the beach in a faint and when she came to the Holy Spirit had come to her. She started shaking and organized a ritual which the Shaker service now closely follows. With this ritual John Slocum was cured.

All informants from the southern Sound include the incident concerning John Slocum's cure by Mrs. Slocum. An example of such an account, taken from my field notes, was given in 1935 by Joe L. Young, then resident upon the Skokomish Reservation. He joined the Shakers soon after they started but had not attended services for a number of years because 'those new Shakers aren't like the old ones':

> When John Slocum died in October, 1883, he came alive after four hours. But after that he used to spit green. His wife, Mary Slocum, cured him from that. She had been going without food and praying, and she had a message from Tom, her father, and her brother came to her, and they told her how to preach and live. He knew when he came alive he would have to die in August, 1884.[6] He brought news from heaven about the morals. He predicted a horseless wagon.

The significance of this incident only emerges when the old shamanism of this area is reviewed. All Indians of the southern Sound obtained guardian spirits and most people had a number of such spirits or 'powers' as they are locally termed in English. Two kinds of power were distinguished, *sqelalitut* and *tudab*, and these are often described as ethically distinct, *i.e.* as good and bad, black or white. The latter, *tudab*, was peculiarly associated with warriors and shamans who also, however, had *sqelalitut* powers. Actually both kinds of power were potentially dangerous. And both had to be pragmatically validated. Claims were worthless without demonstration.[7] In fact, demonstration was considered so essential that any feat of skill or ability might be hailed by others as proof of power possession whether or not the person concerned claimed such power.[8]

There is abundant evidence of a general surge of activity in our area attempting to merge the old and the new. In 1880, services were instituted on the Skokomish Reservation in competition with the missionary, the Revd. M. Eells, by an Indian who claimed to have had visions which led him to repudiate the shamans. Another Skokomish, Mowitch Man, started by following Slocum but, depending largely on his own dreams, set up separately so that as Eells says somewhat ironically 'we had a third church.' Another man, Big John, 'shook' at the first large Shaker meeting and then started a short-lived group of his own at Mud Bay.[9]

In giving this background, Spier also cites evidence on the prevalence of incidents in which men 'died' and returned to life. It is noticeable, however, that these particular accounts contain no hint of such a return and the only case Spier gives for neighbours of the Sahehwamish is from the Snohomish, who were not really close neighbours at all. It is true that trips to the land of the dead were made by local shamans but these were specifically to recapture the souls of patients stolen by the dead and there was no idea that the shaman 'died' when he made the journey.[10] Although the beliefs associated with this ceremony might be expected to lead toward acceptance of the Resurrection, shamans claimed neither the power of resurrection nor that of resuscitation.[11] Proof of their own journeys to the land of the dead lay in the cure of the patient whose soul had been stolen. Cures formed the bases for all shamans' claims to power and there is little wonder that a cure is involved in the one incident which found local acceptance. John Slocum himself seems to have turned against shamanism. But before his moral teaching gained acceptance, demonstration of his Holy Spirit by curing was necessary. It only seems to have been later, or in other local areas, that Slocum's return from the dead with its substantiating circumstances forms sufficient validation for the acceptance of his teaching.

The greatest prestige went to the southern Sound leader who succeeded without making explicit use of power. His very success was regarded as his power demonstration and the less ostentatiously this was achieved the greater was the respect shown him. In contrast, the shaman or warrior demonstrated his power in contests with others. One 'disease' was caused by the intrusion of someone else's power into the patient, and the essence of curing lay in the shaman pitting the strength of his power against that of the intrusive power. A cure was thus achieved by a direct competition of powers and the dramatizing of this competition formed the ritual of cure. When the shaman succeeded in capturing the intrusive power, he might either 'let it go' or 'kill it.' In the latter case, the person whose power it was died. A successful cure, therefore, might involve killing. This was acceptable behaviour and could be accomplished by *sqelalitut* powers as well as by *tudab*.

By playing the passive role, and allegedly allowing his wife to demonstrate the new power by curing him with it, John Slocum may have acquired the respect generally reserved for the non-shamanistic leader. Such a factor would be difficult to establish from the material available to us. It is possible, however, to cite evidence that early Shaker cures could involve killing.

> Alice James and I used to go around and shake to cure people. Once we were called to cure someone whom the Shakers had given up. We shook one night until one o'clock and then I walked four miles home. The next day the patient felt better. When we came the fifth day, the patient was sitting up and he felt better. This night we shook until two o'clock and they asked us to stay there the rest of the night. When we had started the patient could barely whisper he was so weak. Now he was up and about and he got well. Just before dawn the night we stayed there, an old woman in the house screamed and woke up. She said a great fish had tried to swallow her. This was the same power that had made the patient sick, we had driven it out and it had tried to get the old woman. But it failed . . .
>
> Alice James' brother, who lived over at Cowlitz, was dying and she was called. She and I went over. When we got there late on the night train some other Shakers had already finished shaking but we started anyway. The other Shakers did not help us. We shook and finally both of us were led toward one section of the room. Then an old man Shaker jumped up

> and danced and sung before us trying to hinder us. He knew what was going on. But we got the . . . [power] which was making the brother sick and we threw it away. The next day the brother died and within a week an old woman died. We had thrown her . . . [power] away because she was the one who had made the patient die and so she died . . .[12]

In these instances, the practitioners regarded themselves as Shakers, but it is evident that they were not in complete accord with the other Shakers they mention. The Shaker Church has had considerable doctrinal dissension,[13] but this smacks of something else. It may well be that the practices of these local Shakers were too much in an old shamanistic tradition for Shakers from other regions to be quite happy with them. Certainly the Shakers from the southern Sound regarded the others as in competition with them—an attitude fully explicit in the old tradition within which 'shaman duels' were common. The first instance above is an exact duplicate of one phase of such duels in which the power dislodged from the patient tries to kill someone else.

Many of the features of Coast Salish religion which would ordinarily be most clearly defined as 'shamanistic' played no part in cures. Fire tricks, piercing or cutting portions of the body with subsequent rapid healing, animating inanimate objects, all were used as demonstrations of power by non-shamans. An important ceremonial was the 'power sing' in which people with both *tudab* and *sqelalitut* powers participated. This was not a curing ceremony despite the presence of 'shamanistic' tricks. Many of the features of the power sing were carried over into Shaker ritual which may, consequently, be said to have derived as much from general ceremonial as from curing shamanism.[14]

The participants in the power sing were seldom the real leaders of the community but they were respected citizens. Their demonstrations did not involve the competition so much a part of the behaviour of warriors and shamans. These were roles necessary to the native villages as protection against hostile warriors and shamans from other groups. Yet when their activities became openly aggressive, 'mean' or 'cussed,' they were condemned and few such men died natural deaths. That this formed a true social sanction is clear from the fact that even their relatives demanded no reprisal.[15] Power itself, like *mana* and other similar beliefs, was not primarily concerned with concepts of good and evil. Nevertheless, social behaviour was judged by clearly defined standards. Misuse of power was truly '*tudab*' and in this sense, '*tudab*' may be justifiably described as undesirable or evil.

There seems little doubt that the shamans in southern Puget Sound took advantage of the gradual decline of the influence of leaders under contact conditions, and asserted themselves to an extent not previously possible. Shamans boasted of their power to kill[16] while the old and decisive way of handling them was no longer feasible under White law. The last time an Indian dared take public action against a shaman was in 1879 when a Skokomish shaman was shot by a Puyallup.[17]

Early Shakers are said to have been accused of murder[18] but this was generally understood by agents and missionaries as 'murder' of the patient through the strenuous character of the curing session, and neglect of physician's orders. In part, however, this bitterness may have reflected Indian opinion and Indian knowledge concerning standard shamanistic practices. From the beginning, an Indian in espousing the Shaker Church was expected to give up his *sqelalitut*.

> A woman who believed in *sqelalitut* danced her *sqelalitut* right there where people were shaking. She died shortly after and her body was laid out in the church with candles near. The people went out to eat and when they came back the body was on fire.

This was a spontaneous example of the greater potency of the new Spirit of Christ. In a showdown, the old powers must succumb. The supremacy of the new way over the pagan may be shown by another type of incident.

> One old woman in Nisqually had her *sqelalitut* sent away by Shakers. I tried to help her get it back but she couldn't. She sang and danced, but she finally died.

Although it has been said of the modern Skagit that 'super-natural means of curing and killing are important services offered to adherents by the Shaker Church as well as the guardian spirit religion,'[19] the 'killing' indicated is of the sort illustrated above from our local area. Skagit Shakers threaten non-members with illness and death through capture and withholding of their old powers, and this is used as a proselytizing mechanism.[20] That this is viewed as a contest between old and new powers is made clear in the source cited and the point is viewed as so significant that a compromise between the two has sometimes to be reached.[21] But it is important to note that this differs from the killing as an accompaniment of curing which was part of early Shaker practice in the area of its origin.

As defined by Linton, a nativistic movement is 'any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture.'[22] Linton does not mention the Shaker Church in his discussion. But Mooney and Spier have linked it with other nativistic movements and Collins seems to accept Spier's suggested derivation of the Shakers from the Smohalla cult, which was clearly nativistic. Linton's is mainly an acculturation study in which he analyses the effect of inferior-superior relations between natives and the groups with which they are in contact. Although Linton himself does not do so, there is now a tendency to regard all post-contact religious movements as nativistic and dependent upon such relations.

The southern Sound had two periods of intensification of White contact. One of these was in the six years following 1849 and was immediately precipitated by the discovery of gold in California in that year. It led directly to the war of 1855–6, the result of which was the enlargement of reservation holdings. The Shaker sect was founded during the second period, between 1880 and 1886, when the White population of the state jumped from 75,000 to 210,000. Furthermore, the Puyallup Reservation had been sold by allottment in 1874 against the expressed desire of the Indians. The confusion which resulted would hardly have been conducive to any feelings of security. Yet the

picture is not clear, for the Puyallup who bore the brunt of this were not involved in any way with the beginnings of the Shaker Church, and Shakers have never been very active among them. The Indians of Mud Bay were not directly threatened after 1856.

The historical record indicates that the Indians among whom the Shaker sect arose and with whom it had its first successes were just those among whom the old ceremonies remained most active. Eells reports that he attended four native ceremonies: one at Skokomish in the fall of 1876 (which was attended by 1200 people and lasted three weeks); one at Jamestown in February, 1878; another at Skokomish in the fall of the same year; and the fourth at Squakson Island (Mud Bay) in the autumn of 1880.[23] John Slocum preached at Mud Bay the year or two following the native ceremony visited by Eells, and Gunther reports that the original spread of the religion was from Squakson to Skokomish, Port Gamble and Jamestown.[24]

Individual participation followed the same pattern. The last native potlatch given in the southern Sound region was among the Nisqually in 1907.[25] The woman who gave it had given another on a previous occasion and she was the same woman, Alice James, who had shared in the doctoring experiences recounted earlier in this paper. Spier speaks of early Nisqually proselytizers on the Warm Springs Reservation,[26] and Alice James's partner in curing had spent some time at Warm Springs as a young man and his first wife came from there. Old and new curing powers were thus joined in the same persons and Colson suggests that the same was true of the man who introduced the Shaker Church to the Makah in 1903.[27]

In assessing the early development of the Shaker Church, it should be remembered that in Indian eyes the Whites were constantly demonstrating power by superior performance. The record shows valiant attempts on the part of the Indians to accept this power and make it their own. The attempts were certainly built upon a whole substratum of native belief but, far from wishing consciously to revive or perpetuate native practices, the explicit aims were in quite the opposite direction. The Shakers meant to grasp the present, not the past.

Many religious movements among native groups during early contact with western civilization show elements which, like those of the Shaker Church, can only with difficulty be fitted into nativism in any strict sense. Many of them seem rather to be experiments in belief and practice stimulated by the impact of new ideas. That contact often has a stimulating effect is well known. It may be valuable, therefore, to distinguish between nativistic and what may be called 'vitalistic' movements: a vitalistic movement may be defined as 'any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to incorporate in its culture selected aspects of another culture in contact with it.'

Notes

[1] For a full description of the sect and its spread see Erna Gunther, 'The Shaker Religion of the Northwest', *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian W. Smith, 1949. George A. Pettitt, *The Quileute of La Push, 1775–1945* (*Anthropoligical Records*, 14), 1950, gives additional detail for that region. James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of* 1890 (14th Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol.), 1896, places the sect in its generally accepted religious context.

[2] T. T. Waterman, 'The Shake Religion of Puget Sound,' *Ann. Rep., Smithsonian Inst.*, 1922 (publ. 1924), p. 503.

[3] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives* (*General Series in Anthropology*), 1935, p. 52.

[4] Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[5] Gunther, *op. cit.*, pp. 40f. An account of this sort given by Mary Slocum's sister is to be found in H. G. Barnett, *Innovation*, 1953, pp. 5f.

[6] This is the date of Mrs. Slocum's cure according to the informant. John Slocum died in 1896 (Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 44).

[7] Also cited by Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 41. This belief occurs throughout the region in which the Shaker church has been accepted but nowhere more strongly than in the southern Sound.

[8] For details see Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*, 1940. Southern Puget Sound ideas on power and curing were shared by their neighbours the Twana or Skokomish: William W. Elmendorf, 'The Cultural Setting of the Twana Secret Society,' *Amer. Anthrop.*, Vol. L (1948), pp. 625–33.

[9] Spier, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[10] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–9. Descriptions of this interesting ceremony may be found in Hermann Haeberlin, 'SbEtEdaQ, A Shamanistic Performance of the Coast Salish,' *Amer. Anthrop.*, Vol. XX (1918), pp. 249–57, and in T. T. Waterman, 'Paraphernalia of the Duwamish "Spirit-Canoe" Ceremony,' *Indian Notes* (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation), Vol. VII (1930), pp. 1–63.

[11] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[12] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 85f.

[13] Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[14] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–6, 119f. See also the account of Quinault Shakers by Ronald L. Olson, *The Quinault Indians* (Univ. of Washington Publ. in Anthrop., 6), 1936, pp. 170–4.

[15] This open defiance is contrasted with the secret reprisal necessary in nearby areas: Hermann Haeberlin and Erna Gunther, *The Indians of Puget Sound* (Univ. of Washington Publ. in Anthrop., 4) 1930, p. 78.

[16] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–2, 66f., 82.

[17] Marian W. Smith, 'The Puyallup of Washington,' *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, ed. Ralph Linton, 1940, p. 33.

[18] Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 59. The two quotations below come from unpublished field notes.

[19] June M. Collins, 'The Indian Shaker Church,' *Southw. J. Anthrop.*, Vol. VI (1950), p. 411.

[20] Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

[21] Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 403. Note, however, that Collins does not make exclusive, or even extensive, use of nativism in her argument. Nativism is, furthermore, specifically denied for the Makah in 1941–2 (Elizabeth Colson, *The Makah Indians*, 1953, p. 279): 'No nativistic movement . . . exists, in the sense of an organized anti-white group which attempts to revive the traditional religious concepts of the people.' In discussing economic stability, Colson (p. 284) agrees with Linton that nativism need not arise in the contact situation.

[22] Ralph Linton, 'Nativistic Movements,' *Amer. Anthrop.*, Vol. XLV (1943), p. 230.

[23] Myron Eells, 'The Potlatches of Puget Sound,' *Amer. Antiquarian*, Vol. V (1883), p. 137.

[24] Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[25] Smith, *Puyallup-Nisqually*, p. 112 and Plate 2.

[26] Spier, *op. cit.*, pp. 53f.

[27] Colson, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

SHORTER NOTES

The Three Bears. *By E. D. Phillips, M.A., The Queen's University of Belfast*

182 The purpose of this note is to suggest a remote origin in ritual for some fundamental elements in Southey's famous fairy tale 'The Three Bears,' first printed in *The Doctor*.[1] These are: That there are three bears, that they live together in a house of their own in a wood, and that they sit at table in due order. Their graded sizes, the more elaborate details of the house, their unwelcome and ill-mannered visitor, the little old woman who used their property without permission, and their stereotyped complaints ('Somebody has been at my porridge,' *etc.*) can be regarded as artistic developments or borrowings from other tales.

The question of Southey's sources for his story has been discussed by Mary I. Shamburger and Vera R. Lachmann.[2] They mention Sneewittchen (Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs) in Grimm, in which the dwarfs, returning to their little house in the woods and seeing that someone had made himself at home in their absence, ask 'Who has eaten from my little plate?' *etc.*, until they finally discover the king's daughter Snow White asleep in the bed of the seventh dwarf. They add that Johannes Bolte[3] notes the resemblance between The Three Bears and a Norwegian version of Snow White, in which a king's daughter comes to a cave inhabited by three bears, who are really Russian princes in disguise, and cast off their bearskins at night. She eats their porridge and finally falls asleep, not on, but under the bed that she had chosen, and is duly discovered.

Southey's wide interests certainly included Scandinavia, and Bolte supposed that he used Scandinavian material. This could be oral, since Southey particularly asked his son-in-law S. W. Warter, chaplain to the British Embassy at Copenhagen, to learn Danish: 'Learn all you can by help of eyes and ears about the country and note down all you see and hear.' At any rate it is generally admitted that Southey could have got various elements, particularly the three bears, their home, and their food, from northern Europe; and the Norwegian tale makes them Russian princes.[4]

I come now to the accounts of animal cults in Siberia and neighbouring regions which first put me in mind of the three bears. A. Alföldi, discussing the beliefs of the peoples who created the Scytho-Siberian animal style,[5] mentions the custom, among the hunting peoples of the forests, and nomads in contact with them, of setting aside skins of the animals particularly hunted for a cult designed to appease their angry ghosts. A woollen embroidery from Noin Ula in the first century A.D. showed three tiger skins used in this way, and three bear skins were the object of a special cult among the Voguls of Western Siberia, as described early in the eighteenth century by the Swedish traveller Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg.[6]

Strahlenberg, after discussing the religious importance of the number three, very much in the manner of a modern anthropologist, describes the offering that he has seen among the Voguls:

> What I have said above of the number Three is farther confirmed by an Offering or Sacrifice, which I have seen performed among the Wogulitzi, a Heathen Nation, on the Borders, between Siberia and Russia, when having killed several Bears in the Woods, they offered Three of them to their Gods, in the following Manner. Their Temple is a very poor Building of Wood. In this they placed a Table, instead of an altar, behind which they set the heads of three Bears, with the skins of them flea'd off and stuff'd, in a Row, one by the other. On each side of them stood a Fellow, with a large and long switch in his hand. All this being in Order, another Fellow came in with an Ax, and made as if he would attack the Bears, while the other pretended to defend them, and, at the same time made an Apology, that it was not their fault that the bears were shot, but that the blame was to be laid on the Arrows and Iron which were made and forged by the Russians. In the mean Time, others were busied about the Temple, in boiling and roasting the Flesh of these Bears. And the Women, to whom a certain portion of the Meat was allotted, made themselves merry when the Ceremony was at an end. To this we may properly add what Loccenius writes of the Hunns, that they chose Three Dogs Heads for the Sign or Token of their Offerings, because the Wogulitzi descended from the Hunns.[7]

The ceremony was to appease the bears' resentment at being killed, even though their flesh was being eaten in the same place. The table, with the bears' stuffed skins and heads placed at it, is a remarkable feature, and suggests that the bears themselves were due to receive offerings placed before them. Unfortunately this is not said. But we have three bears in a house in a wood, seated at table. They are honoured with an elaborate ceremony to avert guilt. It is likely that such a ritual was widespread and very ancient among the peoples of the northern forests as far as Lapland and Norway.

Whether Southey's ill-mannered old woman is more truly traditional than the king's daughter in the Norwegian story (or Goldilocks in versions of The Three Bears later than Southey) is not easy to decide. But at least the praise of the three bears in Southey, and the blame on their visitor who behaved so badly, would suit a tradition which was originally sacred. The Norwegian story may also preserve a memory of the ritual wearing of the sacred skins. The behaviour of the animals' ghosts, if they were slighted, would have been more alarming than anything the three bears do in Southey, but even with him there is a slight feeling of a ghost story. It would be many centuries since any such ancestral ritual was remembered in Europe in its true nature, which would in any case need to be forgotten before a fairy tale could arise.

Notes

[1] Robert Southey, *The Doctor*. Ed. J. W. Warter (London, 1849), pp. 327–29.

[2] 'Southey and The Three Bears' (*J. Amer. Folklore, Vol. LIX* (October–December, 1946), No. 234, pp. 400–3.

[3] J. Bolte and G. Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder-und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* (Leipzig, 1937), Vol. I, pp. 450–65, esp. p. 455.

[4] Herbert G. Wright, 'Southey's Relations with Finland and Scandinavia,' *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Vol. XXVII (1932), pp. 149ff.

[5] 'Die theriomorphe Weltbetrachtung in den hochasiatischen Kulturen', *Archäeol. Anz.*, Vol. XLVI (1931), cols. 393–418, see col. 403.

[6] *An Historico-Geographical Description of the Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia* (London, 1738).

[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 96f.

International Festival of Folk Music, 1955

183 Scandinavian folk music of today, with reference to its old traditions and its revival, is one of the themes selected for study at the International Festival of Folk Music and Conference which will take place at Oslo, Norway, from 29 June to 5 July, 1955. Countries from all parts of the world have been invited to send representative groups of dancers and singers, and authentic folk music only will be performed, as far as possible by traditional dancers and singers. The

programme will include instrumental music, and a special study section will consider the problems of folk music in radio and television. Among other arrangements will be a whole-day excursion (with opportunities for tours through Norway at the close of the Festival) and a Folk Dance Ball.

Participation in the Festival and Conference is open to members of the International Folk Music Council (annual subscription £1) and their relatives and friends on payment of a registration fee. Application should be made to the Secretary of the Council at 12, Clorane Gardens, London, N.W.3.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Application of X-Rays, Gamma Rays, Ultra-Violet and Infra-Red Rays to the Study of Antiquities. 184 *By A. A. Moss. Handbook for Museum Curators, part B, Museum Technique, section 4. The Museums Association, 1954. Pp. 16, 1 text fig., 8 plates. Price 4s.*

This concise and valuable monograph, the first section to be published of the Museums Association's *Handbook*, will be welcomed by all concerned with the scientific examination of antiquities. The chief uses of the non-visible radiations are examined in turn, and brief details are given of the necessary apparatus in each case.

The value of X-ray examination has long been recognized, particularly in the study of paintings, and in order to determine the structure of corroded metal objects as a preliminary to chemical or mechanical cleaning and restoration. Another application, not mentioned by Dr. Moss, is in the study of the methods of building employed in ancient pottery, where the intact condition of the vessel prevents direct observation of an actual section. Work of this kind has until recently been restricted to the very few laboratories able to afford the high cost of the necessary X-ray installation. It is therefore particularly useful to know that an artificial radio-active source of gamma rays (thulium 170), with a penetrating power equal to that of the more powerful type of hospital X-ray plant, is now available at a cost well within the reach of laboratories for which the conventional X-ray equipment would be prohibitively expensive. Such a source makes possible the radiography of a wide range of archæological material, and is of sufficiently low strength to allow it to be handled and transported with the minimum of safety precautions.

The use of ultra-violet and infra-red radiation has hitherto been applied chiefly in the examination of pictures and manuscripts. As Dr. Moss shows, however, there are considerable possibilities for extending their use to the examination of many kinds of antiquity, particularly in the detection of concealed repairs and in deciding questions of authenticity. The fluorescence analysis of archæological material is largely an untouched field for research. I have found, for instance, that it can be successfully employed to distinguish cremated from inhumed bone, and jet from Kimmeridge shale and lignite, substances which frequently appear identical to the eye. It may be added that the use of ultra-violet light has a considerable future in the study of archæological sections in the field, particularly in palæolithic and later cave deposits, where the brilliant fluorescence of minute fragments of bone and other organic debris may reveal details of stratification which are entirely unrecognizable under normal lighting. In this connexion it is useful to know that a portable battery-powered source of ultra-violet light is now available.

It is to be hoped that, besides whetting the appetite of the reader for further sections of this *Handbook*, this initial contribution will do much to stimulate the search for new and more widespread applications of these techniques to the study of museum material of all kinds.

R. J. C. ATKINSON

Character and Social Structure. 185 *By Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1954. Pp. xxv, 490. Price £1 10s.*

In an age of academic specializations, this work by Gerth and Mills stands out as one of the few genuine attempts to bridge the gap between the sociological and psychological approaches in social science. Unthoughtful traditionalists are apt to see it as another study of personality and culture and assign it to a specialized bibliographical place. Although it is in intellectual kinship with the writings of such authors as Fromm, Horney and Kardiner, it represents a broader synthesis of anthropology, sociology and psychology than any of their works. It is no less than an attempt to lay a socio-psychological framework for the comparative study of world society in all its historical and contemporary variation.

In the words of the authors: 'Many of the new strivings and demands of social science seem to come . . . to fruition in a psychology that is relevant to the processes of history and to varying types of social structure.' The key to their psychology lies in the major contribution of George Mead: it is a psychology in which personal consciousness and the self image are anchored in the social process itself, and it emphasizes the modifiability and plasticity of man. Where Mead failed to provide an adequate theory of emotions and motives, the contributions of depth psychologists, notably Freud, are utilized to cope with the complexity of human psychology as it is found in the social process. Individual and depth psychology are linked to a sociology of institutions by the concept of role. The roles of an individual 'are limited by the kind of social institutions in which he happens to be born and in which he matures into an adult. His memory, his sense of time and space, his perception, his motives, his conception of his self . . . his psychological functions are shaped and steered by the specific configuration of roles which he incorporates from his society.'

An organization of these psychologically anchored roles makes up an institution and institutions are selected as significant for study according to the ends which they serve. These ends have to do with power, goods and services, violence, deities and procreation and, hence, the central institutions for study are the political, economic, military, kinship and religious. It is clearly recognized that this specialization of ends and institutions, the statement of which is in itself a reflection of Western thought and social structure, is not common to all societies. In fact a major portion of the book is devoted to an elaboration of empirical types of social structures according to the combinations and patterns of institutional orders which they manifest. An institution is analysed in terms of its symbol, technology, status and educational spheres. A social structure is made up of institutional orders and spheres and the precise arrangement of these in any given society determines the unity and composition of the social structure.

The problem of the comparative analysis of social structures is seen by the authors in the anthropological perspective. Comparison of social structures can only be made on the basis of detailed empirical study. In presenting and illustrating their theory, they draw upon data from ancient China and Roman society, modern Russia, Japan, the United States and several Latin American and European societies. Their familiarity with this wide range of societies in time and place is an impressive display of learning in itself.

On the sociological side the work stands in the tradition of Marx and Max Weber. Gerth, of course, is a foremost Weberian scholar and it must be noted, to the merit of the authors, that they have avoided arguments and polemics over the side issues that have been generated over the years around the works of the authors in whose tradition they follow. They have selected from these works what is useful to their approach and focus in a positive way on the central issues and ideas of social science in its present state. The great accomplishment of Gerth and Mills lies in the comprehensive and systematic manner in which they incorporate two great streams of thought developed over the past hundred years to produce

a framework which, as noted by Robert Merton in his foreword, has 'systematized a substantial part of the field and has provided perspectives from which to examine much of the rest.'

The book is highly recommended to the anthropological audience not as a major work in another field but as representing a major segment of anthropology itself. Specifically it provides a broad perspective into which the many specialized anthropoligical studies of institutions, particularly those dealing with kinship, and social structure can be placed. More generally it lays the necessary groundwork for approaching the major task of a comparative study of social structures in diverse historical and cultural settings.

ARTHUR J. VIDICH

AFRICA

Survey of African Marriage and Family Life. *Edited by Arthur Phillips. O.U.P. (for Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1953. Pp. xli, 462. Price £2 5s.*

186 This large volume will already be known to most readers of MAN, since it has been accorded a wider publicity than such works of scholarship can usually hope for. A late notice may serve to recall it to the attention of those who are concerned in any practical way with African welfare.

The survey completes the first part of a project drawn up some seven years ago by the International African Institute and the Department of Social and Economic Research of the International Missionary Council. The second part of that project was a proposal for organized field research into questions which could not be answered by a thorough examination of documentary material. In the framing of those questions, the moral neutrality, if one may so call it, of the International African Institute, and its freedom from anxiety about immediate practical issues, would naturally be of the greatest value.

The present volume covers the available written material, some of it unpublished, from the points of view of anthropology (Dr. Mair), law and administration (Mr. Phillips), and 'missiology' (the Revd. Lyndon Harries), all under the direction of Mr. Phillips who contributes an introductory essay. These well-known authorities have not concealed the laborious nature of their task, which gives little scope for imagination, and have made no concessions to those who might wish to arrive easily at comforting conclusions. This is all to the good; for the spirit of the document which provided their terms of reference, and which Mr. Phillips quotes, does not always seem to have anticipated the kinds of complications which the authors' researches have revealed. The document assumes the not unfamiliar thesis of the growing moral disintegration of African societies, and states that this disintegration is nowhere more apparent than in the unhappy state of much African family life. The ultimate object of this project for the study of the present situation was to provide knowledge upon which action might be based—primarily, it seems, by administrators and missionaries rather than by Africans themselves, whose increasing responsibilities and freedom of action in this matter might, in fact, have been more fully recognized.

'For an adequate understanding of the urgency and character of practical steps desirable to secure the orderly development of African family life, a comprehensive appraisal of the present position is required.' The appraisal shows, indeed, by how many and how varied practical steps already taken the confusions of the present position have been reached. 'The Government of the Belgian Congo, for instance, now withholds recognition from any polygamous marriages contracted after the end of 1950'—what step could be more practical? The authors have shown also how the particular detailed dilemmas of administrators and missionaries, and even of Africans themselves, are more complex and difficult than is any general problem of marriage and the family in Africa. A vague uneasiness about the moral disintegration of African societies has been reduced to a number of specific difficulties, arising mostly from contradictions which cannot be reconciled by any *scientific* theory. Indeed, the volume seems clearly designed to show that moral dilemmas cannot be recast as academic problems, for which scientific solutions can be found. Dr. Mair concludes her account of traditional and modern custom with the statement that 'where higher standards of living are attainable, marriage is more stable, women stay at home and look after their children, and children go regularly to school. The answer here lies surely as much in the attack on African poverty as in moral exhortation'. Mr. Phillips draws special attention to the Revd. Lyndon Harries's study of certain ultimate incompatibilities between Christianity and valued African custom. All the authors show how varied is the picture of marriage and the family in Africa, traditionally, and under different Governments with their different ordinances, and in different missions with their different standards. It is difficult, in fact, to see clearly by what sort of standards the African family may be judged to be in such a sorry state as the terms of reference provided for the authors suggest. The ideals of Christian marriage and family life put forward by different missions are only in the loosest way consistent with each other, so there are no clear 'Christian' or 'Western' standards by which Africans, in contact with different missions, might measure their own conduct of their family affairs. The conditions of civil marriage, and the philosophies of those who make these conditions in different African territories, are similarly varied; while Dr. Mair shows that it is a great over-simplification to treat 'African custom' as though it had everywhere even the same general features.

The effect of the survey can only be to chasten any well meant enthusiasm for still more 'practical steps'; if it does not help any administrator or missionary to make a decision, it will at least convince them of the advantages of *not* making any decision where such a course can possibly be avoided. What one would like to see—and this perhaps will appear in the second part of the project—would be studies of many African families considered to be stable and integrated, and of others which are thought to be breaking down. It might then be possible to see in their particularity the conditions eventually summarized in generalizations and statistics. The Revd. Lyndon Harries's impartially critical survey, for example, concludes that: 'In emphasizing the weakness of mission discipline and difficulties involved in promoting the Christian ideal of marriage, we should not lose sight of the growing numbers of sincere African Christians who voluntarily maintain the highest standards of Christian family life.' It is difficult to see, of course, how such standards could be maintained, except voluntarily; but further, one would like to know in more detail some of the factors which seem to make it possible for some Africans increasingly to do so, while others give rise to the anxiety which prompted this survey. Specific cases, collected and presented without any censoriousness, might lead to clearer view of what is meant by the use of such words as 'disintegration,' as well as help to distinguish in analysis between the parts played by moral and personal elements involved in all marriages and family relationships, and the formal legal and religious conditions under which they are contracted and maintained in Africa. Mr. Phillips and his collaborators have prepared the way for such empirical studies by compiling, in effect, a history, up to yesterday, of marriage and the family in many African societies.

GODFREY LIENHARDT

Die Anfaenge des Eigentums bei den Naturvölkern und die Entstehung des Privateigentums. *By W. Nippold. The Hague, 1954. Pp. 94. Price 22 florins*

187 By confining his study to a small number of races—Bushmen, Pygmies of Central Africa, Andaman Islanders, Semang, and Aeta of the Philippines—the author has been able to cover his subject with a reasonable degree of thoroughness. The conclusions which he reaches about the relative role of public and private property in food-gathering and hunting communities are interesting. They should go a long way towards correcting the prevailing popular misconceptions about 'original communism.'

Contrary to what is widely believed, these races—which are among the least advanced in our days—have a highly developed sense of private property. Generally speaking, the only thing that is publicly owned is the 'Lebensraum' of their community—the territory on which they pursue their food-gathering or hunting

activities. All arms, tools, utensils, etc., are privately owned, and so of course are all personal belongings, clothing, furniture, ornaments. There are even instances of separate ownership as between husband and wife. So strong is the sense of personal ownership that many possessions are buried or destroyed with their dead owners.

There is no question of an even distribution of the proceeds of hunting or gathering. Indeed, arrows are marked by their owners so that they can claim the animals they have killed. On the other hand, there is a great deal of voluntary sharing of essential food and other goods.

The book is open to criticism on two grounds. Its bibliography contains only one single post-war item, and yet the author speaks in the present tense about evidence which is anything up to half a century old. In view of the revolutionary changes that have taken place during and since the war it would not have been too much to expect Herr Nippold to ascertain how far the facts still held good. This should not have been unduly difficult, since the number of races he covers is small.

Another point of criticism is that his conclusions are based on too narrow foundations. What is true about half a dozen races need not necessarily be true about primitive races in general. The author might have indicated at least in a general way the extent to which his findings are in conformity with the conclusions of authors covering wider ground, or those of authors specializing in other races.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the book fulfils a very useful purpose and is a valuable addition to contemporary literature on economic anthropology.

PAUL EINZIG

African Folktales and Sculpture. *Selected by Paul Radin and J. J. Sweeney. New York (Pantheon Books) (U.K. Agents: Secker & Warburg) 1952. Pp. xxiv, 355, 165 plates. Price £3 3s.*

188

The combination of two parts—one dealing with literature, the other with sculpture—which are treated without any relation to each other gives the impression that the book is intended for a public of laymen. This impression is at first strengthened by the unsigned preface, in which odd bits of information about races, tribes, history, customs, economy, etc., are set down. Some of these may be more confusing than enlightening to the layman. The statement that the languages of the Zulu, Xosa and Bushmen contain clicks is certainly picturesque but gives no idea whatever of the basis upon which the æsthetic effects of the African songs and stories are built. On the whole the preface is somewhat lacking in general points of view. A good survey of African religions would have been of value because of their obvious importance to both themes of the book.

The two special introductions, however, change the aspect. I think that the one by Sweeney on Negro sculpture would satisfy equally the layman and the student. It is clear and informative, dealing in an interesting way with some of the more important problems. One may observe in the author a certain sympathy for the hypothesis of an Egyptian origin of the mysterious Ife culture (I do not think anybody has yet ventured to expound the tempting idea of a development from old Carthage by way of the Nok culture). Sweeney rightly points out the scarcity of Negro sculpture and particularly of pieces of outstanding quality. This fact is recalled by the illustrations, many of which are known from earlier publications. The choice of objects for reproduction seems a little subjective. Some people might consider the well-known Baule tribe under-represented without the picture of a statuette. One might also be surprised by the fact that no single piece from the artistically outstanding Kjersmeier collection (Copenhagen) has been reproduced. However the photographic quality and the composition of the 165 large-sized plates are extremely fine—I should say the best published to date. To turn over the leaves in this part of the book is pure pleasure.

About the part dealing with folktales I can speak only as a layman, and as such I have had much pleasure both in reading the introduction by Radin and from the tales themselves.

Radin puts forth some ideas which seem in principle very sound, *e.g.* the thesis that all people are essentially equally gifted in imagination and realism; different conditions will then in a given period bring forth one quality or the other. Radin admits that mythological themes are rather uncommon in Africa, while a stark realism and even cynicism are frequent in the tales. He ascribes this to the strong outward pressure to which the Negroes have been exposed, but does not make any attempt to examine whether this special development might be due to the principal religious ideas of Africa. Perhaps the African conceptions of the Creator as pure force and of the world itself as manifestations of force (*cf.* P. Tempels, *Philosophie Bantoue*, and G. Dieterlen, *Essais sur la Religion Bambara*, 1951) are unfavourable to any impulse to invent mythological stories on these themes.

Radin also points out the unity of the literary style of black Africa. A layman might find that the *Anansi sem* (Spider stories) of the Ashanti especially are gifted with a grotesque humour, more accentuated than in stories by most of the other peoples. In a way one could draw a frivolous parallel with the brass weights, in which a little of that same sense of fun quite often appears. The pleasure of reading the folktales themselves is rather varying. While some are immediately appealing through their humour or their thrilling drama (No. 49), others seem rather meaningless. This may be due either to the spiritual limitation of occidentals, which makes us crave a rather strict logic in the development of a story, or on the other hand to a poor translation or even bad story-telling in the first place, which might make the sense of the story unclear. In these cases one recalls some of the stories retold by Frobenius, who is not represented in the selection. Whatever his critics may say of him, he never ruined a good tale.

The reader is sometimes vaguely reminded of Arabian stories (*The Thousand and One Nights*) and there are hints suggesting a Christian influence. It would have been interesting if the introduction had devoted a few lines to these subjects. Perhaps such questions have already been exhaustively dealt with in scientific studies, but these are not known to everybody, and as the book will without doubt have a great distribution to a wide public (as is clearly the intention), it might have added to its many good qualities the quality of an all-round approach to its theme.

BØ WENNBERG

Ethnographic Survey of Africa: The Tiv of Central Nigeria. *By Laura and Paul Bohannan. London (Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1953. Pp. 100, 1 map. Price 9s. 6d.*

189

The Tiv (called Munshi by the Hausa), the largest tribe in Northern Nigeria (860,000), came down from the Cameroon mountains to the Sonkwale hills and to the banks of the Benue. They are cheerful and fiercely independent peasants, often heavily scarified, and are increasing in numbers and spreading rapidly. They speak a Bantu language which is more closely related to the Nyanza group than to West Africa.

The most significant chapters are those on social, political and economic problems. The compounds and farms are correlated with the genealogical relationship of the adult males (*tar*, *utar* as territorial, *ipaven* as social segments). The lineage system is the scale of social distance by which moral values (theft, warfare, etc.), as well as exogamic rules are measured. There is no hereditary chieftainship, but a dual aspect of leadership, as men of high qualities, true elders, with experience and magical powers—drum chiefs—may represent the segment against others, but are reduced in importance within their own sub clan. The British administration has chosen such men of prestige for the Native Authority Council.

The Tiv obey custom and have no codified law but a strong feeling for what is right. The chapter on economy deals with land tenure, labour groups, staple crops, migration and trade. Interesting are the different forms of marriage, the comparison of exchange marriage before it was abolished in 1927 and the instability of its replacement today by marriage with bridewealth (*kem*).

Too little attention is given to the ergology (handicrafts, *e.g.* brasswork) and general comparisons (dual systems), but more again in the final chapter to the different religious ideas. The authors point out that the ancestral cult—although the Tiv believe in shades lurking around as sprites (reminding us of the Egyptian *Ka*)—does not play so fundamental a role as is generally believed; that the

magical, non-human forces and emblems—a kind of *mana*—connected with secret societies, medicine and sacrifices, are far more important as strong protection for crops and people.

This report is based on three intensive field researches within the years 1949 to 1952 and includes many valuable personal observations and much documentation. ELSY LEUZINGER

The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies: Vol. III, Section V; Baca, Hlubi, Xesibe. *By A. M. Duggan-Cronin. Cambridge (Deighton Bell) and Kimberley (Alexander McGregor Memorial Museum), 1954. Pp. 39, 46 plates, Price £2 2s.*

190 This is an addition to a well-known series of volumes each containing a collection of photographs illustrating the physique, clothing and ornaments of one or more tribes, together with notes on the photographs and an introductory essay describing the culture of the people. In this volume, Dr. Hammond-Tooke, who worked among the Baca in 1949, contributes an admirably clear account of what little is known of the traditional social organization of the tribes concerned, with some reference to the effects of labour migration, and he summarizes their history, making use of Soga's writings. The photographs show the execution of some agricultural and domestic tasks as well as details of dress, and there is some reference to modern ways of living, although the emphasis is rightly on the fast disappearing traditional culture. J. A. BARNES

African Traditional Religion. *By E. G. Parrinder. London (Hutchinson), 1954. Pp. 160. Price 8s. 6d.*

191 This is a book for the general reader, not the anthropological expert. The author is not concerned to add to existing knowledge but rather to give a synoptic survey of certain fundamental features, which, despite their differences, are common to all African religions and mark them off from the other great religions. A knowledge of these beliefs and practices, Dr. Parrinder contends, is necessary to an understanding of the ways of thinking and feeling and acting of African peoples and such an understanding is essential to the people of Britain if they are properly to discharge their duties as a colonial power in Africa.

The term religion is here given a very wide meaning. It covers beliefs about the supreme God, nature gods, divine chiefs, the continued existence of ancestors and their intervention in the affairs of their descendants and the nature and operation of impersonal supernatural forces; ritual practices from rain-making and initiation rites to magic and witchcraft; and the work of priests and mediums, diviners and witch-doctors. Not all of these are to be found in every African tribe, but most of them are to be found in many tribes, and Dr. Parrinder contends that all of them together provide a fundamental framework into which all African religions fit.

Dr. Parrinder's knowledge of the literature of the subject is extensive and accurate. His descriptions are clear and simple; and he interprets African beliefs and practices with sympathetic insight. Indeed, for the greater part of the book the reader is apt to be left with the impression that there is little in African religion which the author would like to see altered. But in a short epilogue Dr. Parrinder takes the view that as a result of contacts with the outside world and the impact of Islam and Christianity it is impossible to retain or return to the old ways in their entirety and that what is needed is 'African interpretations of the new religions.' 'From these' he concludes, 'will come the new morality which will save society' (p. 146f.).

Dr Parrinder quotes a few instances in which lack of understanding or disregard of religious beliefs led to unfortunate action by the administration, but in view of the professed purpose of the book—to enable the educated public so to understand the news from Africa that they can exercise an intelligent influence on policy there—a great deal more emphasis on and illustration of the effects, direct and indirect, which their religious beliefs and ritual practices exert on the behaviour and emotional attitudes of the members of African tribes to one another and to outsiders would seem to be desirable. A. MACBEATH

Les Harpes de L'Égypte pharaonique: Essai d'une nouvelle Classification. *By H. Hickmann. Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte, Vol. XXXV (Cairo, 1953). Pp. 309–368*

192 Recent discoveries enabled the author to attempt a new and precise classification in addition to several papers previously published by him on the Egyptian harp. His excellent drawings as well as the numerous reproductions of Egyptian art demonstrate the striking differences in size and shape of this musical instrument favoured since the IVth dynasty. Not only sitting, kneeling or standing harpists are depicted, but the methods of holding the instrument are varied too: according to Dr. Hickmann the harp was usually held vertically or obliquely, and only in certain cases horizontally.

First-hand local investigations led to the discovery that the former belief in the existence of an ancient type without a sound chest was founded on inaccurate drawings. To emphasize his point of view the author recalls that so far no prehistoric harp resembling an ancient 'weapon' has been found. He further modifies the theory that the Egyptian harp was solely played by men: the theory can be applied only to large harps; smaller and medium-sized instruments were frequently played by women. The comparison of the Sutton Hoo harp with a statuette from Græco-Roman Egypt will interest many readers in this country, also the statement that the prototype of the occidental orchestra harp can no longer be claimed as a Celtic invention but has a far longer history.

Since the end of the Old Kingdom as well as in later times the Egyptian harp in the form of a large ladle was always carved out of a single piece of wood. The scarcity of suitable branches, some of which may have been destroyed during the carving, accounts for the rarity and preciousness of the harp. The author reminds us that harps offered by the king to the god of a temple were especially carefully recorded. In addition, the harp itself became a sacred object because it was played by prominent blind singers, at funeral concerts and sacred ceremonies in the temple. That this inherent sacredness was considered of far greater consequence than the particular form of the instrument is evidenced by the employment of the same Egyptian term to denote harps of widely divergent shapes.

The ideal combination of author and collector in such well established fields of work as Egyptian art has lately become so rare that we should like to see and learn more of Dr. Hickmann's private collection of ancient instruments. E. ETTLINGER

AMERICA

El Popol-Vuh, Fuente Histórica: Vol. I. *By Rafael Girard. Guatemala (Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Publica), 1952. Pp. 462, 104 text figs.*

193 Any work by so eminent a scholar as Professor Girard is certain both to merit serious attention and to contain valuable things, and it is only fair to say that the present work is worth reading. This first volume is boldly controversial and its scope is defined in the sub-title labelling the Popol-Vuh as 'fundamento de la historia maya-quiché'. On this premise the author proceeds to build his thesis with beautiful logic. Few know as much about the Quiché as Professor Girard, and in easy Spanish he marshalls a host of facts to support his interpretation of the highly enigmatic text that we owe to the transcribing pen of Fr. Ximénez. Granted the premises, it is very difficult to pick holes in the case which the author states with such Latin clarity, but it appears to me at least, that the work is yet another instance of the fact that deduction, so necessary in theology and metaphysics, can never replace induction when it comes to dealing with a mass of very puzzling material. It would be an insult to his fine scholarship to compare Professor Girard's book with the work of Edward Davies, but I was uncomfortably reminded of the latter's *Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*, where a preconceived theory is applied to the obscure texts of ancient Welsh.

At all periods in the history of scholarship there have appeared works aiming at the solution of mystifying problems, many exhibiting an astonishing manipulation of hitherto unconnected

facts, others based on profound study which has given rise to theories that the author is then prepared to defend. Into the latter, truly honourable, class, it seems to me, this work falls. From an immense knowledge of Maya and Quiché, Professor Girard shows, with unruffled assurance, the relation between the known sequences of Maya-Quiché culture and his personal analysis of the four periods so clearly evident to him in the Popol-Vuh. It is necessary, he tells us, to be intimately familiar with the thought, feeling and methods of expression of the native if one is to interpret the text accurately, and to know 'in a word, his spiritual reality' (p. 12). This reality no one is better qualified to expound than Professor Girard, but one may legitimately wonder whether he is not here squandering a tremendous wealth of learning. Surely our immediate need is a scientifically organized commentary *ad sensum literalem* on the original Quiché text and Fr. Ximénez's interpretation of it as the necessary sequel to the editions of Schultze Jena and Adrián Recinos. Much as one is bound to respect the integrity and scholarship of Professor Girard one has to suspend judgement until enough is known of the meaning of the Popol-Vuh 'in the sense in which the author intended it', to decide whether the text really does support the interpretation which he has put upon it.

The book is very well produced, and the line illustrations are as a rule admirable, though the few photographic blocks are rather poor. From page 441 to 461 are printed the opinions of various men of science on Professor Girard's work—would it be unkind to wonder if they were included because the author was gratified to find so much support, or because he was anxious to show his readers that it existed? A. S. JENKINS

Menomini Peyotism: A Study of Individual Variation in a Primary Group with a Homogeneous Culture. *By J. S. Slotkin (with Transcriptions and Analysis of Menomini Peyote Music by David P. McAllester). Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc., N.S., Vol. XLII* (1952), *pp.* 563–700. *Price* $2

194

Since the publication of this study of Peyotism, Aldous Huxley in *The Doors of Perception* has recorded and evaluated his own inner experiences while under the influence of Peyote. While Slotkin, like Huxley, literally 'experienced' Peyote, there is little similarity between the two studies. Huxley is concerned with the capacity of Peyote to produce a private world of inner mystical experience; his is a successful test of the Peyote button itself. Slotkin uses his personal experience with Peyote in an effort to understand better the individual and social meaning of a cult.

There is little doubt that Slotkin is impressed with the magnitude of the task of trying to explain the place of Peyote in the Native American Church. He notes from his own field records while observing a rite: 'I've never had such a sense of superficiality, if not futility, of the usual ethnographic accounts of the externals of a rite.' Faced with this seemingly overwhelming task, he succeeds in presenting an excellent account of Peyotism among the Menomini Indians along with a wealth of unexpurgated raw field data. The study includes an interpretation of the Peyote experience, a detailed history of the Native American Church and the place of Peyote within it among the Menomini, and an analysis of the ritual and dogma which accompany the rite and religion. The raw data interspersed throughout the text and the appendices will be welcomed by all future investigators of Peyote. ARTHUR J. VIDICH

Indians of the Western Frontier: Paintings of George Catlin. *By George I. Quimby. Chicago (Nat. Hist. Mus.), 1954. Pp. 78, 35 figs. Price 50 cents*

195

This attractive little book is the catalogue of the collection of 35 of Catlin's paintings which are in the Chicago Natural History Museum. It begins with a brief outline of Catlin's life, and an account of how the paintings came to the museum. All the paintings are reproduced as half-tone blocks. Almost half have not been published before. A comparison of those which have been published with the line drawings of Catlin's original publications, shows the paintings to be far superior. Dr. Quimby has thus done a useful service to the artistic reputation of this early Americanist by making these pictures available in so convenient a form. FRANK WILLETT

Florentine Codex: General History of the Kings of Spain, by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun: Book 3, The Origin of the Gods. *By Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, Monog. Sch. Amer. Res. No. 14, Part IV. Santa Fé, New Mexico*, 1952. *Pp.* 68, *4 plates. Price* $4

196

This is the third volume to appear of the projected 13-volume edition of this text. The first was reviewed in MAN, 1951, 176 and the second in MAN, 1953, 290. Since this volume conforms in style and format with the earlier ones, the general criticisms expressed in those reviews apply equally to this part. FRANK WILLETT

ASIA

The Chinese of Sarawak: A Study of Social Structure. *By Ju-K'ang T'ien. Monog. on Soc. Anthrop. No. 12, London (L.S.E.), 1953. Pp.* 88. *Price* 18*s.*

197

In the polyglot societies of South-East Asia immigrant Chinese are everywhere present, and there is scarcely an economic or social problem on which they do not in some way impinge. Yet, despite the importance of overseas Chinese communities, little is precisely known of their social and economic organization. The present monograph, though it is concerned with a restricted area, is a notable addition to our knowledge. It is the result of some 15 months' field research carried out by a social anthropologist, himself a Chinese, in the Colony of Sarawak during 1948–9.

The problem which Dr. T'ien sets himself is to discover the nature of the 'response' which immigrant Chinese have made to the geographical, economic and social 'challenges' with which they have been faced in the territory of Sarawak. His methods are extensive rather than intensive, for he surveys the whole of the heterogeneous Chinese population (62,121) of the First Division as well as dealing briefly with the main urban communities of the Second and Third Divisions. This, it is clear, must have been a formidable task. Indeed, the great diversity of the Chinese 'community' emerges as a fact of basic significance at every stage of Dr. T'ien's analysis.

Ten different dialect groups are distinguished and the *hsien* (mainly in the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien) from which their members have come are enumerated. Against this background the principles which underlie the 'associations' of the Sarawak Chinese are delineated. These associations, which are corporate units of cardinal importance in the social structure of the Chinese community, may be based on dialect, clanship, occupation or a common locality of origin, but in most of them these primary factors tend to overlap. Between clan, dialect and locality there are obvious ties, but rather surprising is the striking correlation that is shown to exist between 'membership of a particular dialect group and connexion with a particular occupation.'

Of outstanding interest is an amusing and penetrating account of the 'T'ien Clan' in Sarawak during 1949. 'Shortly after my arrival in Sarawak,' writes Dr. T'ien, 'I had occasion to visit a certain Mr. T'ien who lived at some distance from Kuching. I took with me a young student friend named Yang. On our arrival we were treated with all the ordinary marks of hospitality, but there was perhaps a hint of constrained politeness in the air until our host, on enquiring, was told that my friend's surname was also T'ien. Immediately all constraint was dropped, and we were both treated as members of the family. I later asked my friend why he had lied about his surname. He told me that he had learned the value of the "surname bond" when travelling in Dutch Borneo, where he had never failed to find help from other Yangs once he had made his own name known. Later, I myself experienced the advantages of the intricate network of this kind of surname relationship. I could always find hospitality with other T'iens anywhere in the Colony, and in each district I would be told of T'iens whom I would meet at my next stopping place. Conversely, any T'ien coming to Kuching from the rural districts, no matter how far distant, would be likely to call upon me, his "Doctor Kinsman."'

This telling anecdote leads on to a formal analysis of the T'ien 'clan.' Two main groups are involved: the Chao An T'iens and the

Hweilai T'iens, who until recently lacked a common ancestor. They escaped from their quandary by an enterprising and highly significant subterfuge. Undeterred by the absence of a corporeal ancestor, they constructed a 'mock' tomb and conscientiously inscribed it with a reference ('historically quite valueless') to the origin of the T'ien surname group in China, and to this were added fervent hopes for the continued prosperity of 'all the descendants who worshipped here together and erected this tomb in the seventh lunar month of the year 1923.' Dr. T'ien reaches the general conclusion that 'to a considerable extent the surname group as a whole in Sarawak takes the place of the local clan in China.' This point he succinctly documents, but it is disappointing that we are denied any discussion of family organization.

In discussing the economic situation of the Sarawak Chinese Dr. T'ien stresses that there is marked diversification of roles. Thus the urban merchants and middlemen are contrasted with the rural planters and primary producers and the characteristics of each of these groups are analysed. In the country there is close interdependence of clan and economic relations and the conclusion is reached that the social structure of the rural Chinese communities in Sarawak is essentially similar to that of rural China. In the urban bazaar centres, on the other hand, there is complex stratification in terms of wealth, dialect and occupation. A valuable account is given of rural indebtedness and of the ramifications of the credit system. This system reaches out to embrace the Malays, the Iban, the Land Dayaks and all the other indigenous peoples of Sarawak, but this is something of which Dr. T'ien takes no cognizance, for his attention is confined exclusively to the Chinese. This points to what is, I think, an undoubted flaw in Dr. T'ien's survey. So preoccupied is he with laying bare the structure of Chinese society that he ignores the crucial fact that the Chinese are but elements in a wider 'plural' society. Outsiders reading this book would, I fancy, be surprised to learn that the First Division of Sarawak is also inhabited by 50,000 Malays, 42,000 Land Dayaks and 13,500 Iban. Dr. T'ien would probably claim that relations with these other groups lay beyond the scope of his enquiry, but surely we have here what may fairly be classed as a principal 'challenge in the new environment' of immigrant Chinese?

After discussing the problems of leadership and power Dr. T'ien concludes his survey with a perceptive but tantalizingly brief chapter on 'Relations with the Mother Country.' It is plain that for the great majority of Chinese who leave their homeland emigration is never intended to be more than a temporary measure, and they remain attached to China by strong and numerous bonds. But some have become firmly rooted in Sarawak. How useful and fascinating would be a study of a small bazaar centre—such as Serian or Kapit—in which the whole mosaic of the relationships linking Chinese, Malays and Dayaks, and the various forces leading to integration or dissension were observed and assessed. To any such study as this Dr. T'ien's essay is an essential precursor.

Dr. T'ien has presented to us a comprehensive yet penetrating survey of the complex structure of Sarawak's Chinese community. Only a Chinese sociologist, one feels, could have grappled so successfully with such diversity and reduced it to order in such a brief span of time. This monograph will be of the greatest value not only to those interested in Sarawak, but also to all those concerned with the general understanding of Chinese communities in South-East Asia.

J. D. FREEMAN

The Cotton-Clad Mila: The Tibetan Poet-Saint's Life in Pictures. *By Toni Schmid. Stockholm (Statens Etnografiska Museum) 1952. Pp. 126. Price* Sw. Cr. 75

198 This is Publication 36 of the Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin. A useful introduction contains an account, mainly legendary, of the Tibetan saint Milaraspa, who died in 1135 after a life of wandering on the Nepal-Tibet frontier. This is followed by a detailed description of a series of 19 scrolls acquired in Pekin in 1930. The mounting of the paintings on Chinese silk is comparatively recent, but no indication is given of the date of the paintings themselves, which probably originated from Nepal, and show both Chinese and Indian influence. Their value as works of art is small, but they provide an interesting pictorial record of the legendary life of the saint, based on the popular *Life*, and the so-called *Hundred Thousand Songs*. Each scroll is separately illustrated and interpreted with a wealth of scholarship, and at the end of the book enlarged photographs of details of particular interest are added.

J. P. MILLS

EUROPE

The Painted Men. *By T. C. Lethbridge. London (Melrose), 1954. Pp. 208. Price 16s.*

199 Mr. Lethbridge has produced a strange mixture of good archæology and not so good history. His purpose is to arouse interest in the Picts, whom he supposes to have been, among other things, the builders of the 'brochs' and 'wheelhouses' of the Scottish Highlands. He gives, interspersed with archæological notes, an account of the Roman conquest and occupation of Britain which becomes increasingly speculative as it gets nearer the end, and suggests that the Picts, who played a large part in the destruction of the Roman power, were composed of various peoples—the Pictones, because their names are much the same; the Dardanians, because they were both tattooed; the Tuatha De Danann, because their mythology, suitably euhemerized, takes them to Scotland, and others.

Another of Mr. Lethbridge's theories is that the English are in the main descended not from the Saxons but from the Ancient Britons. But he does not explain why the language of the latter disappeared from England

RAGLAN

Samefolkets religion. *By Rafael Karsten. Stockholm (Geber), 1952. Pp. 156*

200 Professor Rafael Karsten's book, *Samefolkets Religion (The Religion of the Same People)* is based primarily on a study of old literary sources, as any study on the subject necessarily must be. In addition the author during the summer of 1927 made a preliminary trip to Petsamo in Finnish (now Soviet Russian) Lappland, but the fieldwork which he planned to do for various reasons never took place. This is unfortunate, since the author, who is a well-known specialist in South American ethnography, obviously would have gained a great deal by first-hand knowledge of some Lapp (Same) group, not least because of his emphasis on religious psychology.

Professor Karsten's theoretical point of departure is 'the uncontestable psychological fact that the spiritual life of man is basically identical everywhere' (p. 15). Hence he is forced to accept Bastian's 'elementary thoughts' and 'folk thoughts,' the acceptance of which entitles him to make far-flung comparisons without being compelled to presuppose any diffusion of religious ideas. This certainly is convenient from the author's point of view; it may even be useful, although I cannot myself see that my understanding of Lappish religion has been very much deepened by comparisons with religious beliefs and ritual of the Jivaro and other groups of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian highlands. The book also includes comparative material from Siberia, but apart from Castrèn's work from 1852, none of this derives from primary sources. Moreover Professor Karsten vigorously declares the advantages of a scientific eclecticism which enables the student to give an 'objective' picture of this subject. Now 'objectivity,' in my opinion, is no relevant scientific concept, owing to the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of defining such a concept. Science is system, and what matters is whether an observation, an idea, etc., can be integrated in a useful and logical coherent theoretical system or not. Eclecticism, which in my opinion is both useful and necessary, consequently means the integration of elements from different systems into one coherent system, the usefulness of which is dependent on its closer resemblance to the real situation. In Professor Karsten's book, which, in

fact, has no pretention to being a theoretical treatment, such a system may well be present, but it is in any case so implicit that it is hidden from the general reader. The bibliography thus does not contain works of general theoretical interest (except some of Professor Karsten's own works).

The knowledge of religious forms of North Asia and North America, regions which even from the author's point of view are more important than South America, is extremely deficient. For example, the bear cult of the Lapps (Same) is extensively treated without reference to the works of Davidson, Hallowell or Th. Petersen. Professor Karsten is mainly concerned with explaining the beliefs underlying Lappish religious concepts and rituals. Although the book pretends to give 'a fairly complete picture of their religious belief and ritual in pagan times,' the author makes no clear distinction between idea and ritual, and he is thus prevented from giving any picture of the correlation between the religious and social systems. The treatment leaves many important problems open, some of which are easily answered through the very sources used by the author, *e.g.* the training of the *noaide* (shaman), the system of inheritance of shamanistic powers, the integration of Lappish Shamanism in Protestantism (Læstadianism), etc.

In an introductory chapter Professor Karsten makes the following statement (p. 8): 'The sources concerning the old religion of the Lapps have been mentioned so often in modern studies on their religion and culture, that we need not here go closer into and evaluate them.' It is certainly true that the sources have been mentioned very often, but nevertheless a critical evaluation of the missionaries' reports and their methods of obtaining information concerning this 'pagan and devilish religion' is highly necessary. Far too often these sources have been accepted at their face value without taking the authors themselves into account. It is curious that Professor Karsten has not been struck by the uncritical way in which these sources have been used, because he, owing to his scientific background, is relatively independent of the conventional view on Lapp religion. This view, deriving mainly from studies by J. A. Friis (1871) and J. Fritzner (1877), has put a strong emphasis partly on the polytheistic aspect and partly on the Scandinavian influences. In accordance with the most recent works by T. I. Itkonen and Ernst Manker, Professor Karsten rightly points out that these ideas have been very much exaggerated, because such a gallery of highly anthropomorphous deities cannot be fitted into a Lappish idea system, and because the Scandinavian terminological influences have been simply floating on the surface of this idea system.

Professor Karsten's book supplies much valuable and relevant information from the old sources for the study of Lappish religion, and the book may prove useful as a survey in spite of the objections made here, and also in spite of some ambiguity where the use of concepts such as 'half-civilized Indians,' 'race,' etc., is concerned.

GUTORM GJESSING

OCEANIA

Moturiki: A Pilot Project in Community Development. *By Howard Hayden, London, Melbourne and Sydney (Oxford U. P.), 1954. Pp. xxi, 180, 6 maps, 32 plates. Price £A2 2s.*

201 Almost in the centre of the Fiji Group lies Moturiki Island, its hills 'yellowish green and blue' in the words of the foremost product of the Fijian people, Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, who writes an excellent preface to this book. The island is undistinguished by Fijian standards. Small, not specially fertile, its history has been one of subjection to Bau. As much for the reason that it had no prominent advantages or disadvantages as for any other, Moturiki was selected by the South Pacific Commission, the Fiji Government collaborating, for the practising there, within a time limit of two years, of methods of developing ways of life in it. Guidance and stimulus were to be provided in both accepted and new techniques by native specialists from other tribes in education, agriculture, medicine, housebuilding and forestry; the collective man and will power by the Moturiki islanders themselves. After surveying intricately in 1951 the position as they found it within the conveniently finite scope of an island (and thereby giving this book one of its fascinations and values as a candid record of a completely typical settlement of Fijians), the experts then set about showing the inhabitants how to broaden subsistence into existence.

At first the burning of this quite unnatural focus dazzled and numbed the Moturiki people. Such was the dynamic personality of the leader of the experts, Eliki Seru (an Organizing Teacher in the Civil Service), and the skilful, diplomatic patronage in the background of the then Director of Education, Fiji, Howard Hayden (an Englishman, now in a similar post in the Caribbean), that they quite soon allowed themselves to be galvanized in every direction (with of course an inevitable clash at one stage between the introduced leader and the indigenous one). The time limit represented a conscious vulnerability, and when the experts were withdrawn on its expiring the momentum drooped (except significantly in the women) and is not yet known to have revived. As such, the project proved no new point. Whenever in Fiji an administrator has combined personability, energy and sympathy and had enough time or freedom to be able to give concentrated attention, the results have been excitingly rewarding. The stratum of chiefs superimposed on the communal system has always meant immediate, instinctive response to leadership, particularly of the right kind, and it has been almost Fijian manners, certainly a practice, to lose interest when that position varies. Fijians have as yet little staying power once the external impetus fades; this exposes them more, of course, in the economic sense than any other, and it has long been known. Here it is demonstrably proved again. That it may not always be so is a pious wish. The success or otherwise of this concentrated effort, that is, whether the deep streak of incentive (very low-lying in the amiable Fijian in his lush land) has been struck, may be known in a year or two's time. It could hardly throw up the requisite leaders of its own earlier where rank by birth is given due weight in the less sophisticated parts of Fiji.

For the project there could have been no more adroit and (in the best sense) civilizing influence, which he deliberately kept in the background, than Howard Hayden's. And, although much of the reporting in the book is properly that of his team in the field, it was my wish, at least, that there had been more of his neat touch of phrase in this revealing analysis of Oceanic life. One thing alone jolts—the forbidding, quite anti-cultural price of Antipodean-published books.

PHILIP SNOW

CORRESPONDENCE

The Draw-a-Man Test and the African. *Cf.* MAN, 1954, 127

202 SIR,—For many years now, psychologists have been trying to free themselves from the naive and crude errors committed in the early days of mental testing. When tests, designed for one purpose and standardized for specific conditions, are given for another purpose and in different conditions, then no conclusions can be drawn from them, for the meaning of a test can be derived only from its validation. That is to say, when it is tested against an external criterion, we can derive its meaning from the nature of the latter. For example, the scores of the Goodenough 'Draw-a-man' test were designed to correlate as highly as possible with the mental age of a population whose intelligence was already known.

It is therefore surprising to see these errors committed once again in the paper by Haward and Roland (MAN, 1954, 127). It is true that the authors realize that the low scores obtained by the group of Nigerians on the Goodenough test cannot be interpreted to signify that the Nigerians are of inferior intelligence, because of the absence of validation. This does not prevent them from interpreting the qualitative aspects of the tests, a procedure which is fallacious for the very same reason. The Machover technique of assessing the results

of this test was developed in a Western society and *validated on schizophrenic patients in a Western culture*. There is therefore no basis for the authors' conclusion that 'the low Goodenough scores also reflect the concreteness of the Nigerian's mental approach." It is true that the disturbances of thought characteristic of schizophrenic patients in the West can be described, or interpreted, as manifestations of an excessive preoccupation with the concrete, and that the abnormalities which they produce in the Goodenough test can also be interpreted in this way. Nevertheless, not only is the converse not necessarily true, but in a different environment, similar drawings by non-schizophrenics offer no basis for any conclusions whatsoever. The great gaps in the argument are not filled by references to Lord Hailey's *African Survey* and other writings, which are completely irrelevant.

Not only have the authors ignored this fundamental rule of the theory of testing, but, in their anxiety to obtain their conclusions, they have neglected some of the principles of scientific inference. The authors state that they have found a general trend in the drawings by Africans indicating that 'the parts of the body [in the drawings] have been put together in a very vague and unco-ordinated manner', and that this was a general trend in the drawings by the Africans. In their opinion, this 'reflects the strong "group outlook" of the Nigerian and his lack of individuation.' No evidence is offered to indicate how the findings and the 'opinion' are linked.

There is even less connexion between these conclusions and the statements about the educability of the African, his memory, interest in education and pleasure in repetitive activity. It may indeed be said of the last four paragraphs of this paper that they do not use or select evidence in a manner expected of scientific papers, and therefore it would be pointless to consider them in detail.

MAX HAMILTON,
Senior Lecturer, Department of Psychiatry
C. SLAUGHTER,
Department of Social Studies
The University, Leeds

203 SIR,—In the light of what we know about psychological test and cultural differences Haward and Roland's article 'Some Inter-Cultural Differences on the Draw-a-Man Test: Goodenough Scores', makes surprising reading. The Goodenough Drawing test purports to evaluate a child's intelligence and is intended for ages of 3½ to 12½ years of age. It is used with English children who have had limited education and have not yet learned to read, or with older children who are handicapped by reading and language difficulties, and with illiterate or non-English, but European-speaking, adults. It has been found to be most valuable for showing the ability to deal with the concrete, such as ability for drawing, architectural drafting, and occupations of a mechanical or quasi-mechanical nature. It is especially adapted for showing the presence of psychological activities which enter into problems involving geometrical perceptions and reasoning with the concrete rather than with the abstract. Their use, however, tells nothing of significance about a person's ability to deal with the abstract. A high score on the Goodenough implies ability to deal with the concrete and to represent the concrete; a low score implies low ability to deal with or represent the concrete. Yet the authors of the article state that 'the low Goodenough scores also reflect the concreteness of the Nigerian's mental approach', and they quote two books by Machover to support this. There is nothing in the two books referred to to warrant their use to support such a conclusion about Nigerians. There is plenty of evidence (Machover, S., *Cultural and Racial variations in pattern of intellect*, Columbia, 1943, and Eells and others, *Intelligence and Cultural differences*, Chicago, 1951), to suggest that any test standardized on Europeans discriminates against non-Europeans, and the greater the discrimination is the less reliable is the sampling used for the comparison. The authors' two test groups, in fact, are not comparable, as the most significant items, education and social status, are not controlled. The naive conclusions of the authors seem to be based more on some sort of ethnocentricism than scientific research.

PHILIP GARIGUE
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204 SIR,—The methodological vagaries of Dr. Haward and Mr. Roland in their article on the 'Draw-a-man test' are scarcely less startling than their remarks on 'the child-like simplicity of the African,' for which ethnocentric observation they adduce no adequate evidence. Whilst I appreciate that their study is to be followed by a further article, it is not, I think, premature to point out the considerable bias of this test when applied cross-culturally. It presupposes that the two groups assessed have proportionately equal opportunities for using a pencil; it also implies that the two groups have similar training in the techniques of drawing, or preferably no training whatever; and, most important, when judgements in subjective terms such as 'bad,' 'superior,' 'vague' and 'unco-ordinated' are applied, it requires that the individuals in the two groups subscribe to the same artistic tradition. It would seem that none of these conditions has been satisfied in the Haward-Roland experiment.

From the scanty data given it is reasonable to assume that some of the Nigerians are illiterate, and may have had little training in the use of a pencil. It is also probable that a good proportion of the European sample has received some formal instruction in drawing, since this is nowadays included in the curricula of most British schools, whereas some of the Nigerians have probably not received any training of this sort. Above all, no allowance seems to have been made for the very different artistic styles based on indigenous tradition still obtaining in Nigeria, which it must be presumed have influenced the artists. Even if persons have not been formally taught the principles of any form of visual art, some of the conventions will be subconsciously absorbed. That the influence of surrounding artistic traditions on the work of children may be limited is partly demonstrated by Paget ('Some Drawings of Men and Women Made by Children of Certain Non-European Races,' *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXII (1932), p. 136), but this has not been shown for adults. Moreover we have no reason to believe that the anonymous sculptor of the Venus of Willendorf, if he had been asked to draw a man, would ever have drawn anything remotely comparable with the work of, for instance, Michelangelo or the Lappish artist Nils Nilsson Skum, nor would the products of these three artists have shown any very great similarity: the artistic traditions are too diverse.

This methodological lapse is to be encountered more and more frequently in disciplines related to anthropology. Not very long ago a Scandinavian linguist, who in charity shall not be named, visited the more remote northern areas of his homeland in order to assess the size of the vocabulary of the countryfolk there by a technique then in general use involving asking the informant the meanings of chosen words. From the result of his questions he deduced that his informants had vocabularies of only some few hundreds of words. Had his questions involved words connected with rural life or natural phenomena he would have found twenty dialect words alone to describe snow and its consistency, and probably as many for each of their many day-to-day household techniques, and that their real vocabularies greatly exceeded his estimate. A method that may well be valid when applied to the social group for whom it was originally devised is not by any means always capable of spatial or temporal extension.

If I may be permitted to drive this point home by data collected by myself in the field—from northern Norwegian and Swedish Lapland between 1950 and the present day—I have found that although many Lapps recognize and can cut out of the ear of a reindeer calf the ownership marks of at least 250 persons, and can reproduce these marks by making cuts on prepared pieces of birch-bark with the same sort of knife which they would use to perform the operation on the animal, they are generally unable to reproduce on paper more than 25 or 30 such ownership marks. In some way the use of a knife acts as an aid to the memory. Again in a series of tests which I undertook I found that half of the older males (*i.e.* those over 35 years of age, most of whom had received only limited schooling) were much less able to draw with paper and pencil, although many could carve with a knife on reindeer horn or bone, whilst the younger males, who had received much more regular formal education including lessons in drawing, are equally at home with pencil and paper and with knife and reindeer horn. This result

directly conflicts with the findings of Paget (p. 128). Again I found through experiment that whilst male Lapps can reproduce (either with pencil or knife) an accurate picture of a reindeer (when judged by the standards of western representational art), they were much less proficient at drawing or carving a man or woman. This evidence does not, however, lead me to allocate them low Goodenough mental ages, or to posit that they suffer from a Noah complex.

It is quite possible that a Lapp of the older generation wishing to test the capability of Dr. Haward and Mr. Roland would give them a lasso apiece and ask them to capture a reindeer calf galloping around a corral. When, as we will presume, they failed, he might conclude (were he to adopt their methodology) that these two gentlemen 'superficially at least' had 'a child-like simplicity' and ignorance of a vital technique without which no reindeer-herder could survive.

IAN WHITAKER
School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

205 Sir,—

If an Afri-can
Not draw a man
As well as us
He's missed the bus.

For we have the one key
To tell the monkey
Mind from our own
Which has far outgrown
Such nonsense as thinking
'Tis a sign of drinking
To judge a nation
On a combination
Of thirty sketches
By clerks, wives and wretches;

Or that our gaffe
Will but raise a laugh
Bringing tears to the eyes
Of the sane and the wise:
Who know that psychology
Isn't that kind of codology.

M. A. MACCONAILL
Department of Anatomy, University College, Cork

A Golden Ram Head from Ashanti. *Cf.* Man, 1954, 20

206 Sir,—It is of interest to recall Thomas Edward Bowditch's reference to gold rams' heads in his *Mission from Cape Coast to Ashantee*, published in 1819. Bowditch visited Coomassie, the Ashanti capital, in 1817 as a member of a commission sent to treat with the Ashanti king. After describing the spectacular scene which confronted them as they entered the town and approached the king, he goes on:

> The king's messengers, with gold breastplates, made way for us, and we commenced our round, preceded by the canes and the English flag. We stopped to take the hand of every caboceer (which, as their household suites occupied several spaces in advance, delayed us long enough to distinguish some of the ornaments in the general blaze of splendour and ostentation). The caboceers, as did their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashantee cloths of extravagant price, from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them, in all the varieties of colour as well as pattern; they were of an incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulder exactly like the Roman toga; a small silk fillet generally encircled their temples, and massy gold necklaces, intricately wrought, suspended Moorish charms, enclosed in small square cases of gold, silver, and curious embroidery. Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel, entirely of aggry beads; a band of gold and beads encircled the knee, from which several strings of the same depended; small circles of gold, like guineas, rings, and casts of animals, were strung round their ankles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white leather; manillas, and rude lumps of rock gold, hung from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the head of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves' and rams' heads, as large as life, cast in gold, were suspended from their gold-handled swords, which were held around them in great numbers.

JOAN R. HARDING
Otago Museum, Dunedin, N.Z.

Loess Balls. *Cf. J. R. Anthrop. Inst., Vol. LXXXIII, pp. 65–70*

207 Sir,—Professor Zeuner's careful study of the loess balls from the lower Mousterian of Achenheim not only brings forward excellent reasons for regarding them as human artifacts, but also raises one or two technical points of interest.

As they stand they could not have been ancestral to true pottery. The clay has been rolled and smoothed but not sufficiently 'wedged' or kneaded to exclude air bubbles. Therefore even if by accident they fell into a fire they would explode and fail to inspire anyone with the idea of using burnt clay.

In the second paragraph of p. 70 Professor Zeuner says, '. . . containers moulded of clay or silt may one day be found in palæolithic sites.' With regard to such sun-dried containers there is an interesting reference on p. 52 of J. F. Schofield, *Primitive Pottery*, Cape Town, 1948. The informant was Klein Jantje, from the Kaainveld, who worked for Dr. Bleek. Among the Bushmen clay was pounded up with broken-up grass stems (one wonders if the grass inclusions in the loess balls were also deliberately added to keep the clay from splitting as it dried) and then moulded by hand. When sun-drying, the pots were treated with fat. Then dry powdered gum was boiled with water in the pot, and later it was filled with springbok blood which was boiled in it before it was used for cooking with boiling water. Schofield assumes that Klein Jantje was not acquainted with pottery burning, but a clay container treated in the way described would not be any less brittle than a fired pot of a primitive kind, and it could be used for boiling without ever reaching the temperatures which would convert the dried and waterproofed clay into true pottery. Such stuff is shockingly impermanent archæologically, but that it once existed in a hunting culture such as that of the Bushmen is corroborative evidence of the probability of Zeuner's interesting hypothesis.

Incidentally there are fragments of pottery from Bushman sites in which grass has been used as a binding material. Nothing more unsuitable for a properly burnt pot can be imagined. Its presence is evidence that the so-called Bushman pottery was either partly burnt broken pre-ceramic pots of the type described by Klein Jantje, or else a culture trait taken over from neighbouring potters, such as the Hottentots, with no understanding that the clay could be mixed with substances other than grass.

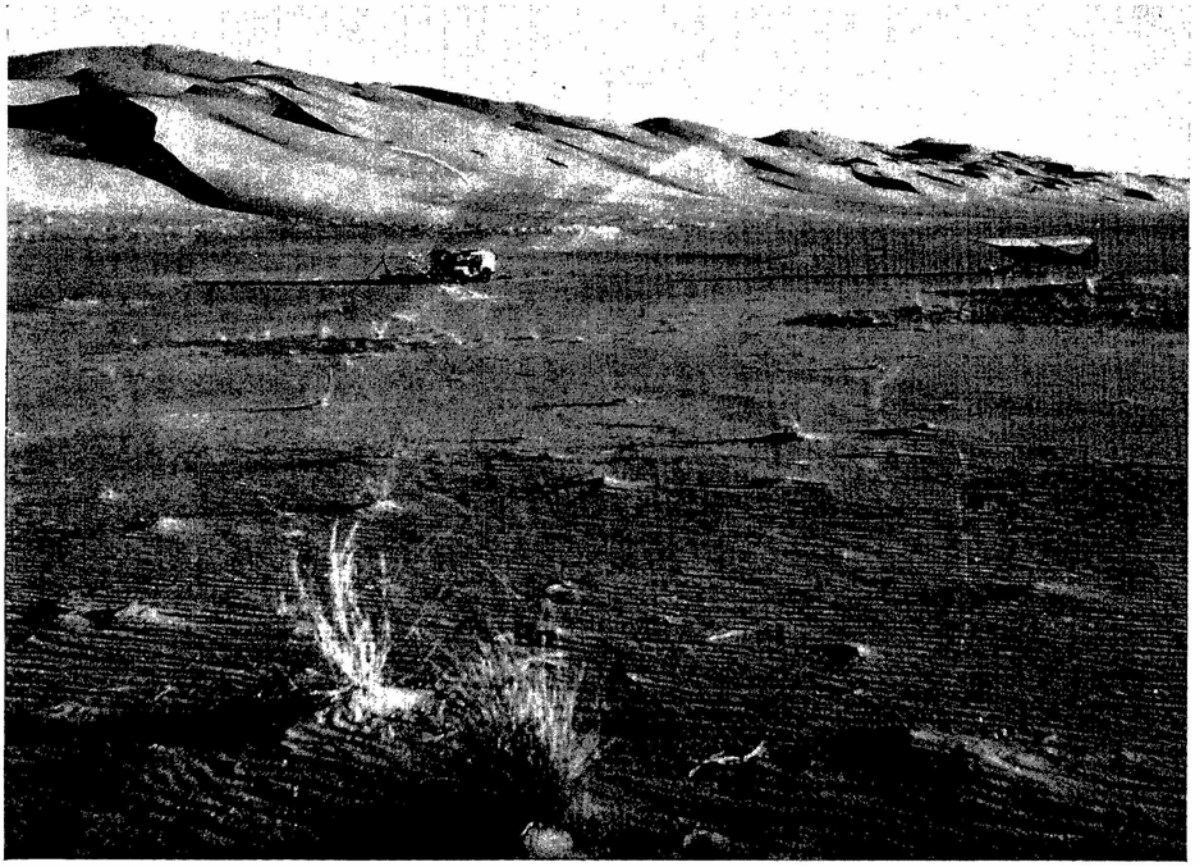
West Molesey, Surrey C. A. BURLAND

Field Research in South America. *Cf.* Man, 1954, 154

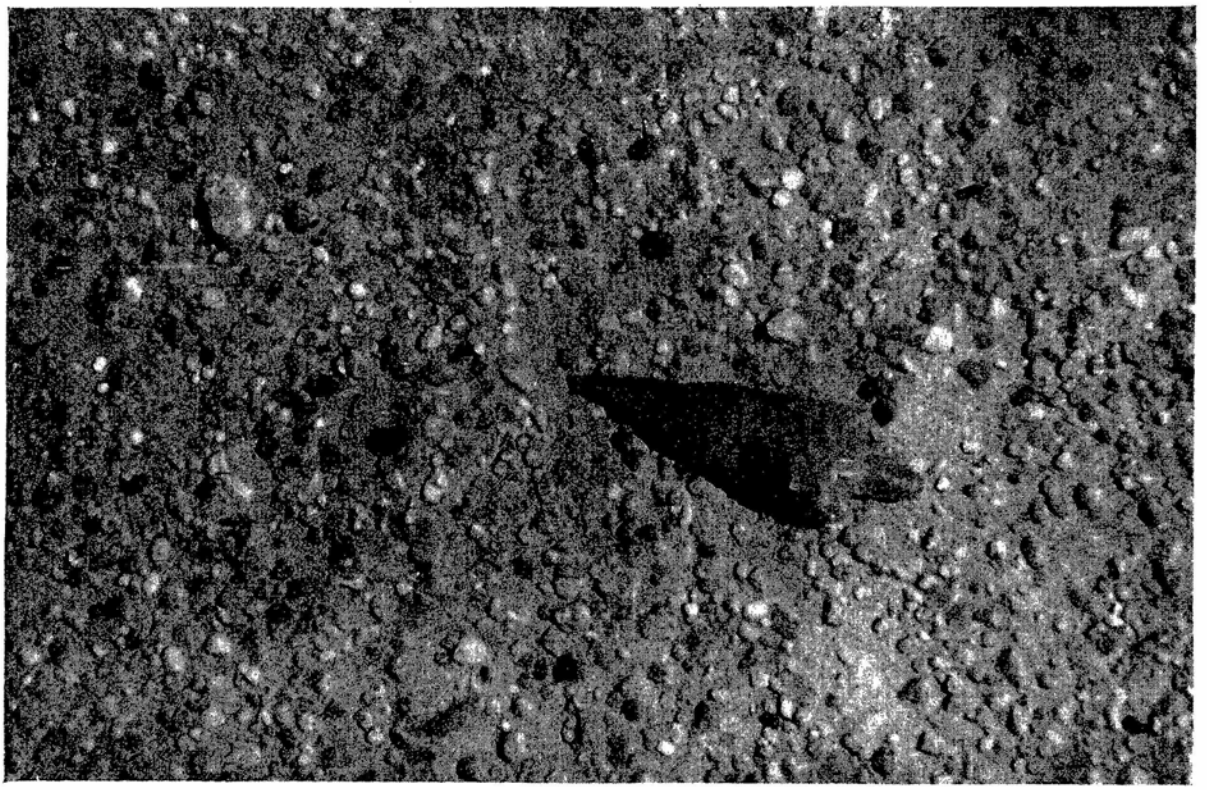
208 Sir,—Dr. Lowie's remarks, as I now find to my regret, are justified in so far as I have ascribed to him certain statements in the *Handbook of South American Indians* respecting the Jibaro Indians which in reality do not originate from him. As an explanation I can only say that my mistake was due in part to the great number of contributors in this volume of the *Handbook* (no less than 15), and in part to the fact that the long introductory chapter on 'The Tropical Forest Tribes' (pp. 1–56 in Vol. III), to which the Jibaros belong, is written by Dr. Lowie. In this Introduction, however, the Jibaros are only mentioned in passing. These Indians are dealt with at some length in pp. 617ff. (and also previously mentioned in the chapters on 'The Tribes of the Montana') by Dr. A. Métraux and Dr. J. H. Steward. My criticism of certain erroneous statements relating to the Jibaros should of course have been addressed to these ethnologists and not to Dr. Lowie.

I wish to apologise to Dr. Lowie for my mistake.

Helsingfors, Finland RAFAEL KARSTEN



(*a*) NEOLITHIC SITE IN THE RUB-AL-KHALI



(*b*) AN ARROWHEAD ON THE DESERT FLOOR

'NEOLITHIC' SITES IN THE RUB-AL-KHALI

Photographs: (a) G. Popov, (b) G. Smart

'NEOLITHIC' SITES FROM THE RUB-AL-KHALI, SOUTHERN ARABIA*

by

PROFESSOR F. E. ZEUNER

Professor of Environmental Archæology, University of London

209 No prehistoric sites have so far been recorded from the great desert of Southern Arabia, so that it appears worth while to describe here a discovery made in 1952 by two officers of the Desert Locust Survey, Messrs D. G. Bunker and G. Popov. The material was placed at my disposal by the Director of the Anti-Locust Research Centre, London, Dr. B. P. Uvarov, F.R.S., whose far-sighted policy of allowing his officers to collect scientific information on a variety of subjects has here borne ample fruit. In addition, the collectors provided a concise report of their observations. My thanks are due to Messrs. Bunker and Popov, and to Dr. Uvarov, for handing the material over to me for publication.

Geographical Position

Three camp sites were found in close proximity to each other, at Shaqqat el Khariyta, in the south-western part of the Rub-al-Khali (fig. 1), position 17° 12.0′ N, 45° 55.2′ E., altitude 900 m. (Bunker, 1953).

According to the discoverers' report, the locality lies

> . . . 100 kilometres downstream from the granite foothills of the Yemen mountains, in an area of parallel dune ranges, orientated to 58° and about 30 metres high, lying about 500 metres apart on a floor of desert marls covered with fine quartz gravels (Plate I*b*). An irregularity in the northern dune exposes a shallow dip of about 50 centimetres in the desert floor (Plate I*a*). It is possible that this dip represents a continuation of Wadi Khariyta, or a neighbouring wadi of which the right bank is exposed here. The left bank may be concealed by the dunes which have since encroached on the area. The wadi would have continued over a vast level plain and north-east, past the southern end of, or through a gap in the Ardh scarp of Jurassic limestone (a possible source of the cherts used in the manufacture of the tools). On the higher ground three distinct locations were found in which implements were numerous (fig. 2). Two of these (*A* and *B*) were close together some 300 metres east of the bank. Here, many leaf-shaped implements were lying on the surface of the ground. The third site (*C*) was a larger area to the south of and close to the bank (Plate I*a*), and here barbed arrowheads could be found by searching fairly closely and disturbing the surface. It is possible that the slow movement of the dunes may gradually extend the area of finds.

Sites A and B

Since the collections from these two sites have not been kept separate, they have been treated together, the industry being henceforth called 'A.' As regards both typology and presentation, however, the material appears to be homogeneous, and the collectors did not notice any difference.[1]

The raw material of the artifacts is mainly chert of whitish, pale grey to buff colour. Some of these cherts are semi-transparent and might almost be classified as chalcedony. A rather smaller proportion consists of dark, brown or grey chert. All this material appears to be foreign to the locality, as are two flakes of obsidian, and two bifacial rods

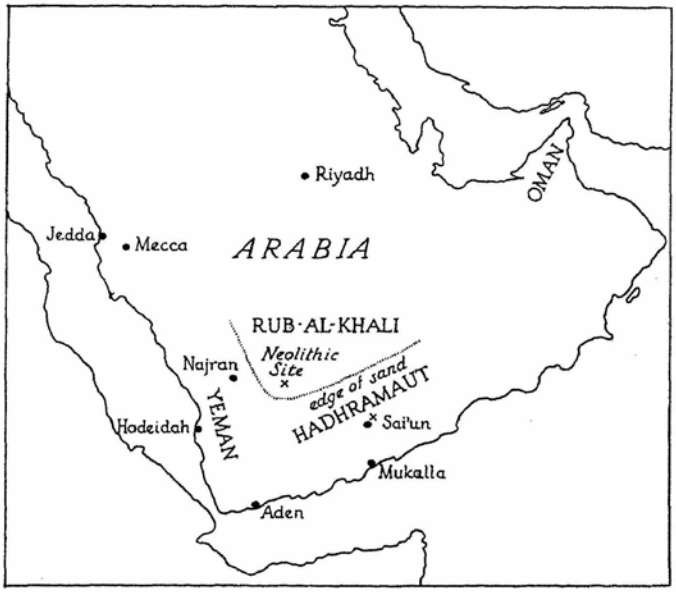


FIG. 1

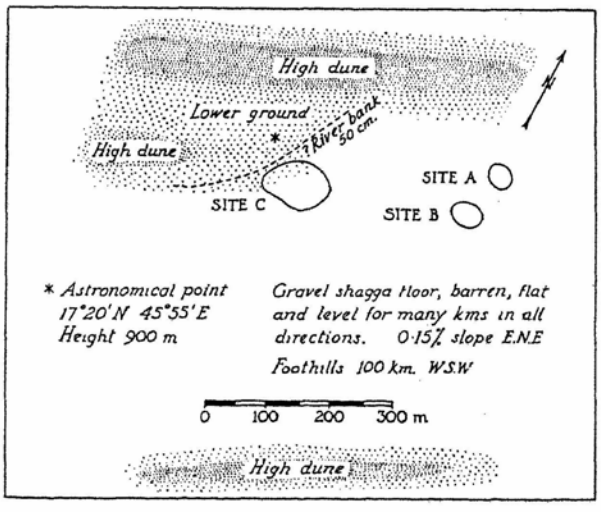


FIG. 2

of fine-grained brown quartzite. Only three specimens are made of crystalline quartz, possibly from local pebbles.

All specimens are virtually in mint condition, some even dull, like freshly flaked flint. The majority, however, have

* *With Plate I and four text figures*

acquired the ordinary silica lustre. Only the two obsidian specimens have distinctly rounded edges, and their surfaces are dull black. Though the difference between the fresh and unabraded chert artifacts and the worn-looking obsidian flakes appears to be great, it must not be inferred that the latter were exposed to wind action for a longer period. Obsidian is both physically softer and chemically less resistant than the silica rocks. Some of the cherts show incipient rounding of the edges and development of surface lustre to a varying degree. The quartz specimens, the hardest and chemically most resistant, show no trace of rounding. It must be inferred, therefore, that the artifacts have not been exposed to the present wind-swept conditions for any length of time. Moreover, the possibility that the blunting of the edges is the result of chemical solution remains to be considered.

Typologically, the assemblage is neolithic and comparable with the Fayum in the technique of manufacture. But there are important differences.

The character of the site as a hunters' camp is borne out

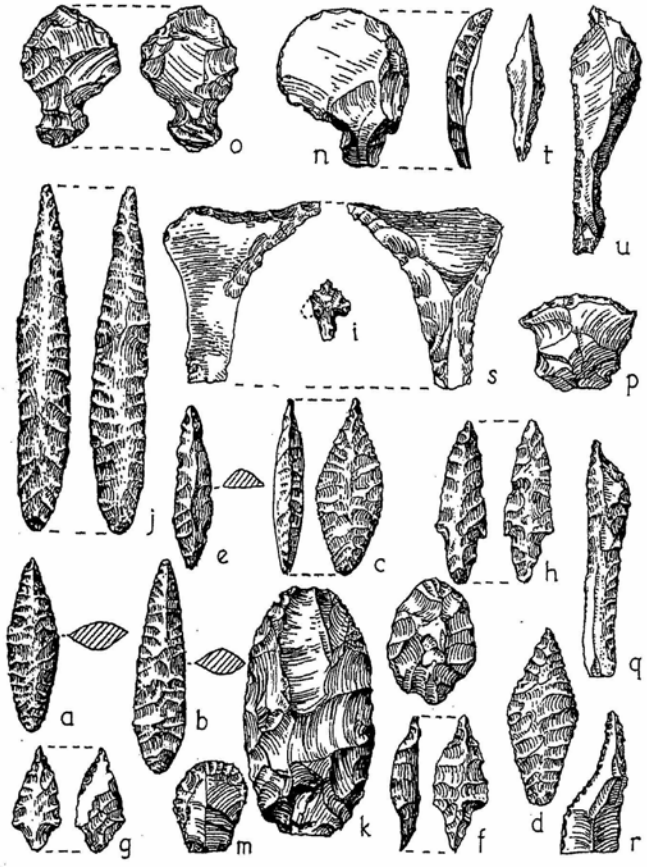


FIG. 3. IMPLEMENTS FROM SITES A AND B

by the large number of projectile points (30 out of 59). These range from leaf-shaped to tanged types, and there are all manner of transitions. The leaf-shaped group comprises 23 specimens, all comparatively thick, but very carefully worked over both surfaces and equipped with slightly serrated edges (fig. 3*a–d*). It ranges from specimens with a more or less narrow or pointed base and evenly convex edges through specimens in which the base is broadly rounded and the edges more or less straight to specimens which are distinctly rhomboidal in outline, *i.e.* exhibiting an angle on each of the lateral edges. More often than not the angle is in the middle of the side, so that the artifact has the outline of a rhombus (*d*). In others, however, the angles lie much nearer the point, or else nearer the base (*b*).

The last-named variant, in which the short axis is near the base, grades into a type which may be called 'half-tanged.' It is represented by two specimens, one of which is only partially worked on the ventral side and thus links up with a slender unifacial point made of obsidian (*e*).

The five remaining arrowheads are barbed and tanged. One, made of greenish quartz, is unifacial, except for the tang. The others are bifacial. Of these, two are somewhat plano-convex in cross-section and their barbs so small that they appear to be related to the elongate, leaf-shaped group (*g*). The two remaining specimens are much more advanced in type, one being straight-edged and long (*h*), the other short, broadly triangular with a large tang (*i*). These last two types are well known from the Neolithic of North Africa.

Four implements, only one of which is complete, may be regarded as very elongate, leaf-shaped and round-based projectile points (*j*). There is one well finished bifacial ovate, about 2½ inches long (*k*), and another, less well made and one inch long (*l*). Their function is obscure.

The remaining 23 specimens comprise one thumbnail scraper (*m*), two tanged scrapers, two borers, one hollow scraper, two retouched spalls, one twisted blade, and other flakes and blades.

Of the tanged scrapers, one is made on a thin flake and unifacial (*n*), whilst the other, made on a thick flake, is trimmed round the edges on the ventral side also (*o*). They are both reminiscent of Aterian. Another smaller scraper is an ordinary thumbnail type made on the end of the flake (*m*), whilst a fourth convex scraper was made by retouching the hinge fracture of a short flake, the dorsal surface of which suggests that it was the waste flake from the manufacture of a large biface (*p*).

Three specimens may be classified as borers. Two are unifacial and on the end of a blade (*q*, *r*), though the retouch extends all along the edges of the blade. Evidently, blunting of the blade edges was regarded as essential. The third borer is particularly interesting (*s*). It is an asymmetrically triangular flake, the bulbar end of which has been blunted on the dorsal side along both edges so as to form a handle. The working end (the extreme tip of which is broken), however, has been retouched on both edges on the ventral side in addition to the concave edge on the dorsal side. It is a well designed tool which rests comfortably in the hand. Strictly speaking, these three specimens should be classified as awls. They would be useful for piercing leather but too weak for drilling holes in wood, except perhaps the third.

There are two peculiar 'points' with a triangular cross-section (*t*). They form serviceable points, though they are more likely to be waste spalls comparable to rejuvenation

flakes of axes. One edge has a step-flake retouch. The opposite surface is the one along which the break occurred, a break which is peculiar in that the resulting surface is convex near the point and concave at the other end. This should be indicative of a violent twist, not of a simple blow. It is easy, though somewhat futile, to imagine methods of bringing this about. The type has been described in some detail as it may prove characteristic.

The remainder are blades and flakes, or portions of such. Five are unworked, five more show evidence of use without further retouch. One has a steep retouch along one edge which has been made concave, evidently to serve as a hollow scraper. Another is a twisted blade, the distal end being at 30° to the proximal (*u*). It is carefully retouched along both edges and also along the short cross-break at the distal end. The proximal end is broader, and a corner has come off which makes this, the working end, look at first sight like a burin. Since the retouch runs round the remaining tip, there is no doubt that this break is old. The implement may be regarded as a kind of awl; if its tip is considered too short, its function remains obscure.

Finally, two fragments of thin flakes must be mentioned which, at first sight, may be mistaken for burins. Both have flat, marginal retouch (not 'backing') and appear to have been part of a larger artifact which was subsequently broken obliquely at an angle of 60°. An efficient point was the result, but whether this was intentional is doubtful.

To summarize, the *A* industry is characterized by large numbers of leaf-shaped projectile points which are bifacial and very neatly pressure-flaked over the entire surface. There are a few tanged arrowheads, but since the *C* industry has plenty of these, they may be intrusive in *A*. In addition, *A* contains tanged scrapers, and borers.

Site C

In this locality, numerous waste flakes occurred associated with tanged arrowheads. According to the collectors' report, a solitary rock, some 30 centimetres high, was lying in the middle of the site, together with fragments of bone. In addition, a number of 'circular, polished grinding stones of porphyry' were found, such as are in present-day use by the Beduin in Arabia for grinding grain and salt. It is evident that 'C' was an occupation site.

Most of the bone fragments were small except one, the portion of a horncore of *Gazella* sp. The bones are heavily mineralized and have an almost metallic ring when dropped on a hard surface. Chemical tests revealed that the mineralization is due to impregnation with calcium carbonate. The surfaces of the bones are somewhat polished by wind, though the implements are not. Their edges are sharp and the surfaces mostly dull. Since the collectors mention that at this site specimens were obtained by 'disturbing the surface,' they appear to have been enbedded in sediment, possibly the desert marls.

Curiously enough, the collection consists of arrowheads only, 19 in number. Since waste flakes have been reported, it must be assumed that other artifacts might have been found had time been available for a detailed study of the site. On the other hand the collectors, being familiar with the leaf-shaped tools of *A* and *B*, would not have missed these had they been present at Site *C*. A fundamental difference exists, therefore, between *A* and *B* on the one hand, and *C* on the other, the latter being characterized by the absence of leaf-shaped tools and by the presence of large numbers of barbed and tanged arrowheads.

The raw material of the *C* industry is exclusively chert, ranging from cream and pale grey to shades of brown.

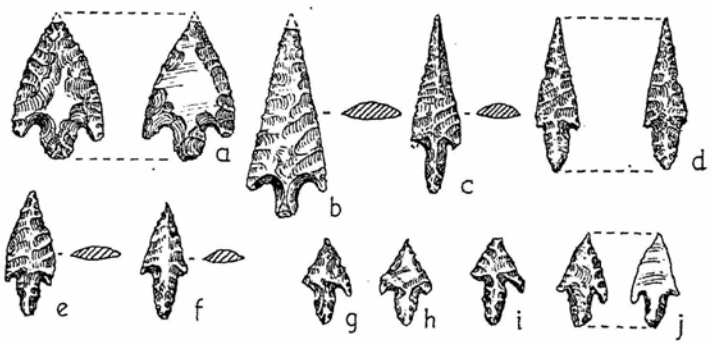


FIG. 4. IMPLEMENTS FROM SITE C

The types present are shown in fig. 4. Most are bifacial, and plano-convex or biconvex in section, but the thinner ones are only partially flaked on the ventral surface, or entirely unifacial. In outline they vary from almost leaf-shaped specimens with very small barbs (fig. 4*d*) to straight-edged elongate ones in which the tang is separated from the barbs by neatly made semi-circular notches (*b*, *c*). In addition, there are short, triangular types (*a*, *g*, *j*), including two with 'hooked' barbs (*h*, *i*). Straight and hollow-based arrowheads are absent.

General Considerations: Geological Age

The *A* and *C* industries are not entirely recent. Time must have elapsed for the bones of the *C* site to become mineralized, and it is possible that the *C* site altogether is older than the top horizon of desert marl. The collectors regard the site as older than the dunes which appear to have passed over them.

The position of the sites, and especially of *C*, may be determined by the ancient wadi bank which is now emerging from beneath the sand. At the time of their occupation, gazelle existed and was hunted, and the sand ridges appear to have as yet been absent. Somewhat damper conditions than those of the present day are thus indicated.

Both industries are therefore of some antiquity, but in view of their different typological aspects they are unlikely to be contemporaneous.[2]

Typological Comparisons

The method of manufacture, in which pressure flaking is prominent, links both industries with the Neolithic and Protodynastic of Egypt. Every single type found on the Rub-al-Khali sites can be matched with specimens from the Fayum (Caton-Thompson and Gardner, 1934) or Kharga (Caton-Thompson, 1952), and many occur outside these localities. There are affinities both with the Neolithic of the Sahara and of Mesopotamia and with the Doian of Somaliland. But quantitatively, the differences are great,

types which are rare in one of the localities just quoted being frequent in the Rub-al-Khali, and *vice versa*.

Considering first the *A* industry it has no close parallel anywhere. Its leaf-shaped projectile points are characterized by the frequent rhomboidal shape, which is very rare elsewhere, and technically they are as perfect as the best Egyptian specimens. Surveying Arabia and its borderlands for comparable industries, one encounters leaf-shaped tools as well as tanged arrowheads in Mesopotamia. Though the evidence from that country (concerning which Dr. John Waechter very kindly supplied me with a valuable but unpublished summary) is still quite insufficient, it is as well to remember that closely comparable industries may one day be discovered in western Asia. The only locality that can at all be compared in northern Arabia is Mount Horsfield No. 19, in Jordan. It was described by Rhotert (1938). Its artifacts are on the whole much larger and less finely worked, but foliate projectile points and tanged arrowheads are both present, and so are small oval bifaces. The rhomboidal point of the Rub-al-Khali is absent, however, as well as the very elongate 'rod'-like bifaces. Moreover, the Mount Horsfield industry comprises projectile points with a straight base and polished axes and choppers, and what Rhotert regards as burins. Clearly, the affinity is not close.

Turning to Africa, the *A* industry of the Rub-al-Khali is not identical with the Fayum A industry, which has numerous hollow-based arrowheads and sickle blades, types that are both absent in the Rub-al-Khali. Since the Fayum industries are those of agricultural communities, one would not expect to find sickle blades in the hunters' camps of the Rub-al-Khali. But the arrowheads are comparable, and it is here that a fundamental difference appears. In Africa, the hollow-based arrowhead is indigenous and an early development. Desmond Clark (1950) has shown how the Doian of Somalia (which has it) emerged from the Magosian, and ultimately from Stillbay stock.

In Kharga, the projectile heads of the *A* industry occur in the Beduin microlithic, including the tanged arrowheads which, in the Rub-al-Khali, may theoretically be explained as intrusions from the *C* industry. On the other hand, triangles, transverse arrowheads, discs and celtiform tools as found in Kharga are absent. Another resemblance lies in the tendency of some of the Kharga tools to become rhomboidal, a tendency which flourishes in the Rub-al-Khali. The difference is vast quantitatively, but there is at least some affinity to be noted here.

The Neolithic of the Sahara, which has been discussed by Almagro (1946), is more probably derived from the Neolithic of the eastern fringe of Africa than a local development. This influence of the Nile Valley and adjacent lands on the rest of northern Africa was demonstrated by Joubert and Vaufrey (1946) in the Neolithic of the Ténéré (Niger Colony), and it extends across the entire Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania. It comprises the hollow-based arrowhead, as well as the foliate point and the tanged, and there are transverse arrowheads in addition. Evidently, the Rub-al-Khali industries are not closely related to it, but there is a certain likeness in the mode of manufacture, the presence of scrapers on blades, of small borers, which is perhaps the result of convergence under the influence of a Bedawi environment.

There remain to be discussed the industries of Somalia (Desmond Clark, 1950), especially those comprised by the term Doian. It is regarded by Clark as a derivative of the Stillbay complex by way of the Magosian, except for the high degree of pressure flaking and the hollow-based arrowheads, which link it with the Fayum. If these are indeed due to influences from the north, and both arrived simultaneously, it is difficult to understand why the hollow-based arrowhead did not reach South Arabia. Admittedly, the material available so far is much too scanty to be dogmatic about this. The point is raised here merely to draw attention to the urgency of examining further collections from South Arabia and particularly to look for hollow-based arrowheads.

Another point of interest is the presence of the tang in the *A* industry on scrapers closely resembling Aterian specimens, in the *C* industry on tanged and barbed arrowheads. Both point strongly to the west as their country of origin. Certainly, nothing in the least resembling these South Arabian industries exists in the Indian subcontinent. It appears, therefore, that the South Arabian Neolithic is derived from the west and that there may be both Magosian and Aterian elements in its ancestry. To say more would mean going beyond the boundaries imposed by the extremely limited material.

Notes

[1] According to the collectors' report the local Beduin appeared to be well acquainted with the existence of stone implements in the Rub-al-Khali, and their guide mentioned the presence of other sites elsewhere, but although solitary implements were seen on a number of occasions, no other major sites like the one here described were found.

These implements were recognized by the Beduin for what they are; and 'these were used by our forefathers' was the comment. Nowadays they are sometimes used as flints for lighting fires, but not for any other purpose.

[2] Provenance from two different tribes cannot be excluded.

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KINSHIP AND FAMILY IN EAST LONDON

by

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210 What are the kinship systems of English cities?[1] In the absence of systematic study, the impression seems to have grown up that in the cities, as distinct from the countryside, extra-familial kinship has almost lost any significance it may once have had. 'In the great conurbations of contemporary industrial England,' said Professor Curle[2] in a previous issue of MAN, 'our kinship system, long divorced from its socio-economic context, is rapidly losing the traditions and patterns of culture which are still maintained by propinquity and the slower rate of change in the countryside.'

The Institute of Community Studies has been recently established in London in order to undertake studies of kinship. Its first enquiries do not confirm the popular impression. Taken together with the pioneering study made by Professor Firth in 'South Borough'[3], they rather suggest the existence, in some working-class districts at any rate, of a wide network of kinship relations outside the immediate family. I can best indicate the sort of network it is by summarizing briefly some of the results of an investigation made in 'East Borough,' a district of East London occupied almost exclusively by manual workers. The material comes in the main from interviews in a random sample of 96 households, each containing two or more children under 15.

The first point to make is that in East Borough marriage is uxorilocal. After the wedding husbands do, in other words, frequently move either in or near to their wives' homes. Whether a husband takes up residence with his wife's parents, or merely near to them, depends in part upon her birth order. It is more usual for the youngest daughter to remain at home after her marriage than it is for other daughters because by the time she marries, when she is the last to do so, there is room in the parental home for her husband and even her children as well as herself. Three-generation households are therefore common in East Borough, as they are, according to the Census,[4] in other parts of the country as well.

Youngest daughters who stay with their parents after marriage and remain until the death of their parents inherit the tenancy from them. This tenancy is the most valuable property many of the people possess, and, partly because of the Rent Restriction Acts and partly because of custom, it is transferred to any child in residence at the time when the last surviving parent dies. Since the child in residence is usually the youngest daughter, the pattern of inheritance is ultimogeniture in the female line.

The daughters who move out seldom move far away. Not only do they want to stay close by, but they have a better chance of finding accomodation in the immediate neighbourhood of their parental home than they do at a distance. The reason is that a rent-collector or agent usually manages on behalf of the landlord all the flats in a tenement or several adjacent houses in a street. When one of their properties becomes vacant they usually give preference to the children of their existing tenants, and in practice that means they give preference to daughters. Daughters' households are often clustered so closely around their mother's that they do in effect constitute one domestic unit similar to that which Dr. Richards has referred to, in discussing the Bemba, as a 'matrilineal extended family.'[5] However, the most appropriate term is probably matrilateral extended family, and this is what I shall call it from now on. It has no political functions unless you can call mediation with landlords, local authorities and social-service agencies a political function. But it has economic, recreational, ceremonial and mutual-aid functions of great importance. It commonly consists of all the descendants of the oldest living female ancestor. The pivotal figure, the founder and organizer, is the grandmother or great-grandmother, known locally as Mum. Her daughters (and to a lesser extent her sons) cluster around her kettle and her fire.

What usually happens is that the daughters and their children pop round to Mum's not just on Christmas Days and Sundays, but almost every day. They drink tea there. They chat. They do shopping with and for each other. If Mum is ill, they run the house for her. If one of the daughters goes out to work, Mum looks after her children. They go off to Southend together for a day trip in the summer and one of the daughters accompanies the mother to the hospital out-patients' department if she ever has to go. On ritual occasions the effective extended family grows much larger, to include Mum's siblings, nieces and their children, and possibly some of the children of her aunts and uncles. If the members of close immediate families cannot all attend, at least some members of each must go as representatives. When, for example, Mrs. Prince's maternal aunt died, Mrs. Prince went to the funeral with her mother as a representative of her branch of the family. She told me that: 'Mum sent me the money to pay my fare up to Ada's funeral. She wanted me to go with her as the eldest child to be there for the family.' Weddings and funerals are often great events with hundreds of people present and hundreds of pounds spent. Sometimes the dancing and drinking go on for three days almost continuously. There are also endless parties for birthdays and anniversaries, many more of them and much more magnificent apparently than they were before the recent war. People have more money today.

The matrilateral family consists of the descendants of the oldest living female ancestor. This implies that segmentation occurs upon the death of the old lady. Each of her daughters then becomes the head of an extended family comprising

her children and grandchildren. This is, I believe, what usually happens, but not always. One family continued, for example, to meet at least once a year on the anniversary of the dead grandmother's birthday, and the siblings took it in turns to be host. The members of this family, like others, all possessed photographs of the dead grandmother at various stages of her life and of her gravestone too, all carefully preserved in the sacred places of the home. The nearest thing to a shrine in many houses is the sideboard in the parlour covered with its handsomely mounted photographs of dead and departed relatives.

As I said, the group does not always break up upon Mum's death. Certain of the siblings have a special responsibility for maintaining the unity of the sibling group in these circumstances. The eldest sister becomes the head of the family in the place of her mother. How effective she is depends in part upon the age at which the mother dies. If the mother dies young, her eldest daughter may take over nearly all of her functions. If she dies old, there is not so much for the eldest daughter to do, and she may also have less interest in doing it. But she is, ranking after the Mum, a pivotal figure of some importance. There are already some hints of the friction between parents and their eldest children (especially between mother and her eldest daughter), and between the eldest and other siblings, which has been noticed in so many other societies.

Although the group does not always break up on the death of the common ancestor, it usually does so, as I said earlier. Here, for example, is what happened when one great-grandmother died: 'My Mum's brothers and sisters,' said Mr. Trent, 'were all seen pretty regular until my grandmother died. We were all a very happy family. We used to see them at her place.' It is the same story when a grandmother dies: 'We all used to be very close until Mum died,' said Mrs. Maggs. 'Now it's all broken up. One of my sisters made the mischief. Mum wouldn't have allowed that kind of thing.' Or as her husband, a dustman, said: 'We don't see much of them since Mum died. Mum's used to be the central depot in this family.'

I said that the extended family consists of all the descendants in the female line of the oldest living female ancestor, and this should be amplified a little. It is clear from the information so far obtained that her married sons as well as her daughters remain with her. In other words, the husbands continue for many purposes to belong to the family they started life in. But though they themselves belong, their children do not. The children belong primarily to their mother's family of birth. The wives take them around to their own Mum's when they visit. The grandchildren, to put it another way, do not have nearly as much to do with their father's family of birth. For them the operative Grannie is the maternal one.

The whole matrilateral extended family is pervaded by a body of sentiment which is in some ways like that which Professor Fortes has described amongst the Ashanti.[6] Its existence is shown not only by the behaviour of people but also by their utterances. 'Mother and daughter,' said Mrs. Morrow, 'are like Siamese twins—one doesn't move without the other.' 'I'm very devoted to Mum of course,' said Mrs. Blunt, 'that's understood with mothers and daughters.' 'She gives up her money to her Mum,' said Mrs. Marsden 'like a proper daughter should do.'

What is the relation of this particular kind of kinship system to its environment? Professor Fortes has shown how important a question this is to ask in his article on Unlineal Descent Groups in Africa.[7] The South Borough or East Borough type of kinship system has, I believe, been common to the working class of Britain, and possibly even to the working class of most industrial countries. In Britain there is some evidence of its existence in Acton, Manchester, Banbury, Liverpool and above all in Wolverhampton where Dr. Sheldon has made a classic study.[8] Why should this be so? The fundamental reason in my view is that working-class women have until recent years suffered severely from insecurity. They have had to endure all the violent storms of unemployment, and on top of this, the wage-earner's risk, they have been subject to special risks of their own. With mortality high even in peace time, and with wars frequent, they have been at any time liable to lose through death the fathers of their children. With unskilled jobs available in any part of the country, and with little or no property to tie the man to the home, they have been liable at any time to lose their husbands through desertion. The resulting very high frequency of broken homes in the past is really the most striking feature of the genealogies we have collected so far. It is remarkably rare to find a family in which a father or mother did not die or disappear while the children were still young.

Marriage instability may always tend to strengthen the ties between wives and their families of birth. Dr. Smith, writing recently, says of Hausa marriage that:

> 'Time and again the instability of Hausa marriage and the high incidence of divorce is seen to be closely linked with the attachment of wives to their kin, an attachment which usually overrides any fondness they may have for their husband when they conflict, which frequently happens at the instigation of kinswomen of a senior generation.'[9]

In East Borough, as elsewhere, the lot of women has been insecure and that has, I believe, given its cast to the kinship system of today, even though conditions are so different from even 25 years ago. There certainly have been many changes in that time. Mortality has fallen, the number of broken homes been greatly reduced and unemployment more or less disappeared. Nowadays the similarity of women's domestic jobs is probably a more telling reason why the kinship group is so much a woman's affair: they can visit each other in the daytime when husbands are away at work and they have a host of interests and problems in common. Men and women belong to different trade unions, but at least the women are not without one.

Notes

[1] This article is based on a paper delivered at Professor Firth's Anthropology Seminar at the London School of Economics in Nov. 1954.

[2] A. Curle, 'Kinship Structure in an English Village.' MAN, 1952, 100.

[3] The results of this work are expected to be published this year,

together with a companion study on the kinship system of Italianates in London, as one of the *Monographs on Social Anthropology* of the London School of Economics.

4 Peter Townsend, my colleague at the Institute of Community Studies, has calculated from the 1951 Census Reports that at that time about a fifth, or 8 to 11 million, of the people of Great Britain were living in three-generation households.

5 A. I. Richards, 'Some Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu,' in A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, and D. Forde (eds.), *African Systems of Kinship and Marrige*, O.U.P. 1950, p. 227. She says: 'This extended family is composed of separate parental families housed in huts in the same village—not fenced off in any way from the rest of the community; but it must be reckoned as forming one domestic unit, since the daughters' households are closely linked with those of their mother.' Substitute dwellings for huts and the description is as apt for East Borough.

6 M. Fortes, 'Kinship and Marriage among the Ashanti' in Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

7 M. Fortes, 'The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups' *Amer. Anthrop.*, 1953, p. 17.

8 J. H. Sheldon, *The Social Medicine of Old Age*. O.U.P. for Nuffield Foundation, 1947.

9 M. G. Smith, Introduction to M. F. Smith, *Baba of Karo*, London, 1954. p. 13.

SHORTER NOTES

An International Symposium: Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth: *By Carl O. Sauer, University of California, Marston Bates, University of Michigan, and Lewis Mumford, University of Pennsylvania*

211

The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, of New York City, has organized an international symposium on 'Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth' to be held 16–22 June, 1955, at the Princeton Inn, Princeton, New Jersey. The National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C., through a grant in aid of publication subsidy, is a collaborating sponsor. Participation is limited to 80 invited scholars, of whom 17 are from outside the United States, representing India, Egypt, Israel, France, Belgium, Germany, Great Britian and Canada. Those from the United States are drawn from 39 institutions in 18 states, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia. The represented fields of study contributing to the theme include agriculture, anthropology, architecture, biology, botany, climatology, conservation, demography, ecology, economics, engineering, forestry, geochemistry, geography, geology, geomorphology, history, mathematics, medicine, meteorology, mining, pedology, philosophy, physics, pyschology, regional planning, sociology and zoology.

The symposium is based upon 52 background papers, each reviewing an aspect of the general theme and outlining the problems for future research. The papers are being pre-published and circulated for study in advance of the symposium, before participants have left their homes to attend the gathering. A general outline of the scope of the papers (though not their titles) is: Introducing The Theme (2 papers); Part I, *Retrospect*: Man's Tenure of the Earth (5 papers), Through the Corridors of Time (15 papers); Part II, *Process:* Man's Impact of the Sea (3 papers), Changes in the Water Economy (4 papers), Soil and Slope Changes Through Human Use (3 papers), Modifications of Biotic Communities (5 papers), Ecology of Wastes (3 papers), Urban-Industrial Demands on the Land (5 papers); Part III-*Prospect:* Limitations of the Earth (4 papers), The Role of Man (3 papers).

The symposium itself will meet for six working days, on each of which two sessions are to be held, aggregating six hours of discussion on problems raised by the inventory papers or developed during the meeting. The sessions are wholly for discussion; no papers are to be read. The chairman of these half-day sessions include Edgar Anderson, Alan Bateman, Marston Bates, Harrison Brown, F. Fraser Darling, Lewis Mumford, Carl O. Sauer, Paul B. Sears, Alexander Spoehr and Joseph B. Willits.

The symposium was the idea of William L. Thomas, Jr., Assistant Director of Research of the Foundation, and was implemented by Paul Fejos, Director of Research. The plan was developed by the Symposium Co-Chairmen who are Carl O. Sauer, Marston Bates, and Lewis Mumford. They agreed on the participants to be invited by the Foundation and the allocation of their functions as writers of papers and session chairmen. The volume to result from the symposium will be edited by William L. Thomas, Jr., and will contain not only the background papers but also a report based upon the discussions. and will be published by February, 1956.

The symposium represents an unusual combination of features, such as its wide inter-disciplinary basis, its international representation, tight planning to ensure co-ordination of individual efforts in a general scheme, distribution of papers for pre-symposium study, maximum time for discussion, and speedy publication.

The theme is intended as an exploration of the question: What has been, and is, happening to the earth's surface as a result of man's having been on it for a long time, increasing in number and skills unevenly, as to place and time? This subject for exploration is basic for obtaining perspective on the human adventure. The story of mankind may be considered as an exploration of varying physical and biological conditions on the earth's surface by elaboration of human needs, capacities, aspirations, and values. Three related factors are involved: (1) the earth's resources, (2) the numerical pressure of population upon, and sustained by, the resources, and (3) man's differing cultures, or ways of life. These last involve knowledge of values, equipment of artifacts, and social organization by which people group themselves, function, and interpret resources and their use. The man-nature relationship is dynamic; culture development may be viewed as man's growing knowledge of, and control over, forces external to himself. By so increasing his range of action, man has intervened ever more in the rest of the organic world as to change and survival. Man's evolutionary dominance is assured—only he, himself, can threaten it. Man has supplemented organic evolution with a new method of change—the development of culture, the transmission of organized experience, retained, discarded, or altered by further experience.

The symposium idea presents an important intellectual problem with a focus of interest for persons with different theoretical and descriptive backgrounds. Here, we are trying for an overview of the state of knowledge on a topic touched upon only in piecemeal fashion by individual disciplines. Emphasis is to be placed on the stimulation of cross-disciplinary thought, a review of what is not yet known, and the delineation of the most profitable lines of future research. No resolutions, no formulation of an action programme, no incorporation of an organization are contemplated. This is intended as a gathering of some 80 of the world's best minds in a congenial atmosphere for recorded discussion leading to eventual publication for the benefit of the world of scholarship

Female Tattooing among the Tribes of Dudhi. *By K. S. Mathur, Lucknow University. With a text figure*

212

Among the tribal communities of Dudhi and Singrauli Estates of Mirzapur District (Uttar Pradesh), tattooing is an indispensable part of the dress and decoration of the women. Though it is a painful process, the women prefer to be tattooed;

their continuous contacts with civilization have not brought any significant change in this direction. Here and there, the patterns of tattooing or the tools and technique of the tattooer have been modified in accordance with changes in fashion, but the tattooing habit, and the desire to have their tanned black bodies pricked with bigger and better tattoo marks continues to exercise a hold on young girls.

Soon after she reaches maturity, a girl is obliged to be tattooed; this is the most critical period in her life and it is now that she must have these 'marks of tribal identification.' Tattooing in this region is done by 'wandering women' whose profession is tattooing, and never by any relation of the girl, as in several other tribes (see *The Oraons* by Roy, *Maria Gonds of Bastar* by Grigson,

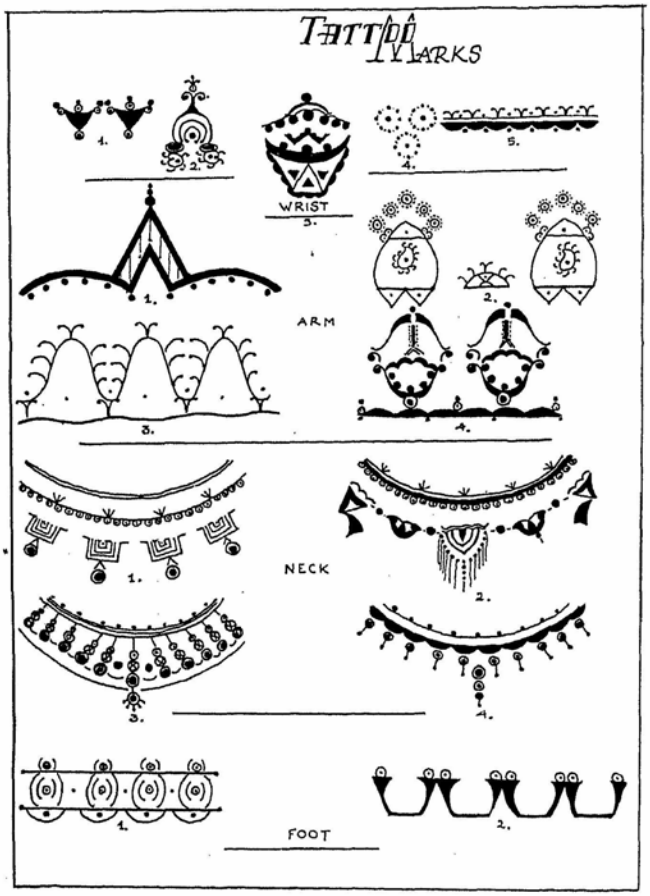

FIG. 1

and *The Muria and their Ghotul* by Elwin). The Tattooer is an elderly dame, usually belonging to the Badi tribe, and is called *guadanharin*, the tattooer-woman.

The day on which she is tattooed is an important event in the life of the young girl, a step towards her social maturity. Usually girls are tattooed before their marriage, but if they are too young at the time, they must be tattooed before the *gauna* is performed and they go to live with their husbands. No man would be willing to accept a girl untattooed as his wife; 'she is not one of us without that, tattoo is her mark of identification.'

The method of tattooing is still very much the same as it was of old, with the exception of the native wire needle which is now replaced by needles of machine make. Three ordinary needles tightly tied to a bamboo stick with a piece of cord, black soot, an earthen lamp and a small cup of coconut-palm shell—these are the tools of the tattooer. Black soot prepared with kerosene or *til* oil is powdered and mixed with human milk in the shell cup; this milk is normally extracted from the breasts of the girl's mother, but milk is taken only from women who have had a male issue. It is said that if the milk is taken from a woman who has had only daughters and no son, the pricks would be painful and there would be swelling on the body. If the mother's milk is unavailable owing to this or to any other reason, some other relation of the girl may offer her milk; otherwise water is used to dissolve the lamp-black.

The Badi woman will inquire what pattern of tattooing the girl wishes to have. There are prevalent in these villages four main types of tattoo marks known as: *hathi*, *pothi*, *chandrama* and *phulwari* (elephant, book, moon and flowers). These may be otherwise called figurative, lineal, geometrical and floral. In addition to these common patterns, there may also be found a special wrist pattern, but this is an import from outside rather than the tribe's own innovation.

A few hours after the pricks are made, the spots are washed with a solution of cowdung and water, and turmeric (*haldi*) mixed with *til* oil is applied. This has a soothing effect, and helps the pricks to cool quickly and not hurt too much, besides preventing them from becoming septic.

Tribal girls are tattooed on the forehead, chin, neck, breasts, back, arms, thighs and legs. The tattooing takes three to four days. The tattooer does only so much pricking at a time as the girl can bear. After a few days the pricks dry up and the girl is able to take up her regular activities of drawing water, working in the field or home, or going to the jungle to collect grass and fuel. After a few weeks, the upper crust of the pricked skin dries and falls off. *Haldi* and *til* oil is continuously applied to avoid irritation. When the upper skin falls off, tattoo marks come up clearly, looking exotic on the tanned skin of the Gond girls or the fair, yellowish complexion of the Kharwars. The girl is happy in thinking that she looks more beautiful, still more so because she considers herself no longer a little girl but a mature woman. The tattoo marks give her the status of a full-fledged member of the female circle. Compared to this gain, the pain of the pricks passes into insignificance.

For her services in tattooing, the Badi woman gets payment in cash. Previously this used to be in the form of a conventional *seeda*—a gift of flour, pulse, rice, ghee, spices and a few copper chips; money economy has changed this to cash payment. She has now a fixed charge of two pice for each single pattern. This usually brings the total cost of tattooing a girl to about two or three rupees.

Female tattooing is not just another form of body-decoration, though the women fail to find any other reason for this. 'It adds to the beauty' I was told by a Gond girl, who was actually writhing under the pain of the pricks. 'We are wild people and we have nothing to decorate our bodies with, except these tattoo marks for which we have to pay so little, but which remain fresh for our whole life. What else have we got to show to our friends and admirers except these beautiful tattoo marks?' said an old woman in a querulous tone, the gesticulatory movements of her body showing the excitement she felt at the very mention of the subject.

But it seems hardly plausible that a mere sense of decoration would make tattooing so widespread, almost universal among these people. It is a fact that the decoration of her body is the main concern of the young girl who bears the painful pricks of tattooing, thinking that she will be rewarded by the addition to her beauty that these marks give when they come up. But there is also a slice of truth in their being called 'marks of tribal identification' without which the girls cannot be classified into the fold of tribal womanhood. 'All tribals are tattooed, a woman who is not

tattoed is either a Turkin or an Isain' said the Badi woman, Rajia, of village Bisrampur who supplied to me the main details of tattooing.

The idea also seems to be known that the marks are a passport to heaven. 'This is the only thing which distinguishes a tribal woman from others in the after-life. (It is believed that tattoo marks go to the other world with the ethereal body after the physical body is burnt to ashes.) If she dies without being tattooed, Bhagwan will not treat her well. If He likes her tattoo patterns, He will keep her in heaven and honour her.' It is also said that women untattooed are returned untattooed, meaning thereby that they are reborn as Mohammedans or Christians, an idea that every tribal woman hates from the core of her heart.

Notes on Two Marmarican Sites. *By R. H. Parker, Tauranga, New Zealand*

213 Because of the destructive consequences of erosion the archæological future of the coastal parts of Egyptian Libya must rest largely on the kind of surface archæology for which adequate techniques are only now being developed. However, less disturbed sites do occur. Neither of the two which are the subject of this note seems to have been reported on previously. They were visited in the autumn of 1941 and the late autumn of 1942 respectively, in circumstances which made it impossible to gather more complete information.

The first of these two sites is situated above the escarpment south of Sidi Hanish railway station, and consists of a considerable area of mounds, on the windward side of which patches of rough masonry were exposed here and there. In one mound, which had been cut into to form a truck shelter, several pieces of well finished plaster were uncovered, decorated with a half-inch band of deep blue. A few yards north of this a slit trench had been cut through a nine-inch rubble-and-plaster wall. In another mound truck shelters had exposed a thick layer of fragments of unbaked pottery, possibly the contents of an oven which had not been fired. Approaching the area from the north-east I picked up a small copper or bronze object, heavily patinated. It was about the size of a shilling and rather thicker, the obverse flat, and the reverse flat with beveled edges. Two opposite segments were flattened along the chord, leaving the object with a sub-circular outline. It looked as if it might have been intended for inlay on wood. Cleaning of the flat surface revealed two bird-headed figures in low relief, each carrying an *uas* sceptre. It is difficult to guess the total area of the ruin field, which may represent anything from a small garrison post to a fair-sized town. Although the names of several Marmarican towns of Graeco-Roman date are known it does not seem possible to attach any of these names to this site. The presence of the unbaked pottery might indicate that the site was abandoned hurriedly. The one or two interior walls which I saw were not fire-blackened.

The second site is a conspicuous mound in the middle of a small plain a mile or so south-east of Mersa Matruh and separated from the town by a low ridge. From memory, the mound is about 15 to 20 feet high and between 100 and 200 feet long. The northern portion is an outcrop of naked rock and from its summit two wells are cut down to a little below the present level of the plain. It seems rather probable that the summit of the mound represents the ground level at the time the wells were cut. The southern portion of the mound appears to consist almost entirely of a large midden. German trenches taken down to a depth of over five feet in several places had nowhere touched the bottom of the deposit.

During the war an English-language newspaper in Egypt described the ancient town of Mersa Matruh as being situated to the south-east of its harbour with a land-locked lagoon further to the east. The article suggested that the lagoon which lies to the west of the present harbour had at one time been open to the sea and formed the ancient harbour, while the present harbour had been enclosed. I have not been able to trace the authority for these views. If they are correct the centre of the ancient town would have lain near the Egyptian barracks. In this area the ground is denuded almost to the bare rock and there is no trace of ancient remains, nor so far as I could see any considerable deposit of pot-sherds. Shortly before the First World War Oric Bates and others made unsuccessful attempts to locate the site of the ancient town.

If, however, it can be assumed that considerable silting has taken place and that formerly the sand bar separating the harbour and lagoon did not exist, the ancient harbour would have extended some distance further to the east and south, while the salt marshes to the east of the present harbour would presumably have formed a large lagoon. In this case the centre of the ancient town may very well have lain a little to the south-east of the present town and the midden described above have marked the limit of its south-east extension. Of course it is quite possible that the midden is less extensive than it appears and for the most part represents a relatively recent deposit. The opposite view, however, is extremely tempting.

The ground in the immediate vicinity seems to have been heavily eroded, and with the possible exception of the midden there are no readily visible signs of ancient occupation.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Military Organization and Society. *By Stanislaw Andrzejewski. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1954. Pp. XIV, 195. Price £1 1s.*

214 Large-scale comparisons of large-scale societies are the antithesis of most present-day social anthropology, and they are generally regarded with suspicion. Yet Dr. Andrzejewski defies the contemporary doctrine of concentration on the details of one society, or at most of a few similar societies, and does so with the blessing of the doyen of social anthropologists. With obvious delight, and much justification, Professor Radcliffe Brown tells us in the foreword (p. *v*):

> The scientific use of the comparative method is admirably illustrated in this most remarkable book. [The author] employs it not in order to construct a grandiose sociological system, but to deal with a properly limited, though nevertheless extremely intricate and interesting, set of problems.

Dr. Andrzejewski believes in the future of sociology as a science, but he is not impressed either by 'the present day heaping up of descriptive studies,' or by theories which 'scarcely amount to more than verbose and pompous refurbishings of truths known since the days of Aristotle.' He claims himself to be taking up again the lead of Weber and Durkheim.

In fact, Dr. Andrzejewski does not proceed by comparing societies with each other, but by elaborating deductively a classificatory scheme, and suggesting certain hypotheses which follow from it. He begins by assuming the omnipresence of struggle for wealth, power and prestige in human society. In all social conflicts, 'violence is the last resort,' and military organization 'determines the distribution of the ability to use violence.' It follows that military organization is likely to affect social structure profoundly, and Dr. Andrzejewski's search for regularities between them is justified. (Even if violence is only one important resort in social conflicts, rather than the last resort, the argument still holds.)

The first, and perhaps most striking, variable feature of military

organization to which the author introduces us is the proportion of the total population in a society who are involved in military service. He calls this proportion the military participation ratio, M.P.R. for short. Most primitive societies, and most modern states, have a high M.P.R., while the Roman and Ottoman Empires, and mediæval Europe, are examples of societies with low M.P.R. The 'optimum M.P.R.' is determined by the relation of the cost of the most efficient known armament, and the time needed for training in its use, to the technical productivity of the society. Thus, if the arms are very simple, as in primitive society, or the productive techniques very advanced, as in modern societies, a high proportion of people are armed, or at least in the army. On the other hand, it takes a large number of non-combatant peasants to equip and support a Homeric warrior or a mediæval knight. 'Actual M.P.R.' may differ sharply from 'optimum M.P.R.,' usually in the interest of maintaining the power of the ruling stratum, as in present-day South Africa, but intensive warfare forces the actual M.P.R. in the direction of the optimum M.P.R., often with important consequences for the social structure.

To M.P.R. Dr. Andrzejewski adds two more variable features of military organization, the degree of cohesion of the armed forces, and the degree of subordination. Each of these three variables is given two values—high and low. Since two of the variables are not independent—a high degree of subordination excludes low cohesion —we get six possible 'pure' types of military organization. These six models are to be used to classify and analyse the chaotic variety of historical and ethnographic fact.

Dr. Andrzejewski relates his variables to such phenomena as stratification, what he calls 'interstratic' mobility, the extent of government interference in everyday affairs, the ferocity of warfare, the causes and the success of revolutions, and the size of political units. He offers hypotheses to explain how his types of military organization are established, and how a society may change from one type to another. His vast knowledge of both civilized and primitive societies is used to illustrate rather than guide his argument. Dr. Andrzejewski is fully aware that every social phenomenon must be explained by a whole set of conditions, and he is far from assuming that military organization is the only factor that shapes societies. Indeed, this recognition provides him with useful cover against instances contrary to his hypotheses; often plausible, sometimes convincing cover.

The refreshing succinctness of his statement, and the interrelatedness of his propositions make summary impossible, as he himself recognizes. He appends instead a diagram of his main conclusions—some forty-odd little boxes connected by lines of influence. Incidentally the lines do not exactly correspond to the rubric which is supposed to explain their meaning. It is inevitable that in such a body of propositions some should be obvious and others seem improbable, but even so they are almost always interesting, and in sum they are an impressive achievement.

In the last chapter they are applied to the present world situation and some prediction, or as Dr. Andrzejewski rightly calls it, unprofitable guessing is attempted. All the possibilities that he foresees involve the passing of the frail plant of liberal egalitarian democracy, but the worst possibility short of destruction, namely Soviet victory, would, he thinks, lead to a much less totalitarian kind of society than the present Soviet state.

Many readers will be irritated by the new words which Dr. Andrzejewski invents and uses. Yet quite a few of these seem sensible and useful. 'Pheric' distance, for example, is distance measured by the time taken to cover it by existing methods of transport; 'polemity,' the amount of its energy which a society devotes to military activities; and 'biataxy' the degree to which physical violence determines the distribution of goods and privileges. Others of the new words seem less necessary; for example, the six names for the six pure types of military organization I found decidedly confusing—surely a more algebraic type of symbol would have served the purpose better.

Dr. Andrzejewski, perhaps wisely, avoids footnote references to his sources, and instead includes a bibliographical note at the end. This system clears the ground for attention to the general propositions. But it would be a superhuman task to cover all the range of Dr. Andrzejewski's examples without making use of poor materials or questionable interpretations, and at times I would like to have known more of the evidence. Though my own equipment is unequal to the task of questioning most of his facts, experts, I suspect, will find points to quarrel with. How do we know, for example, that the authoritarian Soviet government is imposing an increasingly authoritarian family pattern (*p.* 104)? And it is certainly not true that 'no one possessed authority' in Sparta or among the Masai (*p.* 120), and I find it hard to believe of the Cossacks, or any other society.

Besides these shortcomings—and a not always happy English style—Mr. Gellner, in a most interesting review article on this book in the *British Journal of Sociology* (September, 1954), finds some logical flaws, important in a largely deductive exposition. But in spite of all this, Dr. Andrzejewski has made an important contribution to sociology, and *a fortiori* social anthropology, even if the most interesting parts concern larger-scale societies. He has evidently done a vast amount of scholarly hard work, the thinking is original and sophisticated, and the exposition concise and lucid. As Professor Radcliffe-Brown says, this is a remarkable book.

PAUL STIRLING

Actes du IVe Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques: Vol. I, Anthropologica.

215 *Vienna (Holzhausen), 1954. Pp. viii, 326.*

The officers of the Vienna Congress of 1952 must be thanked for the issue of at least the physical anthropology report with its account of over 80 papers in less than two years. A Congress is primarily an occasion for friendly meetings and exchange of experience and ideas; yet publication of at least summaries of papers gives the Congress seriousness, even if a number of the papers are highly tentative and osbscured by technical terms often unexplained. The Congress witnessed no sensational announcement, and showed that Mendelian ideas are penetrating into anthropology, though of course experimental work on human breeding is out of the question.

The study of the albumen molecule and its specific relations has now (R. Zdansky) advanced far beyond the pioneer work of such men as Mollison, and is calling for reconsideration of origin of species. J. Steffensen finds a very soluble and a difficultly soluble melanin in hair generally, the former very important in red, the latter more abundant in dark hair. 'Man and climate' is studied (E. Schreider) to show that mass has a lower ratio to surface in peoples of equatorial regions and that (D. F. Roberts) blood pressure, pulse and respiration are related to temperature, perhaps more than to 'race.'

H. V. Vallois adheres to the now general view that *homo præsapiens* (Swanscombe, Fontéchevade) is an older form than *homo neandertalensis*. O. von Verschuer, lecturing by special invitation, expounded Mendelism in Man. R. Routil, studying parents and children in Papua and Melanesia, tries to find morphological differentia in the matter of the cephalic index, and notes that 54 per cent. of a considerable sample have that index 78–82. E. Breitinger finds that the relative numbers at birth are 106m : 100f, with still births sometimes 125m : 100f because the male is more likely to be born dead. M. Cappieri finds in the Andamans with a declining population, that the female proportion is much lower, an observation often confirmed in analogous cases. M. Gusinde emphasizes the contrasts between the Bushman and the Central African pygmy. P. Vassal finds that the upper palæolithic Mechta-el-Arbi type, probably akin to the Předmost type and, in stature but not in headform to Cro-Magnon, survives in the Algerian hill country. Y. Imamura finds high measurements for head length and breadth on the Mongolian plateau, and for length but not breadth in North China. Koreans and Manchus have high cephalic indices but the measurements are rather smaller, especially in Korea. Lehmann finds the sickle cell in Veddid but not in Melanid or Indid blood in South India. The Veddids have more *A* and less *B* than other Indian people and *RhE* is also important among them. H. Zwieauer draws attention to the very predominant and extreme dolichocephaly of Amerindians and believes that brachycephaly, perhaps with Siberian kinship, has spread among pre-Columbian Amerindians in the last 2,000 years or less.

H. J. FLEURE

Cultural Patterns and Technical Change. *A manual prepared by the World Fed. of Mental Health. Edited by Margaret Mead. U.N.E.S.C.O.* 1953. *Pp.* 348. *Price* $1·75. **Human Problems in Technological Change.** *Edited by Edward H. Spicer. New York (Russell Sage Foundation)*, 1952. *Pp.* 301. *Price* $4

216

Both books ease the reviewer's task by making their purposes explicit and naming the public for which they are intended. Neither is addressed to the professional anthropologist.

The first is wedded to the 'mental health approach,' defining mental health in terms mainly of social adjustment. Its starting point is the statement that under conditions of rapid social change there is likely to be an increase in manifest mental ill health. In a world committed to policies which aim to introduce, over wide areas, modern techniques of agricultural and industrial production, public health provision, child and maternal health care, education, and so on, there is need, so it is argued, of an increased awareness on the part of those who plan and execute changes of the likely social consequences. The Manual is an attempt to meet this need and it claims to deal 'with the way in which changed agricultural and industrial procedures etc. . . . can be introduced so that the culture will be disrupted as little as possible and so that whatever disruption does occur can either be compensated for or channelled into constructive developments for the future.' It is intended for the use of 'experts, policy makers, technicians of all sorts, chiefs of missions and members,' etc.

After a section dealing with the objectives, organization, and financing of the U.N. Specialized Agencies, five studies of 'whole cultures' are presented, covering Burma, Greece, The Tiv of Nigeria, Palau, and The Spanish Americans of New Mexico. The object of these studies is to 'give a sense of what is meant by looking at a culture as a whole.' The practitioner of technical change who reads them will certainly be impressed by the number of things which are contained within the definition of culture but one feels that the general effect may often be confusion rather than increased awareness. He will most certainly not find it easy to conceive of these cultures as 'systematic and integrated wholes,' as was intended.

The studies of whole cultures are followed by a long section devoted to cross-cultural studies of certain aspects of technical change. Here the experience of practitioners is drawn upon to illustrate the difficulties which have been and are likely to be encountered. This section is easier to follow and should be of practical value.

Up to this point the work is largely a reformulation, in the idiom of cultural anthropology, of the writings and experiences of field-workers, administrators and technicians. In the closing sections the emphasis shifts to the specific mental health implications of technical change. There being no detailed case material of individual, as against cultural, conflict, and disturbance the reader has to 'assume that various types of psychological disturbances will occur' and must rest content with a list of relevant psychological principles and recommendations as to their use in situations of technical change.

The second book, which is intended for students, especially those who will eventually be charged with the task of introducing new ideas and methods in backward areas, is less ambitious but probably more effective than the first. It presents 15 specific cases of technological and social change, each of which is laid out in a similar way somewhat as follows: (1) 'The Problem' is stated, *e.g.* in case 5, 'Steel Axes for Stone Age Australians,' the student is asked to consider 'what changes in the life of the Yi Yiront still living in the Australian Bush could be expected as a result of their increasing possession and use of the steel axe.' (2) Then follows 'The Course of Events,' a brief account of the people who experienced the change and the circumstances which led to its introduction. (3) The student is then given 'The Relevant Factors' for an analysis of the change and at this point is expected to make his own analysis. (4) The case study concludes with 'The Analysis,' which is in most of the cases contributed by someone who has had first-hand contact with the situation. The student can now compare this with his own.

The 15 cases cover not only technological change in the narrow sense of the term but include problems of political reorganization (Case 10, 'Creek Indian Political Organization') and social disintegration (Case 13, 'People of the Hinterland').

The two books are concerned with the same problem and in many cases draw upon the same material. They differ in that the first falls short in its attempts to impress the notion that everything is related to everything else, while the second, with more limited objectives is able to show (although not with uniform success) the relative significance, in given cases, of the social variables. The student can seek for differences and similarities and begin to develop skill in the analysis of social situations. Whether this skill will help him to deal with actual situations is another matter.

Both books are a little smug about the absurdities which have been perpetrated by certain administrators. They both quote, for example, the case of the labour relations 'expert' who, in Palau, put his arm around the shoulders of ranking native men while laughingly tousling their hair, an act equivalent in our society, we are told, to opening a man's fly in public for a joke. One is left wondering whether this kind of fellow is likely to be influenced by Manuals and Casebooks.

I have noticed two errors in the text of the U.N.E.S.C.O. publication. On page 18 Burma is described as having a newly acquired *natural* unity—this should surely be *national* unity; and on page 288 there is a spelling error, 'elimate' for 'eliminate.'

TOM LUPTON

Das Problem des Völkertodes. *By Ilse Schwidetzky. Stuttgart (Enke)*, 1954. *Pp.* 165. *Price DM* 12

217

This is a book of common sense, in the main combating the fantastic generalizations based on largely false analogies between the successive stages of our individual lives and supposed stages in the lives of peoples and nations. To read this book would be a sanifying activity for anyone misled by authors like Spengler and others. Twelve stories of decline and disappearance of peoples as world influences are given and the author has in most cases had the account revised by a specialist. She refers to the famous case of the long continuity of Chinese life and it would have been worth while to make a thirteenth story of this people who have refused to fade out. Factors of decay are discussed, of course with a great many references to classical civilizations and the inevitable conclusion is that each case is a special one. A short summary at the end points out that unprecedented elements are influencing our western democracies and so make arguments by analogy from ancient Egypt, Babylon or the classical Mediterranean of little value. Traces of the 'Nordic' idea peep out here and there but, on the whole, are kept in check.

H. J. FLEURE

AFRICA

The Psychology of Mau Mau. *By J. C. Carothers, M.B., D.P.M. Nairobi (The Government Printer)*, 1954. *Pp.* 35. *Price Cts.* 50.

218

This report by a psychiatrist and former Medical Officer of the Government of Kenya answers a request by that Government 'to see how far experience in Africa and knowledge of psychiatry might throw light on the Mau Mau movement.'

Chapter I ('General Mental Characteristics of Untouched Rural Africans') includes a series of absurd generalizations about the social organization and mentality of tribal Africans. 'Pre-literate cultures . . . have developed on such lines as to enable men to live together in groups without internal strife. In effect their machinery is built on the assumption that man is a selfish beast whose natural desires must be curtailed by meticulous rules.' 'The individual remains relatively unintegrate—an assemblage of memorized and disparate rules.' 'Rules . . . received their sanction and most of their force from the "will" of ancestors whose spirits were conceived as powerful and as maintaining their attachment to the land.' While sharing this general mental background, Kikuyu were distinguished by a 'forest psychology.' 'Such people learn to live in their own company and must tend to rumination on more personal lines, to secretiveness, to suspicion and to cunning.' They are contrasted with

the Embu and the Kamba who live in 'much more open and unsecret country' and 'have more music in their souls.'

In Chapter II ('The African in Transition') the situation that gave rise to Mau Mau is said to have been characterized by the particular individualism and urge to personal power of the Kikuyu; their failure to be granted the types of European power to which they aspired; their educational diversity, particularly that between men and women; the confusion which resulted from unsuccessful attempts to restore native culture, and later, to form a Christian revivalist movement; and the use for personal gain by individuals of European learning to which is locally ascribed great magical power.

In Chapter III ('Mau Mau') it is admitted that 'The Kikuyu had a number of complaints;' but these complaints are not analysed. For they are said to fall 'within the framework of European ideology' and 'as such they do not require explanation here, for this chapter is concerned with developments that have occurred outside the framework of modern Western psychology—at least at fully conscious levels.' It is thus argued that Mau Mau psychology can be analysed without reference to the attitudes towards Africans adopted by the Europeans who employ and rule them, not to mention the economic and political system in which, through the actions of Europeans, the Kikuyu are obliged to live. It need hardly be stated that, for the anthropologist as probably for any impartial lay observor, such an argument is false.

Dr. Carothers then asks and answers certain questions about the rise of Mau Mau. He remarks, probably with justice, that the movement is organized by relatively sophisticated Kikuyu who 'believed themselves frustrated by factors outside their control,' and who thus tended 'to find perverted pleasure in a reversal of the righteous rituals.' He concludes that since the average Kikuyu believes that 'his political status will not depend in Kenya solely on his merits as a man,' loyalty to the White government is at present hardly to be expected in any part of the tribe. He sees hope for the future, however, in such measures (outlined in Chapter 4) as the establishment of forest villages equipped with schools and health centres, and the settlement of urban workers, with their families, permanently in the town. He points out also that 'if the general White population of this colony cannot practise Christian principles in their dealings with their fellow men, . . . the missionaries might just as well pack up their bags and go.'

Anthropologists, acquainted with the scholarly devotion, intricacy and subtle insight of such an explication of African mental processes as, for example, Professor Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, must necessarily reject as nonsensical verbiage most of the confused, unsubstantiated assumptions about African mentality in this 'psychological' discussion. In its commonsense recommendations for social reform there is little to quarrel with apart from timidity and vagueness. The proposals, though they do not go to the heart of the problems of land-hunger and lack of political representation, follow a similar general trend to the concrete and courageous recommendations in Dr. Leakey's more recent book.

KATHLEEN GOUGH

Afrikanische Plastik. *By Eckart von Sydow. Edited by Gerdt Kutscher. Berlin (Gebr. Mann), 1954. Pp. 177, 5 maps, 371 illus. on 144 plates. Price* DM. 40

219 Eckart von Sydow, the German Africanist and art historian, died in Berlin on 1 July, 1942, aged 56. Twenty years of persistent work during which he had written a number of valuable books on the art of primitive people, particularly on that of the African Negroes, had secured him the reputation of the best expert in Germany on the provenance of individual sculptures and other works of art, their sacred or profane significance and their use. Before Eckart von Sydow began his work the interpretation of these problems had lacked considerably in exactness.

In his *Handbuch der afrikanischen Plastik*: Vol. I, *Die westafrikanische Plastik* (Berlin, 1930), von Sydow had for the first time in the study of African art laid down a foundation for the work of future students. This work dealt with the sculptural art of the Negro tribes in Senegal and Gambia, French and Portuguese Guinea, on the Bissagos Islands, in Sierra Leone and Liberia, on the Ivory Coast and Gold Coast, in South Togo, Dahomey, Southern Nigeria, the Cameroons, and French Equatorial Africa, at the Congo estuary, in southern Belgian Congo, and North Angola. Unfortunately the pictorial material in this book is rather meagre—16 illustrations to demonstrate the specific national styles of more than 200 art-producing tribes!

It was von Sydow's intention to publish an additional volume on the sculptural art of the tribes not treated in Volume I, *viz.* in the Sudan, northern Congo, east and south-central Africa, and as conclusions some general sections which should give a precise picture of African Negro sculpture in general. This work was in clean proof in 1940 but during an air raid on Stuttgart it was completely destroyed in the bookbinder's shop. In the years after Germany's military collapse Dr. Gerdt Kutscher succeeded in reconstructing the book on the foundation of a salvaged set of proof sheets and the captions for the illustrations so that finally the book could appear—12 years after the death of von Sydow. It is one of the most useful in the literature on African Negro sculpture and is indeed a magnificent work with a wealth of excellent reproductions of Negro sculptures. It was not von Sydow's intention to make a 'pretty picture book'—the illustrations were selected first and foremost with the purpose of documenting the typical national style of the sculptures of all the tribes in question. The most interesting and valuable section in *Afrikanische Plastik*, and this applies to illustrations as well as text, is that on the 117 tribes not treated in the first volume of the handbook, *Westafricanische Plastik*. Here we see many sculptures which have not been published before, together with information about their significance and use. Of considerable interest also is the section which contains von Sydow's supplementary notes on the sculptural art of the tribes dealt with in the first volume of the handbook. In those cases where he realized that he had been mistaken earlier, the author does not hesitate to change points of view that he had held before 1930.

In the years following Eckart von Sydow's death interest in African Negro sculpture has increased tremendously, and an enormous literature has grown up. New expeditions and discussion by ethnographers and art historians of the provenance, significance and use of the sculptures have in many cases led to new interpretations. Furthermore museums and private collectors have improved their collections in quality as well as in quantity. Death prevented Eckart von Sydow from bringing his *Afrikanische Plastik* up to date with regard to the experiences and results that he would have gained during the 12 years, and for devotional reasons which are easy to understand Dr. Kutscher has also refrained from doing so. Yet in spite of this, and even though one may not invariably agree with Eckart von Sydow's æsthetic evaluation of the sculptural achievements of particular tribes, it is undeniable that *Afrikanische Plastik* is an ethnographical and art-historical masterpiece which is indispensable to anybody with a deep interest in African Negro sculpture.

CARL KJERSMEIER

Classical African Sculpture. *By Margaret Trowell. London (Faber), 1954. Pp. 103, 48 plates, 2 maps. Price £1 10s.*

220 Mrs. Trowell, after her excellent study of the material culture of Uganda (*cf.* MAN, 1953, 244), now offers us a work which lies in both her main fields of interest—art and ethnology.

The text is in four parts. The first discusses the general problems of appreciation of African art, emphasizing the need to understand the social background and function of the art object considered. In this connexion she enunciates an approach according to the audience for which the work was introduced—Spirit-regarding Art, Man-regarding Art, and the Art of Ritual Display. This approach is only an outline guide and cannot be applied rigidly, but it is useful in that it emphasizes the content rather than the form.

The second part, which deals with 'The Function of the Craftsman and his Art,' is an essay on the spiritual beliefs which affect the spirit-regarding art, the social factors which influence the man-regarding art, and an account of the chief occasions of ritual display, and of how the objects in this class of art (mostly masks) are used.

The third part, 'History, Geography and Social Pattern,' deals with the peopling of the area with which the book deals—the Guinea Coast, the Western Sudan, the Cameroons, the Gaboon,

French Equatorial Africa and the southern part of the Belgian Congo—and is a useful summary.

The fourth part, 'A Brief Critique of African Sculpture,' is illustrated by the 48 pages of photographs showing 126 specimens. This is the core of the book. The sculptures illustrated are almost all very well-known pieces, for by 'classical' the author means that which is 'of admitted or allowed value' (p. 60). The pieces are naturally of excellent quality and well able to withstand repeated publication. The arrangement is in geographical groups of tribes, general remarks on the art style being followed by references to the pieces illustrated.

Throughout the book the author gives full acknowledgement of her sources, and has made an effort to give the size of the specimens wherever possible. Unfortunately, no illustration is given of the type of Ibibio mask which is most pleasing to western eyes, though it is mentioned in the text, and her description of the eyes of the Ngere mask in the Plass Collection ignores Fagg's description of the same piece. The book is very well produced, but the design on the spine is unworthy of the contents.

The purpose of the book is expressed in the concluding paragraph: 'to pick out . . . such work of the African primitives as may be of value to the African artist of the future . . . . It is to a great extent through appreciative study of the past that the modern African artist may hope to develop in his turn the undoubted artistic genius of his race.' In this laudable purpose we wish the book every success, knowing that art training at Makerere is in good and sympathetic hands.

FRANK WILLETT

Return to Laughter. *By Elenore Smith Bowen. London (Gollancz), 1954. Pp. 255. Price 16s.*

221 In a foreword the author writes:

> 'All the characters in this book, except myself, are fictitious in the fullest meaning of that word. I knew people of the type I have described here; the incidents of the book are of the *genre* I myself experienced in Africa. Nevertheless, so much is fiction. I am an anthropologist. The tribe I have described here does exist. This book is the story of the way I did field work among them. The ethnographic background given here is accurate, but it is neither complete nor technical. When I write as a social anthropologist and within the canons of that discipline, I write under another name. Here I have written simply as a human being, and the truth I have tried to tell concerns the sea change in one's self that comes from immersion in another and alien world.'

As an anthropologist I found this book fascinating, interesting and exasperating. The author's description of the behaviour of the Africans in a community having very little contact with the outer world, and scarcely influenced by white, or any other culture, rings true. The people are patrilineal and patrilocal; witchcraft is rampant, but it can only be effective within the witch's agnatic kin. Two deaths are described; the first seemed quite incomprehensible to the author, and the second, when she had become aware of the above facts and knew also that death was never believed to be a natural phenomenon, is a vivid picture of emotional and traditional conflicts. She has now become deeply involved emotionally. The dying woman is her friend, it is a highly dramatic scene. Is this fiction or is it anthropology as no other humdrum field worker has ever been able to write it? It is so well written that the anthropologist is exasperated to think it may be fiction.

The book is intended for the general reader, who will undoubtedly enjoy it and also be helped to some understanding of an alien culture, but the author says it is a story of *the way she did field work*. This raises an important methodological issue. There has been much controversy as to whether anthropology is a science or an art. The question seems immaterial; the important point is that method should be scientific. It may be questioned whether this is possible when the observer tries to participate in the life of the community to be studied, reacting emotionally to the individuals composing it, as Miss Smith Bowen does. She describes in great detail the 'sea change' that has come over her during her lengthy investigations of this African tribe. How this change is brought about is illustrated by numerous incidents, some crucial, some trivial, to which she reacts with intense emotion. To the old-fashioned field worker who was only a sympathetic observer, many of these incidents would not have occurred; others would have been recorded simply without approval or disapproval.

There is ample evidence that the author has done good field work, but it would be misleading to suggest that her method is general, or is the best one to follow. It seems doubtful whether accuracy can be combined with such a subjective outlook. Still, the book remains good reading. The description of fear aroused by the rumours of smallpox in the district growing to panic when the infection reaches the village, is masterly.

B. Z. SELIGMAN

Politics in a Changing Society. *By J. A. Barnes, O.U.P. (for Rhodes-Livingstone Inst., 1954. Pp. x, 220. Price £2 2s.*

222 In this discussion of the political system of the Fort Jameson Ngoni, Dr. Barnes has restricted himself to an examination of what has happened in Ngoni political life during the last 130 years (1820–1949). This period of Ngoni history is conveniently divided into two parts by the Conquest of 1898.

The years 1820–98 constitute the Pre-Conquest period during which the Ngoni seceded from Shaka and travelled northwards as 'an armed nation on the march' (p. 1) or as 'successful brigands on the march' (p. 68) depending on one's point of view. It is part of the author's thesis that whilst actually existing social relations were constantly changing in these years, the form of the social structure remained the same (p. 171). Dr. Barnes quickly appreciates that the available evidence is insufficient to support a validation of this thesis in terms of technically acceptable history. In the absence of a more suitable alternative he accepts an Ngoni historiography relating to the Nyasa Ngoni, supplemented by European commentaries. With the aid of this story, with the backward projection of the pattern of relationships prevailing at the present time between Ngoni groups, and with inferences drawn from supporting legends and nomenclature (p. 2), we are provided with a detailed structural study of the socio-political units created by Zwangendaba and his followers. It is a skilful and plausible reconstruction which might well be fully substantiated with the discovery of good contemporaneous records.

After conquest, life for the Fort Jameson Ngoni had to undergo many changes, some superficial and others of greater consequence. The re-ordering of that life has been effected by the selective manipulation of what were thought to be the traditional structural and value systems. When considering the political system of the Fort Jameson Ngoni in relation to the new socio-political environment of the post-conquest period, Dr. Barnes is on much firmer ground, being supported by his own excellent field work material.

V. G. SHEDDICK

Medieval Nubia. *By P. L. Shinnie. Sudan Antiq. Ser., Mus. Pamph. No. 2. Khartoum, 1954. Pp. 18, 9 text figures. Price 5 pt. or 1s.*

223 This little brochure is very good value at the price. It gives a concise and readable general account of the period when the northern Nilotic Sudan was divided between kingdoms in which Christianity of an Abyssinian kind was the official religion. The subheadings 'Christian Missions,' 'Contact with Arabs,' 'Kingdom of Dongola,' 'Kingdom of Alwah,' 'Art and Architecture,' 'Important Dates' and 'Further Reading' disclose the lay-out. A museum pamphlet is presumably intended primarily for visitors to the museum at Khartoum, and, as such, a future edition might refer to (and possibly illustrate) some of the more striking exhibits of the period. It seems a pity that the author has resuscitated the error of placing the Garamantes (of Germa in the Fezzan) on the map in the Bayuda desert as a result of confusing them with the Goraan (Tibu) of Ennedi and Tibesti, who occasionally raided that area. I also doubt whether the opening sentence 'The conversion of the Nubian peoples to Christianity . . . began a period of cultural and political advance in the Sudan, and gave cohesion to the riverain kingdoms already existing' is a fair appraisal of fact. Such cohesion as these kingdoms had was probably due to the Meroitic kingdom from which they were descended through the X Group. Christianity, with

its rival sects of which we read on the next page, must have embittered relations between the kingdoms; and as a result the cohesion of these kingdoms was usually remarkable only for its absence.

The note on p. 11 is hardly correct. The paintings of the Rivergate church at Faras ceased to exist soon after its excavation, the stone blocks of the walls on which they were painted being taken by the villagers for use in their houses. One with the bishop's face on it (part of Fig. 4) was rescued from the village by me, and is now in the Khartoum Museum. A. J. ARKELL

Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service, Part I. *Khartoum*, 1954

224 Sudan archæology now has its own periodical (annual subscription 10s.) instead of having to find a place in the *Sudan Notes and Records*. Mr. Shinnie is to be congratulated that on top of all his manifold activities he has been able to find time to organize and edit this new addition to the country's scientific publications. The Government is indeed fortunate in having so able a Commissioner of Archæology.

Besides editing the publication Mr. Shinnie also contributes to it: the foreword, a short article of his own, notes on the objects excavated at Ushara. Contributions have also been received from most of the writers who are already well known as students of the country, and a new recruit is to be welcomed in the Egyptologist M. Jean Leclant. He publishes a statuette of an Ethiopian king and a stamp with the name of Shabaka. Crawford has a very long report of his archæological journey from Atbara to Abu Hamed. He also gives a couple of photographs of the pool at Gakdul on the desert road from Meroë to Napata. Arkell adds another to his studies of the Stone Age. Crowfoot and Addison have an account of the early excavations and the beginnings of the Antiquities Service, and Mr. Shaw adds to what he has already published on the rock drawings in the western desert. The less ancient human activities are represented by a study of the architecture along the Red Sea coast by Mr. Matthews. G. A. WAINWRIGHT

OCEANIA

Art of the South Pacific Islands. *By Paul S. Wingert. London (Thames & Hudson), 1953. Pp. 64, 102 plates. Price £1 5s.*

225 This book contains the catalogue of an exhibition held at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, in 1953. The majority of the 348 exhibits, lent by American and Hawaiian public and private collections, were Polynesian and Melanesian, but there were also a few objects from Micronesia (8), Australia (10), Indonesia (12), and the Philippines (7). Professor Wingert wrote the introduction (pp. 15–45). This is the second well illustrated, well printed and beautifully bound volume to commemorate an exhibition of Oceanic works of primitive art in American collections, the earlier (and much more comprehensive) publication being, of course, *Arts of the South Seas* by the same author in association with Ralph Linton and René D'Harnoncourt (*Museum of Modern Art, New York*, 1946). Both catalogues show that, although the greater part of Oceanic objects are, naturally, in European and Australian museums, American collections include a large number of fine pieces. There are only very few objects shown at the New York exhibition, 1946, which were exhibited again in San Francisco, 1953, *e.g.* the god from Rarotonga (1946, p. 26; 1953, Plate 79); the flywhisk handle from Tahiti (1946, p. 31; 1953, Plate 83); and the head of an *úu* from the Marquesas Islands. According to the earlier publication (1946, p. 33), this last piece belongs to the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass. (E. 21854), whereas, according to the new book (1953, Plate 85 and catalogue p. 61, No. 272), it is in the Brooklyn Museum. As these clubs are extremely rare—there is, for instance,—so far as I can see—not one specimen in the Australian Museum in Sydney or in the National Museum, Melbourne—it would be interesting to learn whether this piece has been transferred to the Brooklyn Museum or whether there is a misprint somewhere. The identity, according to the photographs, can hardly be called in question.

In his introduction (p. 29) Professor Wingert points out that 'all of the basic art forms of Oceania appear in Indonesia.' This statement will be endorsed by all serious students of Indonesian and Oceanic archæology and art styles. However, the introduction is essentially the exposition of an æsthetic approach to the subject, which means that it is inevitably eclectic. Moreover it appears that the essay on art forms (pp. 23ff.) is mainly based upon the exhibits. This holds good, for example, for the sparse remarks on the arts of Micronesia (pp. 36, 43). On account of its architecture alone, notably that of the Palau Islands but also that of Yap, this part at least of Micronesia should be regarded as a very important art centre of Oceania and thus not as 'of secondary importance as compared with Indonesia and Melanesia.'

Speaking in terms of primitive art, we should continue to confine the name 'Oceania' to Micronesia, Polynesia, Melanesia and the Australian continent. I am, of course, fully aware of the anthropological and archæological relations between Indonesia and Oceania, but the fact that the recent styles of the former area grew up on the technical basis of a metal culture—the Bronze Age of South-East Asia—marks a decisive difference, although certain well-known æsthetic reflections of metal forms prevail in Melanesia (according to F. D. McCarthy even in Australia).

On p. 25 Professor Wingert makes an interesting attempt to divide the—at first sight overwhelming—variety of art forms in Oceania into five groups which he considers as 'basic or fundamental' and as 'the common denominators of Oceanic art.' His categories are derived from three different aspects, *viz.*, morphological, technical and æsthetic. For example, carvings done in open work (*ouvrage à jour*) the author proposes to describe as 'aerial forms.'

An object from Easter Island of particular interest is No. 318, illustrated on Plate 94. It is described on p. 62 as 'club or staff, 39 inches long,' while the caption of the half-tone says 'Club, Detail.' The handle of the object is not completely illustrated but a cord is

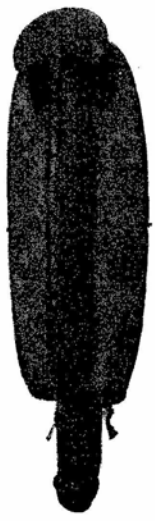

FIG. 1. PADDLE FROM EASTER ISLAND
In the Australian Museum, Sydney

tied round the reproduced end adjoining the blade, or head, of the implement. The illustration does not show whether the whole object is carved in one piece or in two pieces lashed together. Actually the illustrated section is very similar to the typical blade (*pararaha*) of an Easter Island paddle (*mata-kao*; *hoe-hoe*), which was lashed to a long handle (*kukuru*). This combination was due to the shortage of wood in Easter Island (Métraux, *Ethnology of Easter Island*, p. 208). For comparison, I illustrate here the *pararaha* which is in the Australian

Museum in Sydney. If the object illustrated on Plate 94 of the book under review is in one piece with the handle it is very unusual, but even in that case it would probably be a paddle. This would not exclude the possibility that it could be bi-functional, *i.e.* it might have served as a club as well.

The statement that the art of Easter Island is without any two-dimensional surface design (p. 42) may perhaps apply to the pieces shown at the San Francisco exhibition but is certainly untenable with regard to Easter Island art generally. The wall paintings in the interior of some of the stone houses and especially the numerous engraved designs on the rocks at Orongo are well known, the latter mainly through the publications of Professor Henri Lavachery which ought to have been included in the selected bibliography. The wooden sculpture from the middle Sepik area, illustrated on Plate 38, is a spire top of a ceremonial house (as illustrated in Reche's *Der Kaiserin Augusta Fluss*, another work which should not be omitted in any bibliography, however short, dealing with that area).

The art of the Australian aborigines was not adequately represented by the ten pieces shown at the exhibition, and the selection of the three pieces illustrated on Plates 74–76 (a typical shield with 'lightning pattern' and a spear-thrower from Western Australia; and a boomerang from Queensland) is not by any means representative. Only one piece (No. 239), a bark painting from Arnhem Land, belonging to the University Museum, Philadelphia, was probably a good example of aboriginal *art*, but this piece was, unfortunately, not illustrated. Actually, as the title of the book specifies the South Pacific *Islands*, there was no need to include the continent of Australia at all. On the other hand, the Hawaiian Islands, well represented at the exhibition and among the illustrations, lie in the northern half of the Pacific. The title of the book is, therefore, not quite correct.

LEONHARD ADAM

CORRESPONDENCE

Some Ibo Attitudes to Skin Pigmentation. *Cf.* MAN, 1954. 101

226 SIR,—Mr. Ardener's article prompts me to call attention to the similarity of attitudes among the Lunda, Luvale and Chokwe in the north-west of Northern Rhodesia. Here too words meaning literally 'white' are commonly used to refer to light skins though 'red' may also be used. Light skins are admired just as much as is shown to occur among the Ibo, and young girls discussing the possible attractions of various young men have often been heard to emphasise 'very black' as a point against someone. In the past at least one attraction of a light skin apart from its intrinsic appeal was the fact that the tattooing stood out against it in strong contrast. Very black skins are not infrequently thought to go hand in hand with inherited witchcraft and a light skin to indicate its absence. Dark-skinned women conscious of their possible disadvantage have been heard to tell men that light-skinned women will be found to be sexually unsatisfying. Despite the esteem in which light-skinned women are held for their beauty, I am not aware of any instances among these communities of their commanding a higher bride price, possibly because bride price among these people is universally low.

C. M. N. WHITE

The Secretariat, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia

The Meaning of Mau-Mau. *Cf.* MAN, 1954, 17, 155, 156

227 SIR,—In speculating on the origin of the term 'Mau-Mau,' Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys (MAN, 1954, 156) seeks for a solution in the ideas and beliefs of this and other African movements, by comparing the Mau-Mau with the Xosa movement of Nongquase and the Dini ya Msambwa. He suggests that these movements are 'atavistic' and that they are actuated by a belief in ancestral spirit aid.

There have been, of course, innumerable examples of millenarian and allied movements in Africa, as Schlosser's *Propheten in Afrika* bears witness. There have been many others which have been wrongly labelled 'millenarian' when their nationalist content has been the most significant element: for example, the Mahdiya and the Chilembwe Rising. Many movements are a combination of both. It is surely incorrect, however, to place the Mau-Mau with the millenarian movements. Whereas the former frequently rely on supernatural intervention and magical practices to bring about an expected millennium, the Mau-Mau uses force of arms for the more orthodox political aim of expelling the Europeans. If it relied upon the ancestors to perform this task, there would be no need for the large military forces at present committed to Kenya. The existence of an inscription written in 1938 by Jomo Kenyatta, referring to Kikuyu ancestral spirits, does not appear to me particularly significant; since that date we have seen the rise of such orthodox bodies as the Kenya African Union, the East African Trade Union Congress, the blockage of these channels, and the subsequent resort to violent action by both sides. Kenyatta's personal remarks in 1938 therefore, are hardly a starting point for sociological analysis of the Mau-Mau movement. It might also be pointed out that Kenyatta's activity was turned to the development of the Kenya African Union; the assumed connexion between him and the Mau-Mau remains very much a matter of dispute.

It is true that there are superficial resemblances between certain features of the Mau-Mau and those of the millenarian and 'Ethiopian' movements, but only if one abstracts such features from their context. What might appear to be 'magical' elements—the oath-taking, for example—are probably better understood in terms of the integratory, disciplinary and security measures taken by any guerrilla organization. One might note that analogous features have been found in movements in our own society—in mediæval times, in such nineteenth-century expressions of rural discontent as the 'Scotch Cattle,' and in certain oath-taking practices of the early trade unions.

In short, 'atavism' and 'nativism' do not seem to be very useful conceptual tools for the analysis of the Mau-Mau; they are not even helpful in the study of such movements as the Luo Mumbo, the Bemba witch-finding or the Maji-Maji. Whatever the Mau-Mau may have been before the emergency, it has clearly been transformed into a large-scale movement with organized fighting forces; it bears little resemblance to the Dini ya Msambwa of the nineteen-thirties, the Nongquase movement of 1856, or, indeed, the Mau-Mau of 1952.

P. M. WORSLEY

Department of Social Anthropology. University of Manchester

The Draw-a-Man Test and the African. *cf.* MAN, 1954, 127, 202–205

228 SIR,—Africans who have had a European education are often irritated at anthropological studies of their land. The reasons for this are complex; but in the interest of all concerned, we must pay increasing attention to our relations with the African peoples, to whom we owe a tremendous professional debt and amongst whom we hope to make many more studies of benefit to mankind as a whole—and, not least, to our hosts.

For this reason it should be made thrice clear to your readers, who include Africans, that the article by Haward and Roland, using the 'Draw-a-man' test to study the mentality of Nigerians is not the work of anthropologists, even though it appears in MAN. Certainly no anthropologist with serious experience in Nigeria would have drawn the conclusions that the authors of this article draw.

They tell us, quite properly: '. . . the test scoring system has been standardized only on Western cultures, and the norms cannot therefore be validly applied to an unstandardized non-Western population.' This wise statement does not, however, prevent their projecting the faults of their test technique onto the Africans. In the same paragraph they go on to say: 'On the other hand, the scores do reflect, superficially at least, the child-like simplicity of the African, for in practice, when introducing him to Western work routines, one often finds it convenient to adopt an approach suited to a European child of ten.' (*Sic!*).

Surely it should not be necessary to point out that the ease or difficulty which a people has in mastering the elements of a strange culture cannot be used to measure their mental maturity. It measures—rather roughly—the degree and quality of the difference between the two cultures concerned. If one were to measure the mental age of Europeans on the basis of their success in learning Nigerian languages, one would have to assign them a very low score. The elaborate intonation systems characteristic of English, French, etc. act as a 'noise' which effectively prevents Europeans from hearing the lexical tone distinctions which are so fundamental to most Nigerian languages.

The establishment of a standard of intellectual maturity valid for the whole world must await detailed and careful studies in many societies, and the overcoming of immense conceptual and theoretical difficulties. It will not be done with 30 European-style 'intelligence tests' administered in such a way as to leave major disturbing factors uncontrolled. (For example, as regards the Haward and Roland study, one wonders how well motivated the African subjects were: Did some of them distrust the purposes of the test enough to disturb their performance? Were the Africans, 'some in primitive native occupations,' as accustomed as the Europeans to drawing with pencil and paper? What about the fact that from childhood a European sees many times more pictures than an African does? Are the 30 Nigerians in the sample from the same or from different ethnic groups?)

It is clear, therefore, that the study in question does not fulfil even the minimum requirements for a properly administered Good-enough-style test. The authors, however, use it as a foundation for a considerable structure of interpretation. When they speak of the 'simplicity' of the African and of 'the strong "group outlook" of the Nigerian and his lack of individuation,' and when they say that there is 'still . . . the common ownership of wives,' they merely make obvious their own total lack of acquaintance with the realities of Nigerian life. Their work is positively dangerous when they go beyond this to draw conclusions as to the 'educability of the African' on the basis of the presumed 'concreteness of the Nigerian's mental approach, a concreteness which is so rigid as to produce many schizophrenic signs in the drawings.'

Once again the authors are trying to discover the most general mental characteristics of a people from that people's reaction to an alien culture. One can say with confidence that if Haward and Roland were trying seriously to learn a Nigerian culture, they would be glad occasionally to take refuge from the subtle and difficult problems involved in such an undertaking by concentrating their attention on concrete details. They would learn thousands of nouns before they would learn to use the particles of the language correctly. They would learn the details of farming and technology long before they stopped making gauche mistakes in the etiquette of kin, lineage and seniority relationships.

Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A. ROBERT G. ARMSTRONG

229 Sir,—In the article by Haward and Roland occurs the statement: 'In the social unit the common ownership of family property is universal, including until relatively recently the ownership of slaves, and still including the common ownership of wives.' Here is apparent the fallacy of arguing from the particular to the general. Would these authors provide half a dozen verifiable instances of the common ownership of wives in Nigeria so that students like myself may use these examples to resuscitate the exploded theory of group marriage? I may add that during my 30 years of service in Nigeria, hearing and investigating many thousands of matrimonial cases, never once did I come across an instance of the common ownership of a wife. It was usually through the attempt at common ownership by adulterous liaisons that the majority of the matrimonial disputes came before me.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

230 Sir,—In the article by Haward and Roland it is stated, with reference to education in West Africa, that 'Even at a higher level, as for example at the University College of the Gold Coast, Achimota, where Oxford and Cambridge M.A.'s coach undergraduates for the B.S. degree, the accent is still intensely practical (Colonial Office, *op. cit.*). Potential chemists are not trained to be the Boyles of tomorrow, but rather to do a chemical analysis or metallurgical assay accurately and efficiently, and the students are happy to be doing their routine tasks.'

This statement is not in accordance with the facts, which are as follows—some rather trivial; e.g. many Senior Members of the College possess other, and higher, degrees than an Oxford or Cambridge M.A.; undergraduates are not 'coached' for the 'B.S. degree,' and the supporting reference (Colonial Office, No. 186, 1944) does not, for obvious reasons, comment on the content of courses in practical chemistry initiated in 1948.

In addition, and more to the point, when the University College of the Gold Coast first opened in 1948 it was granted a 'special relationship' by the University of London. This allows us what amounts to parity with an Internal College of the University in the setting and marking of examination papers for the Intermediate, General, and Special degrees of the University, and permission to propose modifications to the syllabuses for these examinations, for geographical reasons, but not otherwise.

Some modifications have been proposed, and accepted, particularly in biological subjects, and for obvious reasons, but not in chemistry, for equally obvious reasons, as can readily be verified by consulting the published syllabuses (University of London Regulations for Examinations Held under the Scheme of Special Relationship with the University College of the Gold Coast, September 1954, p. 155, 170, 182).

It follows that the courses offered in this Department to candidates for the B.Sc. (Intermediate), B.Sc. (General) and B.Sc. (Special) degrees of the University of London are not 'intensely practical,' that no undue emphasis is placed on 'chemical analysis or metallurgical assay,' and that students cannot have been observed to be 'happy to be doing their routine tasks,' since they are not given any.

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University College of the Gold Coast

Tectiforms. *Cf.* Man, 1954, 161

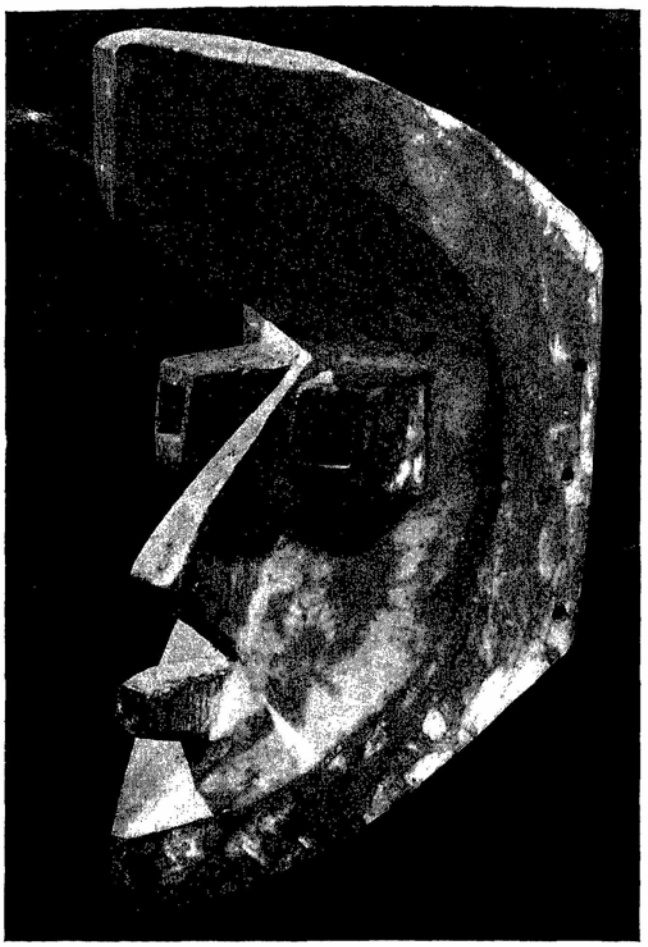
231 Sir,—Mr. Lacaille's note on the Magdalenian tectiform at La Mouthe may be somewhat misleading to those unfamiliar with the drawing in question. Though the notes refer to the original accounts, no reference is made in the text to the alternative interpretation of the drawing which is accepted by the Abbé Breuil (*Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, p. 303, figs. 337 and 346) whom I quote: 'The central rectangle . . . appears to be propped on each side by supports drawn in reddish brown. At the base of the rectangle, two more smaller rectangles are attached, open at the foot, painted in brown-red and black. From the earliest days, E. Rivière saw this as a Hut. The drawing combines a view of the rectangular roof as seen from above, an oblique view of the side props, and a view on the flat of the rectangular door which would have been invisible in a house seen vertically.' Comparing the photograph of Breuil's fig. 346 with the line block of fig. 337 which emphasizes the engraved lines, it is clear that if the oblique lines to the left of the shaded rectangle (the roof) be accepted as part of the tectiform, so ought the lines below and to the right of the roof. In Mr. Lacaille's photograph the lines to the right are partly excluded and the lines below hardly visible, so that only part of the drawing stands out clearly for comparison with the modern hut.

The hut type postulated by the Abbé Breuil's interpretation, with sloping walls and small entrance, can be fitted into the known types of primitive hut of roughly circular or rectangular form, and as such is anthropologically credible. The form of which the modern hut is an example does not occur commonly among primitive peoples. It should not be accepted too readily as a palæolithic replica.

The drawing in Mr. Lacaille's fig. 2 may be interpreted as a sectional view of a primitive hut with central roof post (*cf.* Breuil, *op. cit.*, p. 87).

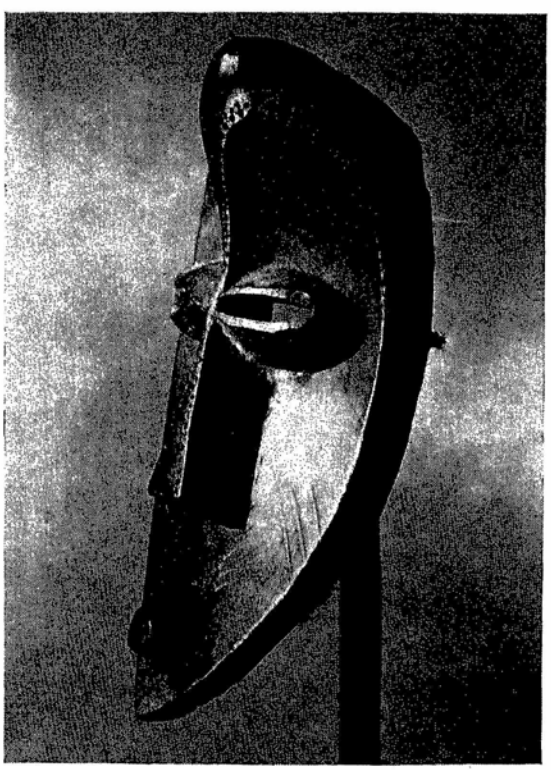
M. A. BENNET-CLARK
Department of Ethnography, British Museum

(*a*)



(*b*)

(*c*)



(*d*)

TWO MASKS FROM THE FRENCH CONGO

(a, b) Mask from the Likuala tribe, Mossaka: height 14¼ inches ; photographs by courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.
(c, d) Mask from Etumbi; height 14 inches; photographs by Sunichi Sunami by courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art, New York

A MASK STYLE FROM THE FRENCH CONGO*

by

LEON SIROTO

New York

232 The Babangi inhabit the banks of the Middle Congo River approximately from the village of Bolobo in the south to Yumba and Irebu in the north. Inland to the west, this distance is nearly equalled by their extent into the basins of the Sangha, Likuala and Alima Rivers. On the east bank of the Congo, where the Belgians prefer to call them 'Bayansi,' they appear to occupy no more than a strip along the river.[1] Their situation between the Bangala group, to which they show considerable linguistic and cultural affinities,[2] and the Bateke has made them important in the commerce of the area and, consequently, they came quickly into the ken of the early explorers. Many museum collections are rich in ethnographical material from the Babangi: weapons, vessels, musical instruments, and personal ornaments. Despite their proximity to the Bateke, Bakota, Bamboshi, Wangata and other peoples with some traditions of tribal art, the Babangi, at least in the literature of the subject, show a remarkable lack of original sculpture.

Most of the Babangi groups in French Congo live in pile villages over flooded country. They are essentially fishermen and traders, spending most of their time in canoes. Certain groups which live in the higher country of the middle and upper reaches of the Congo tributaries have doubtless become cultivators and hunters as well. Riverine groups involved with trade and transport often seem less inclined to make religious sculpture than are more sedentary peoples who maintain a surplus economy through agriculture. However, a very distinctive work attributed to a group in the flooded part of the Babangi range has recently become known.

The Brooklyn Museum in 1952 acquired from a dealer a wooden mask (Plate J*a*, *b*) said to have been used in the *kabekaue* dance of the Likuala tribe at Mossaka in the French Congo. The Likuala and their close relatives, the Likuba, are Babangi who people the west bank of the Congo between the mouths of the Alima and Likuala Rivers.[3] The town of Mossaka is one of the few elevated sites in this region. The Likuala and Likuba do not frequently appear in the literature of the French Congo, but a nineteenth-century account[4] tells us of a troupe of 'Ekuala' musicians and dancers being invited across the Congo River to participate in festivities at Lukolela, a Babangi town on the east bank.

The nature of the *kabekaue* dance cannot yet be ascertained; information concerning the collector of the mask is at the moment unobtainable. Some similarity must exist between this dance and the *kebe-kebe* of the Bamboshi who live on the Middle Alima River and of the Kuyu of the country to their north. The *kebe-kebe* is a dance of a 'serpent-man,' the son of the serpent deity of the Kuyu.[5] Among the same people there is a magical chant, the *kabe*, for attracting the crocodile.[6] One authority regards the Bamboshi and Kuyu as of Babangi stock,[7] but the word *kabekaue* need be no more than a borrowing, either by the Bamboshi or the Babangi. The sculptures used in the two dances are not at all similar.

The precision of the details makes the attribution of the Likuala mask seem plausible. Yet the inaccessibility of the collector and the unfamiliar quality of the work should give pause to those who would accept the designation on faith. Other examples would have to be seen to set a style of mask carving, or the Likuala example would be merely a spontaneous, aberrant form, not at all indicative of a tribal idiom. By fortunate coincidence a somewhat similar mask is to be found not far from the Brooklyn Museum. The Museum of Modern Art in New York City has in its study collection a mask (Plate J*c*, *d*) designated as 'Itumba, Border of Gaboon and French Congo.' This piece is not altogether like the Likuala example, but it bears a closer resemblance to no other published work.

One searches in vain for an Itumba tribe in the region cited. A large village, Etumbi, stands on the Upper Likuala River, quite near the border of the Gaboon and Moyen Congo colonies. It is in the country of the Ngari, or Mboko,[8] said to be one of the westernmost of the Babangi groups.[9] Wooden masks have been bought in the environs of Etumbi.[10] A British ethnologist who studied patterns of facial scarification among the welter of tribes in the Moyen Congo noted that part of the elaborate and distinctive Ngari pattern was a pair of chevron-shaped scars pointing outward at each corner of the mouth.[11] The 'Itumba' mask shows these marks at one side of its nose, possibly because the tapering of the lower face might make awkward their incision between the mouth and the edge of the jaw. This might indicate that the mask was made, or owned, by the Ngari and that 'Itumba' is a variant of the place-name 'Etumbi.' The mask was acquired from M. Charles Ratton, who has confirmed that Etumbi is its place of origin.[12]

The resemblance of the Etumbi mask to the Likuala example makes it likely that they are both of Babangi provenance.[13] The Ngari and Likuala groups live at the opposite poles of Babangi extent on the west bank of the Congo River. Differences between their neighbour tribes are too great and the masks are too similar to bolster the presumption that both of these Babangi groups borrowed,

* *With Plate J and a text figure*

rather than made, these pieces.[14] The disparity between these masks lies in individual approach rather than in tribal style; the Etumbi mask shows a greater compromise with naturalism. However, both are clearly related through their long, elliptical outlines and their rather crescentic profiles; their sense organs rise in very high relief from the smooth and concave faces; the facial area goes sharply back into straight, steep sides which give the mask a deep appearance.[15] These attributes may tentatively define a Babangi style of mask sculpture.

The common features of these Likuala River masks suggest that they were made at points closer together than Etumbi and Mossaka. In view of the dearth of mask material on the mainstream of the Middle Congo, the piece from Mossaka may have been made further inland and came into Likuala hands through trade. The geographical centre of this style would thus, in the absence of further examples and records, be difficult to establish.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the Babangi may have carved in other styles as well; the seeming paucity of material could derive from inadequate documentation in the field.[16] At the end of the last century a mask (fig. 1)

FIG. 1. MASK FROM WESSO, FRENCH CONGO

Height, 12 inches: reproduced from Ethnographisch Album van het Stroomgebied van den Kongo, *Plate CIC, fig. 3, by courtesy of E. J. Brill, Leiden*

somewhat similar to the Likuala River examples was collected at Wesso on the Upper Sangha River.[17] It was said to have been found in the country of the 'Ogota and Babenguay': the Bakota range ends quite close to Wesso, but the town's environs are peopled by the Bumali and Pomo tribes of the Sanga ethnic group. At least some of the Sanga peoples are believed to show relationship to the Babangi,[18] who in their pure state form the population of the Lower Sangha River. The information available makes it impossible to decide whether the mask is of Babangi or Sanga origin. It is reproduced by a small dim photograph[19] in which it seems to show shallower relief than do the Likuala River types. However, its outline and the salient treatment of nose and mouth suggest some relationship.[20] It was offered for sale in 1900 and its present owner is not known.

The Wesso mask was described as red with black edges. In this it recalls the Etumbi mask which shows deposits of a red substance, probably powdered camwood, on its brow and eyelids. The Likuala mask seems also to have been coloured; a white material, probably kaolin, covers one side of its face. Polychromy, or bichromy, seems to have been widely, almost invariably, used on masks in this area; a lack of colour on some pieces should not necessarily imply that colour was never applied to them. The African mask-maker often tended to gild the lily: many of the most sculpturally startling forms were also strikingly coloured.

Notes

1 A tribe also called Bayanzi is found along the confluence of the Kwango, Kwilu and Kasai Rivers, but their relationship to the people on the Middle Congo River is not well established. See H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (London, 1908), p. 530.

2 Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

3 A. Courboin, 'Les Populations de l'Alima,' *Bull. Soc. Royale de Géogr. d'Anvers*, Vol. XXVIII (1904), p. 275.

4 E. J. Glave, *In Savage Africa* (New York, 1892), p. 275.

5 M. A. Poupon, 'Etude Ethnographique de la tribu Kouyou,' *L'Anthropologie*, Vol. XXIX (Paris, 1918–1919), p. 312.

6 G. Rouget, *Notes on the Recordings*, Ethnic Folkways Library, No. 402 (New York, 1950), p. 3.

7 G. Bruel, *La France Équatoriale Africaine* (Paris, 1935), p. 295.

8 F. W. H. Migeod, *Across Equatorial Africa* (London, 1923), p. 116.

9 Bruel, *loc. cit.*

10 G. M. Vassal, *Life in French Congo* (London, 1925), p. 141.

11 Migeod, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

12 Letter to me, dated 30 September, 1953.

13 This would depend on the Ngari really being a Babangi group. Migeod makes no such claim, but his specimens of the Ngari and Likuba languages (*op. cit.*, pp. 359, 361) seem to present notable similarities. The masks in themselves might serve to bespeak a relationship.

14 These masks show no great resemblance to sculptures made by other tribes in the area.

15 The masks also agree in having diagonal lines cut into the lower part of the face. Facial scars of a similar type are of wide and curiously discontinuous distribution over much of the western Congo basin. In these masks they may represent either a borrowing from the Bateke pattern of facial scoring or markings of a primary significance to the Babangi (although no accounts mention their use of diagonal cheek scars).

16 The Hon. Editor of MAN has pointed out to me a type of mask (H. Clouzot and A. Level, *Sculptures Africaines et Océaniennes* (Paris, n.d.), Plate XV), whose 'palm-leaf' scar pattern recalls one in use among certain Babangi.

17 H. C. Kooiman, *Description of an Ethnografical Collection from Aequatorial-Africa* . . . (Leiden, 1900), p. 8; *Ethnographisch Album van het Stroomgebied van den Kongo*, Rijk's Ethnographisch Museum, Ser. II, No. 2 (Leiden, 1904–1915), Plate CIC, fig. 3.

18 Bruel, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

19 Kooiman, *op. cit.*, Plate II, fig. 79.

20 A Balolo mask from the northwest Belgian Congo (F. M. Olbrechts, *Plastiek van Kongo* (Antwerp, 1946), Plate CCXIX), shows interesting points of resemblance with the Wesso mask.

THE KAFIR HARP*

by

THOMAS ALVAD
Ribe

233 As a member of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia Mr. Lennart Edelberg had an opportunity of visiting Kafiristan in the years 1948–1949. After having been conquered by Afghanistan in the nineties, and after the population had been converted to Islam, this country is now called *Nuristan*, 'the land of light.' Kafiristan (see map, fig. 1) seems formerly to have been somewhat larger than the present Nuristan, for the traditions of the people relate that Kafiristan stretched from the watershed to the river Kabul at the plain of Jalalabad, and other facts confirm these traditions. The population of Nuristan differs distinctly from the neighbouring peoples, as owing to the isolation imposed by the terrain it seems to have retained very old features as regards both race and culture.

In spite of the fact that all the population of Nuristan belong to the white (European) race and speak an Indo-European language rather closely related to Sanscrit, yet the Nuristani considered as individuals are no complete unit as to race, language, or in any other cultural respect.

* *With seven text figures*

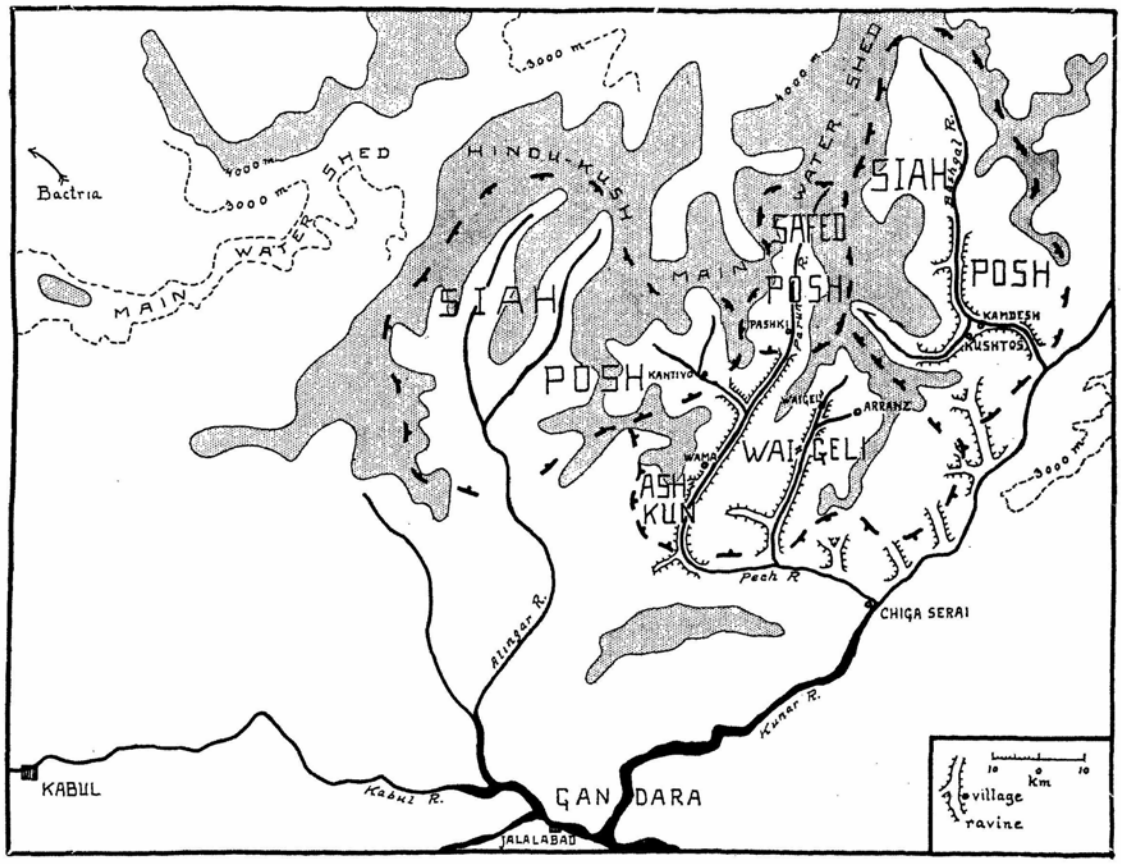


FIG. 1. TRIBAL MAP OF KAFIRISTAN

The Safed Posh both physically and ethnographically represent the oldest section of the population; they wear cloaks and trousers woven of grey-white sheep's wool. The Ashkun and Waigeli also form a very old element of the population; they inhabit the narrow valleys leading into Nuristan, and are characterized by the short embroidered dresses worn by their women. The Siah Posh are younger elements, whose presence especially in the valley of Bashgal is rather recent; their name, 'the black-robed,' derives from their black cloaks made of goat's hair; they came to Bashgal from Kantivo, whence according to tradition, the western Siah Posh also came. The Kamos tribe is the youngest group within the Siah Posh, inhabiting the central 'town' of Kamdesh, who according to their own account immigrated rather recently from the south; even though they act as the ruling race, they must have adopted the local religion and whole way of living after this immigration to Kafiristan; in keeping with this is the presence of a lower class within the Kamos artisan-slaves who to some degree are the representatives of the cultural inheritance in art and handicrafts. The Jashi, an original element of the population, have been expelled or absorbed by the several immigrations into the valley of Bashgal.

It seems possible to distinguish between old and young elements of the population, and the harp is only met with among the former.

In April, 1948, during his first stay in Nuristan, Mr. Edelberg found a specimen of the Kafir harp at Wama, where a young man played the instrument in his presence. In May he found a larger instrument at Pashki, but he never met any Safed Posh who played the harp. In July, 1949, he again came upon a couple of smaller instruments at the village of Waigel. One of these instruments as well as those mentioned above were acquired for the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen.

Mr. Edelberg was told by several people that the instrument was especially used at Arranz. At the Museum of Kabul a new specimen can be seen, made to order. At Kushtos the harp was called *waji* (fig. 2).

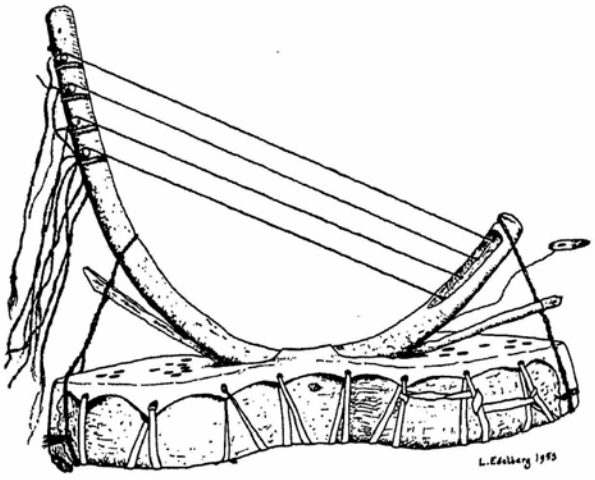


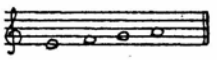
FIG. 2. THE KAFIR HARP
Danish National Museum, Copenhagen

Description of the instrument. The three instruments—one large and five-stringed, the others smaller and four-stringed—which Mr. Edelberg brought to Denmark are all constructed according to the same principle, though there are differences in details. The instrument is built of two parts: stringholder and soundbox.

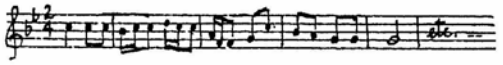
The stringholder is one piece of bowed stick, a branch or the like. At one end the strings have been inserted through holes in the stick, which is cut a little flat at this place, and are kept in place by knots which are tied on the strings themselves. At the other end the strings are placed over holding knobs and are kept by tuning cords which are formed of looser material than the sounding strings. These tuning cords hang down as tassels from the bowed stringholder. The holding knobs cause the strings to be kept in place and not to glide down the smooth bow of the stringholder. These holding knobs must not be mistaken for tuning pegs, such as are found on certain African harps, for instance. The tuning of the instrument is done by tightening or loosening the hanging tuning cords.

The soundbox is formed of a piece of hollowed wood constricted at the middle almost like a violin.[1] Over this piece of wood a piece of skin is tightly stretched by means of leather thongs; it is fitted with several soundholes. The stringholder is put through two holes in the skin and fastened to the soundbox in this way. A string for stretching at each end of the instrument keeps the stringholder in place and prevents it from working loose because of the pull of the stretched strings. These strings, which are double and twisted, can be tightened by means of an inserted stick.

As already mentioned the large instrument has five strings, the tuning of which unfortunately is not certain as Mr. Edelberg had no means of examining this problem in Nuristan. However, he noticed that the four-stringed instrument found at Wama was tuned like this:[2]



it was impossible, however, to determine the absolute pitch. It is allowable to suppose that the other four-stringed instrument is tuned in the same way. So the four strings form a diatonic tetrachord, corresponding to the lower central tetrachord of the ancient Greek Doric key.[3] The diatonic tuning of the instrument also seems to correspond well enough to the impression we have of the relatively few Kafir melodies of which we have knowledge, these melodies being all obviously diatonic:



Probably, then, the five-stringed instrument is tuned as a diatonic pentachord. It seems less probable that the instrument should be tuned pentatonic.

The Kafir harp is always played with a plectrum, the right hand with the plectrum quickly gliding to and fro across the strings while the fingers of the left hand mute the strings which must not sound. Retuning during playing does not seem to take place. Unfortunately, we know nothing about the music which is played on the instrument, as during his stay in Kafiristan Mr. Edelberg did not possess any apparatus to record the music. He only heard it used as a solo instrument but there is a probability that it can also be used as an accompaniment to singing.

Determination of the type of the instrument. It is obvious that the instrument described above must be related to the type of instrument which is called a harp. The chief characteristic of the harp is that the plane which the strings form is at right angles to the surface of the soundbox, unlike instruments of the lute group, for instance, where the plane of the strings and the surface of the soundbox are parallel. Another characteristic of the harp is that stringholder and soundbox form a unity in construction, so that they cannot be separated without the instrument being made useless.[4]

As to the Oriental harps we distinguish between two types, the angular harp in which stringholder and soundbox form an angle, and the arched harp where stringholder and soundbox are united in a common bow.[5] We must further distinguish between the horizontal type and the vertical one according to the manner of playing. The vertical angular and arched harps are played with the

fingers and during the playing are held so that the strings go vertically, whereas the soundbox is turned towards the player's breast and the open side of the harp is turned away from the player (fig. 3). The horizontal angular and arched

FIG. 3. VERTICAL ANGULAR HARP
After H. F. Lutz, 'A Larsa Plaque'

harps are always played with plectrum and are held with the soundbox under the left arm so that the strings go horizontally, and the bow of the stringholder points forward, away from the player (fig. 4).[6]

FIG. 4. SUMERIAN HORIZONTAL ARCHED HARP FROM BISMYA
After Duchesne-Guillemin

Briefly, harps can be classified as follows: A. Angular harp: (1) horizontal; (2) vertical. B. Arched harp: (1) horizontal; (2) vertical.

To which type, then, does the Kafir harp belong? As will appear from the description above of the instrument, it is closely related to the horizontal arched harp. Common to these instruments are the vertical position of the plane of the strings in relation to the soundbox, the bow-shaped stringholder, the manner of playing with a plectrum and the position of the instrument during the playing with the soundbox under the left arm and the bow pointing forward (fig. 5). But in one particular there is a vital difference. Whereas in the bow harp the stringholder and

FIG. 5. A WAIGELI PLAYING HIS HARP
Photograph: L. Edelberg

the soundbox form an inseparable whole, one end of the strings being fastened in the soundbox itself, and the stringholder being a part of the front end of the latter (fig. 4), this cannot be said to be the case in the Kafir harp. Here the instrument could be played even if the soundbox were removed, as each end of the strings is fastened to the stringholder and has no direct connexion with the soundbox. Thus the stringholder is constructively independent of the soundbox. This fact gives the Kafir harp a certain likeness to another type of instrument, the zither. Instruments of this type are characterized by the fact that they consist either of the stringholder alone which may be soundbox as well, or of stringholder loosely connected with a soundbox so that the two parts can be separated without the instrument being destroyed.[7] Thus it seems as if our harp is a connecting type between the harp and the zither, and might therefore be defined as a horizontal arched harp-zither.

There is hardly any doubt that the arched harp is descended from the so-called musical bow [8] (fig. 6). As a

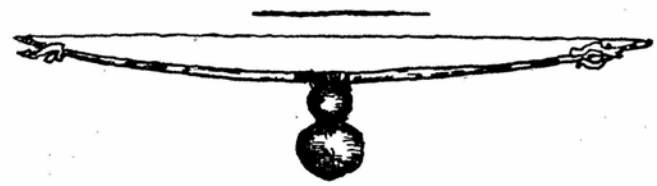


FIG. 6. A MUSICAL BOW
After Ankermann

type of instrument the musical bow belongs to the zither, and in the form depicted here consists of a flexible stick between the ends of which the string is stretched. The very faint tones can be amplified by the help of a soundbox, which may be a gourd, the oral cavity of the player, or a hollowed piece of wood covered with a piece of skin. It

is played by means of a small stick. The arched harp would have descended from this instrument, then, by increasing the number of the strings and by fusing the soundbox and the stringholder.[9] If we accept this generally acknowledged theory, there can hardly be any doubt that the Kafir harp denotes a step in the development from the musical bow to the arched harp. All the characteristics of the arched harp are present with the exception of the fusing of the stringholder and the soundbox. 'No doubt it is a harp of so early a stage that the stringholder has not yet been fused with the soundbox.'[10]

As further indications of the great age of this type of harp, the presence of the holding knobs[11] mentioned above must be taken into account, as well as the fact that the only known closely related instrument is to be found as far away from Kafiristan as among the Kru tribe of West Africa.[12]

Relationship to the oldest known types of arched harps. The oldest known specimens of the arched harp originate from the Sumarians about the second half of the fourth millennium B.C. The vertical and the horizontal types appear there at the same time. In Mesopotamia at the end of the third millennium B.C. the arched harp was replaced by the angular harp, which seems to have developed from it.[13] Whereas the angular harp thus became universal in Mesopotamia, the vertical arched harp is met with again in Egypt from the fourth dynasty. Here the horizontal type does not seem to have been known. After an absence of two thousand years the latter appears again in Gandhara sculpture about the beginning of our era, then at Sanchi, Amaravati, and in Java. Nowadays the type is found among certain African tribes and in Burma.[14] The change of position from horizontal to vertical is no doubt due to the fact that this makes it easier to play the instrument with the fingers alone. Yet the same thing can also be attained in the case of the arched harp in another way: instead of placing the harp vertically the player turns it through ninety degrees and places it on his knees; his left hand catches the end of the bow while the right touches the strings (an example is the Burmese harp). Thus the Kafir harp seems to be the only existing harp instrument which has retained the manner of playing characteristic of the old horizontal arched harp.

As will be seen from fig. 4 there are very many similarities between the Kafir harp and the Sumerian harp from Bismya, both as to appearance and manner of playing. The similarities are so evident that if the theory proposed above of the Kafir harp as a connecting link between the musical bow and the bow harp is accepted, one must be permitted to consider the Kafir harp as a forerunner of the Sumerian harp. This weakens the theory advanced by C. Sachs,[15] to the effect that the vertical type is older than the horizontal one. When all the qualities which are characteristic of a horizontal harp exist in an instrument the type of which is older than the oldest arched harps so far known, we must be allowed to suppose that the horizontal type is at any rate as old as the vertical one.

Perhaps the existence of this very old type of harp among the mountains of Hindukush is also a further indication of a prehistoric Sumerian migration from east to west, and it may contribute to the solving of the old problem, apparently insoluble, of the sudden appearance of the horizontal arched harp in the Gandhara Sculpture,

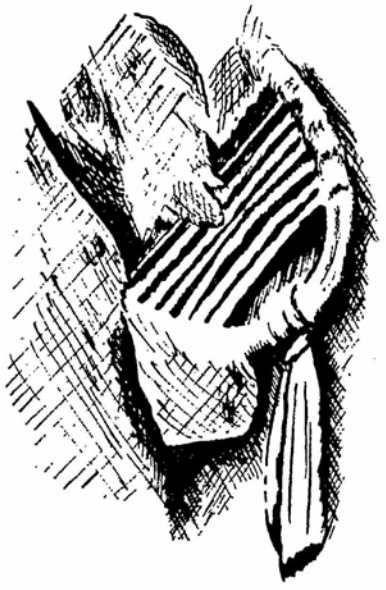


FIG. 7. A HARP FROM A GANDHARA SCULPTURE
After Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting (London, 1908), Plate VIII

which is highly influenced by Bactrian art (see map). In any case, on a relief from Loriyan Tangai there is depicted a fragment of an instrument like a harp which has an unmistakable similarity to the Kafir harp (fig. 7).

Notes

[1] It is not clear whether this constriction is functional (*cf.* the violin), ornamental, or due to influence from other instruments.

[2] Mr. Edelberg reported that the tuning of the four strings corresponded to the tones in the interval melody of the Swedish broadcasting programmes.

[3] Tetrachord meson: *cf.* O. J. Gombosi, *Tonarten und Stimmungen der antiken Musik*, Copenhagen, 1939.

[4] C. Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, New York, 1940, pp. 79, 465; C. Sachs and E. M. Hornbostel, 'Systematik der Musikinstrumente,' *Zeits. für Ethnol.*, Vol. XLVI (1914).

[5] Sachs, *l.c.*, p. 465; Sachs and Hornbostel, *l.c.*

[6] M. Duchesne-Guillemin, 'La harpe en Asie occidentale ancienne,' *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, Vol. XXXIV (1937).

[7] Sachs, *l.c.*, p. 463; Sachs and Hornbostel, *l.c.*

[8] Henry Balfour, *The Natural History of the Musical Bow*, Oxford, 1899; Walter Kaudern, *Musical Instruments in Celebes*, Göteborg, 1927; Percival R. Kirby, *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1934.

[9] C. Sachs, *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente*, Berlin, 1929, p. 144; A. Schaeffner, *Origine des instruments de musique*, Paris, 1936, pp. 185ff.; M. Duchesne-Guillemin, *l.c.*, p. 30.

[10] Mme M. Duchesne-Guillemin in a private letter to me.

[11] Sachs, *l.c.*, p. 145.

[12] *Cf.*, for chronology, E. M. von Hornbostel in *Africa*, Vol. VI (1933); for the Kru harp: *Anthrop. Ges. Frankfurt-am-Main*, 1925, Plate XIX, fig. 2 *b*. Also compare harp-like instrument from Fouta-Djalon, Schaeffner, *l.c.*, p. 191 and Plate XXI.

[13] Duchesne-Guillemin, *l.c.*, Plate 33.

[14] B. Ankermann, 'Die afrikanischen Musikinstrumente.' *Ethnol. Notizblatt*, Berlin, 1902; C. Sachs, *Die Musikinstrumente Indiens und Indonesiens*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 139–41, fig. 97.

[15] C. Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, pp. 81f.

SHORTER NOTE

Batak Scarecrows. *By G. Marin. With a text figure*

234 In no country have I noticed so many kinds of scarecrows as in the Batak regions of Sumatra. As soon as the rice crop begins to ripen, they become quite a feature of the landscape. The following kinds were recorded mainly during a short stay among the Timur-Batak, on the shores of Lake Toba, in 1934.

A. FIXED SCARECROWS

These include the types familiar to us:

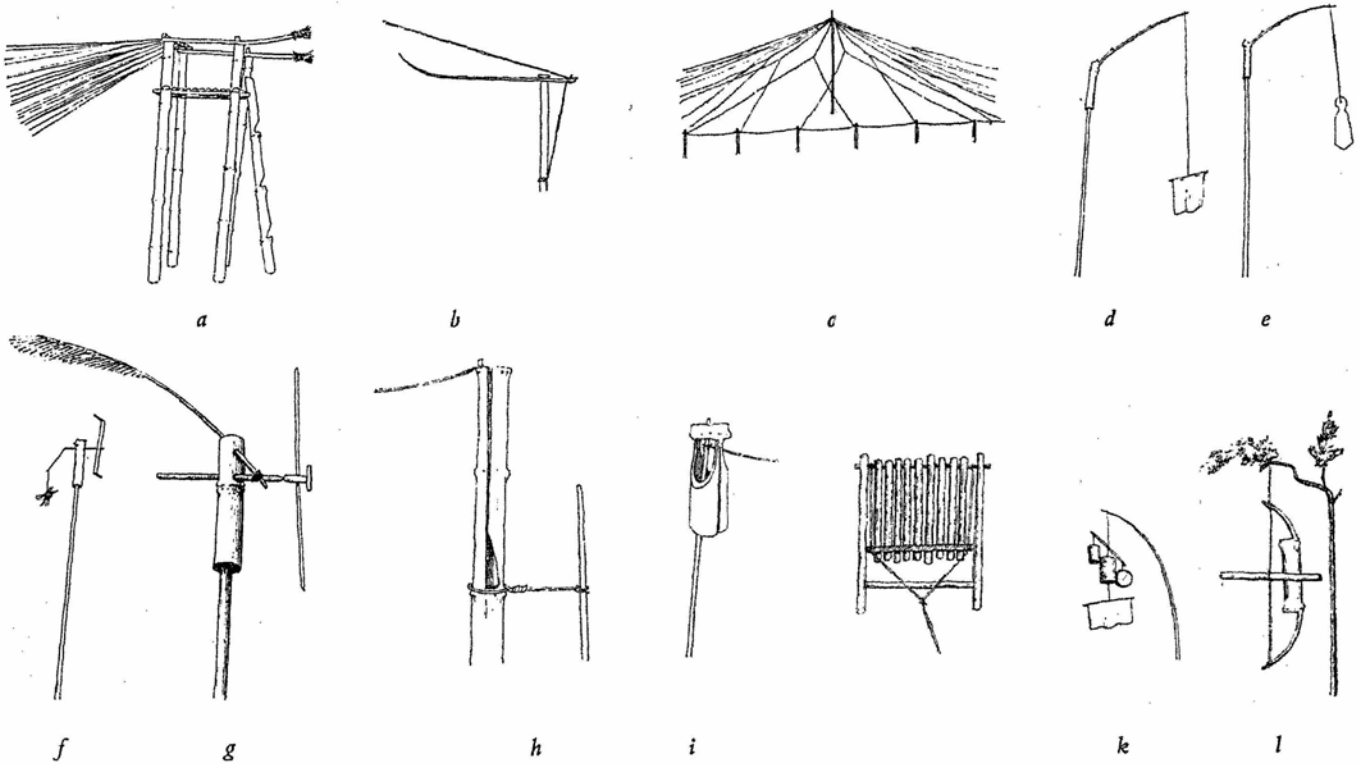
(a) the dead bird of prey, or the tuft of feathers hanging from a post;

(b) the anthropomorphic scarecrow.

B. MOVING SCARECROWS

1. *Operated by a watchman*

The watchman squats on a bamboo platform standing high above the fields; called *pasa*[1] by the Timur-Batak, and Pacha-pacha by the Toba-Batak; spelt *pansa*, and *pansa-pansa*, respectively (fig. 1*a*).



(a) The rotating rod (*b*). A horizontal bamboo rod pivoting near its thick end at the top of a post stuck in the ground. Round this thick extremity is lashed a strap of bamboo bark, one end of which is tied to the foot of the pole so as to keep the rod in its horizontal position, while the other end reaches as far as the *pansa*; by giving it a pull, the watchman causes the stick to swing round, just above the head of the ripening crop. Timur-Batak: *hawas hawasi*; Karo-Batak: *kawat-kawati.*

(b) A rudimentary network of bamboo straps spreading over the whole field like a bell tent (*c*). An occasional jerk is imparted to the central pole. Timur-Batak: *hotor*; Toba-Batak: *hotor-hotor.*

2. *Stirred by the wind*

(a) The gibbet with a rotating arm (*d*). A pole is planted in the ground; its summit fits loosely into a bamboo joint, allowing it to revolve freely. From the joint knot springs out a bough which forms the arm of the gibbet, and from the extremity of this arm hangs a rag mounted on a horizontal stick. Timur-Batak: *hayak-kalak.*

(b) A similar gibbet, where the place of the rag is taken by a light wooden board, which the wind causes to rotate at great speed (*e*). Timur Batak: *hayak: kayapi.*

C. NOISY SCARECROWS: WHIZZING OR ROARING

A simple windmill device whirling at the top of a pole, and set at right angles to the wind by a vane, commonly a palmleaf (*f*). Timur-Batak: *ingon-ingon*; Karo- and Toba-Batak; *baling-baling.* This is the Javanese *kitiran* (*g*).

D. NOISY SCARECROWS: PERCUSSION

1. *Operated by a watchman, from a* pansa

(a) The bamboo clapper gaping upwards. A thick bamboo trunk is stuck in the ground, the top part being split so as to form two jaws; one of these has a bamboo strap attached to it so that it can be forced back and released by the man on the *pansa.* Timur-Batak: *bakbak*; Toba-Batak: *hapak-kapak* (*h*).

(b) A similar device, but gaping downwards (*i*). A section of thick bamboo, split as in the *bakbak*, is fixed in a reversed position at the top of a stick; the latter is planted in the ground and is jerked by a bamboo strap from the *pansa.* Timur-Batak: *hotuk.*

A contrivance of a similar kind, from Perak, where it is called *kerapak*, or *garadang*, is also shown (*j*). It consists of a number of bamboo tubes suspended within a frame, and of a wooden bar

hanging horizontally by two bamboo straps. This bar, on being pulled back and released, hits the tubes with great noise.

2. *Stirred by the wind*

The bunch of empty cans and other scraps of tinplate clanging in the wind (*k*); a modern device, Toba-Batak.

In (*l*) is shown a *Kerantong-gantong* from Perak. The stick hits the internode of bamboo as the breeze causes the suspension string to wind and unwind. I noted similar contrivances in Java and in Annam, but I cannot say whether the instrument is known to the Batak.[2]

Often associated with the scarecrows is the *sintak*, a relative of the Sudanese *Mukhbat* (described and illustrated by N. L. Corkill in *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXIII (1943), p. 118, and Plate VI*d*). It consists of a long and loosely hanging bamboo strap which goes from the *pansa* to the top of a very high mast. When a flock of birds passes over it, the watchman gives it a sudden pull causing it to fly up, in the hope of crippling or stunning a bird in its flight.

Notes

[1] For greater simplicity of printing and reading, and in accordance with the practice of MAN where the argument does not depend on orthographical nicety, special phonetic letters are not used here.—ED.

[2] For the sake of comparison, two interesting groups of scarecrows from Yugoslavia, represented in the Belgrade Ethnological Museum, may be mentioned here: the *vetrenjačka*, a multiple clapper worked by a windmill, and the *ajkalica*, a clapper worked by falling water.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Distribution of the Human Blood Groups. *By A. E. Mourant, with a foreword by Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S. Oxford (Blackwell), 1954. Pp. xxi, 438. Price £2 2s.*

235 With its 237 pages of text, 96 pages of bibliography (1716 references), 40 tables of frequencies, 9 maps and three indexes, Dr. A. E. Mourant's book represents the most important modern contribution to the anthropology of blood groups. In the first seven chapters the author examines in a condensed but adequate manner the simple Mendelian characteristics which can be made use of in anthropology, and underlines their importance. In the present stages of this research, this account is devoted essentially to the various antigenic systems, a brief mention being made nevertheless of some other Mendelian simple characteristics (or what are believed to be such): hair and eye colour, tasting of phenylthiocarbamide, thalassæmia, sicklæmia, aberrations of the chromatic sense, the ability to smell hydrocyanic acid. The following 112 pages are divided into six chapters and deal with the geographical distribution of blood groups. The author then deals with emigrant European populations; mixed populations (American Negroes, Porto-Ricans): antigenic grouping of tissues and bones; blood groups of animals and their relationship to human group serology. In the seventeenth chapter the author, as he himself expresses it, makes an attempt at synthesis. The remainder of the work explains the technique of collection, conservation and transport of samples of blood, and the methods of calculating the frequency of genes.

There can be no question of analysing in a few lines a work of such weight as this. I shall therefore limit myself to pointing out only a few aspects.

Dr. Mourant first poses the question of the origins of blood groups: why blood groups? Their origins are very ancient; it is possible that identical substances or substances near to the antigens *ABO* constitute one of the characteristics of living matter; the substances *MN* and *Rh* seem to exist among the primitive Primates. In common with all genetic diversity this polymorphism is a product of mutations. Natural selection has maintained this, for it represents an advantage for the species in face of the innumerable variations of the environment.

Until recently, blood-groups were considered to be a neutral genetic characteristic. The actual distribution of their frequencies could not therefore be explained except as an accidental loss of alleles (genetic drift, random fluctuation) in small isolated populations such as those of which prehistoric mankind was composed. It is incontestable that to some extent the actual distribution of frequencies must be due to this cause. Nevertheless, since the quite recent discovery of correlations between the *ABO* system and the various cancers and ulcers it has become necessary to take into consideration the selective value of blood groups. One can imagine the importance of this discovery for anthropology. Up to the present the similarity of frequencies in two or more populations might be interpreted as a fairly certain indication of their common origins. Now if blood groups are subject to natural selection (even to a very slow rhythm), the similarity of frequencies might be perfectly well explained as due to the convergent effect of the environment on populations which are strangers to one another. Not until similarity is attested for a number of systems would it be legitimate to attribute it to common origins. It is also necessary to take into account the dynamic peculiar to each of the systems of blood groups. The more a characteristic is intensively selected the more quickly are its frequencies modified. Mourant estimates that the study of thalassæmia and of sicklæmia reflects relationships for some centuries only; the distribution of the *ABO* groups supplies information only for one or two millennia. The other systems are supposed to be more stable. Nevertheless, in the *Rh* system the relationship between the frequency of the genes *D* and *d* is more strongly subject to fluctuations.

These considerations do not diminish the value of blood groups considered as criteria of ethnical or racial origins. But their utilization for anthropological ends must be hemmed in with precautions called for by the multiplicity of factors which intervene in the variation of their frequencies.

On the whole, and simplifying the matter to the limit, the distribution of blood groups by continents corresponds *grosso modo* to the population areas of the principal human races. One notes among the Whites the presence of A_2 and a strong frequency of *cde* (*r*) and of *MS*. The Blacks are characterized by an extreme abundance of *cDe* (R_0). The common trait among Yellow peoples is a very weak frequency and, most often, the absence of *cde* (*r*) and of A_2 with the strongest concentration in the world of *B* in Asia and of *O* in America. It is possible after all that the *B* antigen is possessed of a certain selective value since in Asia its frequency is great among not only the Mongoloids but also the Europoids.

A finer analysis of the very schematic picture poses countless problems which, at the present time, cannot all be resolved, because our knowledge is still too sketchy in the blood-group field. Thus, for certain aspects of the concentration of *O* problems are presented by some localities in Europe, and for *B* certain localities in England and elsewhere.

It is the custom when analysing a scientific work to point out weaknesses and errors. As far as this particular book is concerned this task is not easy. The theories and hypotheses that Mourant propounds are presented with such meticulous objectivity and with such precautions to avoid all dogmatism that criticism, if criticism there were, would find itself disarmed. While seeking to synthetize our knowledge in this absorbing field, the author evinces an extreme cautiousness on which one can only congratulate him when one thinks of the many hasty and ephemeral conceptions to which blood groups have only too often given birth.

In his analysis of the present work (*Brit. Med. J.*, 30 October, 1954) Sir R. A. Fisher regrets that Mourant did not take it upon himself to explain the precise mathematical methods of the calculation of gene frequencies (maximum-likelihood method). To exonerate him it must be pointed out that this method is far from being

current practice; to my knowledge there are only a negligible number of researches on blood groups where this method has been utilized, although its first application to the *ABO* groups goes back to 1938 (W. L. Stevens). It is possible that it will be used more commonly in the future, but its employment is at present dependent on the cooperation between biologist and statistician which has not yet been realized, or at least not on a sufficient scale. In other respects the empirical method proposed by Mourant is very satisfactory and the frequencies which can be calculated thereby do not appear to differ significantly from results obtained by the maximum-likelihood method (W. C. Boyd), *Am. J. Hum. Genetics*, No. 6, 1954). Possibly the account of the method for calculating the *Rh* chromosomes in particular might have been of greater value if it had been followed by a summary in the form of a table of formulæ.

A. E. Mourant's work is a new and precious contribution to genetic anthropology which is in the process of building itself up. It is to be hoped that this science may continually gain in breadth by following the route traced by the study of blood groups in the study of human differentiation. R. KHÉRUMIAN

Atom und Psyche. *By Egon, Freiherr von Eickstedt. Stuttgart (Enke), 1954. Pp. 158. Price DM. 12*

236 The old physics tended to emphasize *Zwangskausalität* (compulsive causality). The new physics sees *Streukausalität* (*lit.* 'scatter causality') or limited spontaneity as a characteristic of the ultimate particle. Millions of millions of these spontaneous actions have a summation which is, in effect, what is called determined, in the case of non-living matter. The element carbon has the special property of a measure of spontaneity in some of its compounds and this leads to the evolution of life. So through virus, bacterium, lower and higher animal we follow this element of spontaneity acting, always, in and through matter subject to compulsive causality. Man's senses and his cultivation of logical thought based on sense impressions may have limited his attainment of truth. In attempting the above summary of an already highly compressed study, I should explain that I may not have everywhere caught the author's exact intention. The age-old argument about mind and matter seems in this book to be a Revised Monism, not without links with Smuts's Holism. H. J. FLEURE

AFRICA

Juridical Techniques and the Judicial Process. *By A. L. Epstein, Manchester (U.P.) 1954. Pp. 37. Price 6s.*

237 Mr. Epstein has made a study of the African Urban Courts of Northern Rhodesia. This pamphlet contains a summary of a few decided cases, and is interesting where it shows the clash of civilization and tribal life, though some of these few cases are trivial. But what Mr. Epstein sets out to achieve is a treatment on the lines of Professor Max Gluckman's analysis of native legal phenomena in his forthcoming book on Barotse law—an analysis foreshadowed also in the latter's recent broadcast talks on the 'Reasonable Man.'

During the nineteenth century physicists attempted to solve certain problems by supposing the existence of a universal fluid, called the ether, which was permanently at rest and pervaded all matter and space. English law has during the last century sought to solve some legal problems by the use of the word 'reasonable,' especially in the phrase 'the reasonable man.' The word is useful because its meaning is too obscure to be precise. Recently some serious minds have treated it with ribaldry, enquiring after 'the reasonable woman.'

Now social anthropology (which has enough 'ethers' of its own) gains this accession, much magnified. It is amazing what Mr. Epstein can do with the word. The native judges, he says, in ascertaining the disputed facts of a case, apply everywhere 'the test of reasonable expectation'—by which (it is reasonable to suppose) he means that they consider what the person whose conduct is in question (assuming he is of a common type) would be likely to do in the circumstances, and whether it is likely that things happened as the witness says. In other words, sometimes 'reasonableness' refers to the mind or conduct of the Court, sometimes of the actor, sometimes of both. Sometimes it is the test by which to decide whether the litigant's conduct was wrongful, for it is judged by 'standards of reasonableness.' Sometimes it is the test of the existence of a legal right, for judges may decide that it is 'reasonable' that a person who does a certain act in certain circumstances should be held liable to compensate a person injured thereby. Professor Gluckman indeed in one broadcast address spoke of 'the reasonable wrongdoer.' In short, 'reasonable' means almost anything, or hardly anything, as you wish.

By the way, the name of the famous American jurist, from whom Mr. Epstein derives the phrase 'judicial process,' is Cardozo, not Cardoza (as Mr. Epstein calls him each time). A. S. DIAMOND

Inkuti Pukunot oo Lmaasai. *By John Tompo Ole Mpaayei. Edited by A. N. Tucker. S.O.A.S. Annotated African Texts: III, Maasai. O.U.P., 1954. Pp. xii, 74. Price 4s. 6d.*

238 This book, *Little Specimens of Maasai*, is the first piece of indigenous Masai literature, being the work of a Masai who has recently taken a degree at Cambridge. It contains eight texts dealing with the Masai, their cattle, and various aspects of tribal life, together with some riddles and a Masai version of St. John, chapter 1. An English version is printed after the texts, and not, as would have been helpful to the beginner, opposite the text. Professor Tucker has edited the whole and provided useful notes. The book is extremely interesting, and is a valuable addition to the literature on the Masai. G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

AMERICA

The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization. *By J. Eric S. Thompson. Norman, Okla. (U. Oklahoma P.), 1954. Pp. xii, 287, 1 map, 24 plates, 26 special decorations, 20 text figs. Price $5*

239 The author's previous book, the renowned work on Maya hieroglyphic writing was definitely for the more advanced student, but he has referred to this, his latest volume, as his 'popular book.' One gathers, therefore, that he has produced it more with the general reader in mind, than the specialist. However, although undoubtedly it will cause many an interested layman to dip deeper into the barrel of Central Americana, it also offers much for the scholar. Eric Thompson felt that there was a need for an accurate account of the Maya which also tried to explain their civilization. This, I feel, he has accomplished, and although he states modestly that he has drawn heavily on the ideas of his colleagues of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, his own opinions and conclusions predominate.

He traces with clarity the Rise and Florescence of the City States from the Formative Period to the end of the Classic Period. For many years it was believed that for some reason or other the Maya of the Central Area abandoned their cities and migrated to the north and south, in which regions they established their culture. Recent archæological evidence suggests that this was not the case, although the activities at the ceremonial centres in the Central Area do appear to have ceased at the end of the Classic Period. Many theories have been put forward in the past to account for this, some of which were pure fantasy, but the explanation offered in this book is, I think, the most acceptable.

I found the chapters dealing with the Mexican Period, its later domination by the Mexican-Toltec culture with its militaristic features, followed by the Period of Mexican Absorption, an accurate and convincing examination of this phase of Maya history.

The intellectual and artistic achievements of the ancient Maya have been well detailed in a chapter dealing with their philosophy of time, inventions, discoveries, hieroglyphic writings, literature and art.

There are five sketches of Maya life, each in a fictional setting, and the author admits that a well-known anthropologist to whom he submitted these re-creations was deeply shocked at the mingling

of fiction and science. I expect that this gentleman's feelings will be shared by others, but Eric Thompson points out that he regards archæology not as a science but a backward projection of history. As many historians have used the fictional approach in varying intensity he considered that there was little need for him to justify this chapter.

The book contains many illustrations and the reconstruction drawings of cities and buildings, illustrating Maya architecture, have been excellently executed by Miss Tatiana Proskouriakoff and accurately incorporate all archæological data.

D. H. CARPENTER

Gliederung des Alt-Aztekischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf aus dem aztekischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagúns. *Translated and edited by Leonhard Schultze-Jena. Stuttgart (Kohlhammer), 1952. Pp. x, 336. Price DM. 54*

240 Anything by Dr. Schultze-Jena is an event to be noted, and this magnificently prepared text and translation is one of real importance. Germans and Americans have taken great strides forward in making available definitive editions of Sahagún's wonderful compilation, and the Latin-American Library in Berlin under the able direction of Professor Gerdt Kutscher is at present in the forefront of those institutions providing source books on American culture in the original tongues. This volume is concerned with the associations of the Aztecs both within the family and in society at large, and is a mine of priceless information for students of pre-Columbian ethnology, as well as for the specialists in Mexican history, religion or linguistics. The Nahuatl text is that of Paso y Troncoso's facsimile edition of the *Historia* supplemented by Bustamente (Mexico, 1829–30) and there is an excellent analytical word list (pp. 250–336). It would be impertinent to comment on the translation of the man who alone occupies the highest eminence in the field of Aztec literature—the only possible judges would be his own pupils—but it reads with refreshing ease, and has none of that ponderous quality which we have so often to put up with from academic Germans.

A. S. JENKINS

The Big Tree of Mexico. *By John Skeaping. London (Turnstile Press), 1952. Pp. 234, plates. Price 16s.*

241 John Skeaping, sculptor, painter and teacher (now Professor of Sculpture at the Royal College of Art) has recorded in this small book the events of a year-long stay with the Indians of Mexico, chiefly in the pottery villages near Oaxaca. He has succeeded in conveying his enthusiasm and sympathy for these primitive people in this very personal story, and it is a charming book to read. There is no great amount of information to be gained from reading it, except perhaps about John Skeaping himself.

MARGARET PLASS

Unveröffentlichte Bilder und Handschriften zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens. *By Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, edited by Jose Röder and Hermann Trimborn. Bonn (Dümmler), 1954. Pp. 150, illus.*

242 At the XXX International Congress of Americanists in Cambridge, 1952, the important discovery of the handwritten diaries and personal sketches of Prince Maximilian was announced and unanimously acclaimed. Thanks to Professor Trimborn's energetic efforts a critical analysis of the find has been published in a remarkably short time. Certain repetitions might have been avoided. On several occasions we are assured that this book is only concerned with the journeys in Eastern Brazil (1815–17) and yet Dr. Karl Viktor Prinz zu Wied's chapter on the life of his illustrious ancestor contains rather irrelevant details about the princely family since the eleventh century and about the explorer's later travels in North America. If, however, a biography was intended, the allusions to the personal relationship with Alexander von Humboldt are disappointingly vague.

Dr. Josef Röder concisely describes the manuscript which he discovered in the family archives and demonstrates how much of the exactness of the drawings and watercolours was lost by later 'artistic' improvements. This particular point is further emphasized by Dr. Oberem's ethnological explanations of the sketches.

Dr. J. Huppertz has extracted the geographical and ethnological evidence from the first Brazilian diaries and indicated their conformity with or divergence from the printed version. Several passages which were not incorporated in the book are now published for the first time. We wonder whether the author was too modest and did not fully recognize the value of his notes; or whether he was reluctant to publish certain drastic comments? In shortening his notes he may have intended to render the report more exciting or been saving them for later special publications. The extracts from the handwritten diaries have been amplified by passages from relatively little-known letters which had been published 1816–17 in *Isis* and *Morgenblatt*. Furthermore, Dr. Huppertz has compiled a vocabulary of the Botocudo terms quoted by Prince Maximilian, which, almost 70 years later, on the Rio Doce stood Paul Ehrenreich in good stead.

Prince Maximilian's sober writings, not given to systematizing or theorizing and untinged by later romantic ideas, were fully appreciated by his contemporaries and now greatly appeal to the modern reader. We look forward to the promised publications of the drawings and of the eight personal Brazilian letters; the closer we can get to the original impressions the greater will be our share in this most fortunate discovery.

E. ETTLINGER

Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest. *By Ella E. Clark. Berkeley and Los Angeles (U. of Calif. P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1953. Pp. 225. Price £1 14s.*

243 Ella E. Clark is Associate Professor of English at the State College of Washington and her aim in presenting these tales from the American Indians of Oregon and Washington has, as she says, 'never been sociological or anthropological.' From the larger body of tales she has selected those which are concerned with the landscape of the two states, since she believes these will have the greatest interest for the general reader. The tales have been rewritten with the same purpose in mind.

There is a good bibliography, including reference to manuscript materials, and each tale has been carefully identified as to both its provenance and the source from which it was obtained. In a few instances, the tales were told to Professor Clark by living Indians. Unfortunately, this scholarship has not been carried through to an evaluation of sources so that already popularized tales appearing in magazines are treated on the same level as exact versions recorded in text. Popularization leads almost inevitably to the omission of unfamiliar details and the reinterpretation of incidents and characters, with the result here that some of these origin myths are hardly recognizable.

The collection should, therefore, only be used by the folklorist already thoroughly familiar with the area—and then only sparingly. Its entertainment value is more difficult to judge and will probably be greatest for tourists and residents of the American Northwest. There are some attractive small drawings by Robert Bruce Inverarity and two useful maps.

MARIAN W. SMITH

Red Man's America: A History of Indians in the United States. *By Ruth Murray Underhill. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1953. Pp. x, 400, illus., maps. Price £2 1s. 6d.*

244 'A history of Indians in the United States,' writes Dr. Underhill, 'seems a project so vast as almost to be comical.' It is fortunate that she was prepared to take the risk; *Red Man's America* emerges as a concise digest of research down to 1951 that nowhere merits the imputation of comicality.

Two chapters are devoted to the peopling of the New World and the development of high cultures in what is here called Nuclear America. Against this background the Indians of the United States proper are considered under ten regional groupings. A final chapter discusses the aims and the effects, too often widely divergent, of governmental Indian policy from Colonial times to the present day.

Dr. Underhill's method is a skilful blending of history and ethnology. Her main text deals with the origins, attitudes and flowering of each culture and its reaction to European disturbance. Purely ethnological details are given in appended summaries, tables and the captions to illustrations. Lists of component tribes, recent census figures and maps are included for each area. The 53 'plates'

are in fact all black-and-white figures of representative objects of material culture, some taken direct from museum specimens and others redrawn from more or less familiar originals. In the latter case acknowledgement is made in the form, *e.g.*, 'Curtis, 1908,' but in several instances these references have been omitted from the bibliography, a small fault which might well be remedied in a second edition. Endpaper maps show the distribution of language stocks (Sapir's classification) and of present-day Indian reservations.

The book is written for the layman (we read of 'lifeways' rather than 'cultures'), and much technical detail has necessarily been left out or touched on very lightly. The resulting picture, however, seems to me to be sound, and of considerable value for its emphasis on the dynamic—sometimes, as with the Plains, transient—nature of Indian cultures and the interrelation of one with another. It should be useful as an introductory survey for students, and perhaps as a refresher, and aid to perspective, for more advanced readers. The chapter on administration, for all its careful impartiality, may indeed serve as a salutary reminder to some that Indians are not specimens but people.

GEOFFREY TURNER

Indians of the Plains. *By Robert H. Lowie. Anthrop. Handb. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* 1. *New York*, 1954. *Pp. xvi*, 222

245 Professor Lowie has used his unique knowledge to give in this handsome book a general popular survey of Plains Indian culture. Of the history of these tribes surprisingly little is known, but it seems clear that the introduction of the horse made a great but by no means complete change in their way of life; they were already semi-nomadic and largely dependent on the buffalo, which they killed by driving over precipices or into enclosures, by surrounding with fire, or in winter by hunting on snowshoes. These traits and a fondness for warlike raids distinguished them from their neighbours. It is not very clear who these were, for the areas allotted to the Plateau and Basin cultures on Map 1 are occupied by Plains tribes on Map 2.

There are striking differences in the social organization of the tribes. Some have moieties but no clans, and others clans but no moieties; some are patrilineal and others matrilineal; mother-in-law avoidance is strict in some and absent in others. There appears, in fact, though Professor Lowie does not say so, to be no correlation between social organization and environment.

Much of the book is concerned with the arts and crafts of the tribes, and it is admirably illustrated. Many of the objects figured are in the American Museum of Natural History, by which the publication is sponsored.

RAGLAN

Nunamiut: Among Alaska's Inland Eskimos. *By Helge Ingstad. London (Allen & Unwin)*, 1954. *Pp.* 254. *Price* £1 1*s.*

246 *Nunamiut* is written by a man who went to live among the people of a primitive Eskimo tribe in order to study the Eskimos—not to convert them. In the short period during which he shared their life he collected and recorded a vast amount of information which is, in the first place, of professional interest to the anthropologist, but which the ordinary reader also will find interesting and enlightening.

Pitching his tent alongside the tents of the Nunamiut, Helge Ingstad learned their language, listened to their stories, shared their privations, took part in their hunting expeditions, enjoyed their recreations, played with their children. The writer's own charming personality is inevitably apparent in his writing, and he conveys to us his appreciation of the virtues of these people—uncontaminated by the brush of civilization—with their peaceful ways; their magnificent health; their determined cheerfulness and their generous hospitality. It is chastening for the white man to realize his own failure to establish the balance with the environment which has been achieved by this simple people.

This book is to the specialist a valuable study of a primitive society, but it is at the same time a book of absorbing interest for the average reader. It is illustrated by many artistic and vivid photographs which are so descriptive of life in the Arctic as to induce in this reader a pang of nostalgia.

PHYLLIS M. TAYLOR

ASIA

High School Students in Poona. *By I. P. Desai. Deccan Coll. Monog. Ser. Poona*, 1953. *Pp. x*, 123. *Price Rs.* 10

247 Dr. Desai's work is a report on the results of a questionnaire given to students in Poona in 1951. The 67 tables at the back cover such subjects as the distribution of the students and castes in the various wards of Poona City; education and economic status of family heads; distribution of joint families by wards; food habits of students and families; composition of families; the use of leisure.

In his introduction Dr. Desai calls his enquiry a 'trial digging' which he had hoped to follow up with field work. Circumstances prevented him from following up his first results but in his conclusion he outlines what seem to him to be the deficiencies of his original questionnaire as they were revealed on analysis, and the lines along which future research should proceed. It is excellent to see his firm statement on the interdependence of questionnaire methods and field observations in modern urban studies. The efficient and interesting way in which he organizes his material make his inability to complete his field work all the more a pity.

Poona was an administrative and military centre under the British and continues to be so under the present government and this to a certain extent makes it atypical of India's cities but in many respects a study of it teaches us something of civil organization in India. In Poona the castes tend to congregate in certain wards and, as the author says, 'Poona may turn out to be only one of the many illustrations of the extension to the cities of the principle of the caste system in village communities.'

Generally, the results of the study point to the stability of the old traditions despite beliefs to the contrary. The Brahmins still provide over 50 per cent. of the students and in a proportion higher than larger castes. The joint family, surprisingly, is still the predominant form. Class where it can be said to exist is only a quality of caste.

The book is a valuable supplement to Professor Gadgil's *Socio-Economic Survey* of Poona of which the second and final volume was published in 1952.

D. F. POCOCK

Kinship Organisation in India. *By Irawati Karvé. Poona (Deccan Coll.)*, 1953. *Pp. ix*, 304. *Price Rs.* 15

248 This admirable volume deserves to take rank at once as a standard work of reference for all students of Indian anthropology. The author has approached her subject with laudable objectivity and a freedom from bias, prejudice and dogmatism which is an example to indologists. She divides India into four zones—northern, central, southern and eastern, and examines the general kinship pattern of each in turn, or rather of each of the first three, for the fourth can hardly be said to have a general pattern. Her zones however are by no means strictly geographically determined. Into her eastern zone she puts, for instance, Korku from the Satpuras, Munda and Santal from Chota Nagpur, Bondo from Orissa, and Khasi from Assam. She would perhaps have done better to have omitted her whole eastern zone and at least the Assam Hill tribes, as the Khasi are anything but typical, and her historical treatment is speculative. On the other hand a comparative study of the kinship systems of the Assam tribes on the lines Mrs. Karvé has followed for the rest of India would be of very great interest, embracing every grade of change from the matrilineal system of the Khasis to the extreme patrilineal system of some of the Naga tribes, among whom cross-cousin marriage may be preferential. The Assamese proper fall into Mrs. Karvé's northern zone with which nearly half her volume is concerned, for she treats this Indo-Aryan linguistic area historically, starting from kinship organization as reflected in the ancient epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, as well as dealing with it as it is found at the present day. The central zone represents an area of contact and of some confusion between the customs of the two main and contrasted

zones of the north and of the south, and just as the northern zone observes restrictions imposed on exogamy by *pravara*, so the central zone has its own peculiarity of the Maratha *devakas*, quasi-totemistic hereditary symbols which qualify and restrict the rules of exogamous marriage as *pravaras* do in the north and among Brahmans generally. The hypergamous marriage system of the central zone is analogous to that of the northern, but its *devaka* system seems to correspond to marriage groups in the southern zone. In this latter zone the kinship system is fundamentally different from that of the northern, since cross-cousin marriage is the rule instead of being taboo, the exchange of daughters is favoured, and marriage with close kin is preferred as long as it is outside the exogamous clan. The central zone is clearly then an area of overlap between two radically different systems, while all zones have their individual internal variations. The patterns of kinship that result are explained and demonstrated by Mrs. Karvé with admirable grasp and lucidity, for which all students of Indian society will be grateful, and which make it seem ungracious to draw attention to the occasional and unimportant imperfections. She ascribes to Pargiter the theory of Aryan entry by the middle Himalayas and says (*p.* 28) that it 'has been completely disregarded both by eastern and western Indologists.' But Hoernlé suggested it long before Pargiter and the arguments in its favour are dealt with by Rapson and Keith in the *Cambridge History of India*. Similarly the hypothesis that the existence of the Brahui (misprinted throughout as Brauhi) indicates a Dravidian migration into India from the north-west (*p.* 277) is anything but recent. What one really does regret is Mrs. Karvé's calm acceptance (*p.* 16) of the claim of the state 'as the highest regulative system' to 'shape the lives of the individuals it governs' to the extent of suppressing all local variations of social structure in favour of one uniform pattern. As she herself realizes, there is no cultural need for such uniformity. To arrogate to the state a right so extensive over the private lives of its members and their purely personal relations is a political philosophy for social insects perhaps, but not for free men. The state can have no rights which it does not derive from the individuals that compose it. The claim is no doubt symptomatic of the times in which we live, and may, indeed, accord with the apparent destiny of human evolution, but one would have thought that the evils that this theory of the overriding rights of the state has brought to mankind since it was implemented by Prussia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would have kept any anthropologist from approving it. The plea of an administrative need for such uniformity is quite unconvincing. But we can feel nothing but gratitude to the author for her description of kinship organization as it exists at present in India, a description which will become all the more valuable if the state really succeeds in inflicting uniformity on its unfortunate citizens. One may add that it is a great pity that the author gives us no bibliography and no index, for a book as thorough and as useful as this is well worth both.

J. H. HUTTON

The Parji Language: A Dravidian Language of Bastar. *By T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya. Hertford (Austin). Pp. xii, map, 197. Price £1 5s.*

249 This book is primarily a linguistic study, and, as in the case of the majority of recent successful linguistic studies, conducted by a linguist with the assistance of an anthropologist. The recording of a hitherto unknown language is always of interest and it is inevitable that most, if not all, of the material recorded is folk stories. Here the texts and translations cover nearly 80 pages, the rest of the book consisting of a preface, grammar and etymological vocabulary.

The texts consist of folktales and accounts of ceremonies. There are two tales on the lines of the Grimms' Big Klaus and Little Klaus, which we may suspect to be of foreign origin, perhaps imported by German missionaries, just as Mrs. Lorimer introduced the nursery rhyme of 'Five little pigs went to market' into the Karakoram, pigs being turned into lambs, as the Hunzas do not keep pigs. Then there is a Pepper and Salt tale of a gory type about two brothers named Atek and Bitek, a cumulative story of the type of 'The house that Jack built' told in the form of question and answer, two stories of the widow's son who becomes wealthy (*cf.* Jack and the Beanstalk), two stories about a younger brother who kills a demon and marries the king's daughter, and two animal tales. The younger brother is called Cārundev in one story and Sārandev in the other, but the two names obviously refer to the same person. In both tales the demon is called Parbat Asur (the mountain demon) and the second tale is an extension of the first.

Story No. VIII gives an account of the *kural* dance (part A). Part B describes the annual ceremony of Tying the Bullocks' Horns. This takes place in the month of Pūs (Skt. Pauṣa, December–January) at the festival called *Dilva*, which the vocabulary derives from Dīpāvali. But this is a festival of lamps in Kārtik (October–November) and I have never heard of any decoration of cattle there. The Parji ceremony appears to be the southern *Pongul* (Tamil *poṅkal*) of the Cows, mentioned by Dubois, which takes place at Mahāsaṅkrānti or the Conjunction in the eighth lunar mansion Maghā (also Makara saṅkrānti), when the sun enters Capricorn. This happens at the end of Pauṣa. Part C describes The Ceremony of the Twig, which inaugurates the festival market of Pūbar, which is connected with the worship of *Bertu Murtal*, the Great Old Woman, a name which sounds very much as if adapted from the Sanskrit *mūrti*, idol.

I have purposely not considered the linguistic aspect of this work, but it is in fact the most important study of a minor Dravidian language next to Professor Emeneau's Kota Texts. Æsthetically, it is superior and of a more convenient format.

ALFRED MASTER

The Malay Magician, being Shaman, Saiva and Sufi. *By R. O. Winstedt. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1951. Pp. vii, 160, 4 plates. Price 14s.*

250 Sir Richard Winstedt is recognized as the great western authority on Malay language and custom and this book is a welcome complement to his general work on the Malays published a few years ago. As its title indicates, it is a revised edition of a work on Malay magic published in 1925. The order of chapters in that work has been rearranged and most of them thoroughly rewritten, with much additional material.

The geographical scope of the Malay field covered is the Federation and Patani (a Malay State under the control of Siam). Most of the illustrations are drawn from the practices current—or formerly current—in Kelantan and Pahang, Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan. Brief introductory chapters describe the general position of the Malays and the role of the Malay magician in their society. The author then goes on to consider the more 'primitive' beliefs of sympathetic or mimetic kind commonly set under the head of Animism. He then considers the main types of spirit used or invoked by the Malay magician and the forms of ritual, in which Hindu influence is strongly seen. A detailed discussion of the ritual of the rice field based upon two Perak manuscripts shows precisely how a magical performance may be carried out. A short account of a shaman's *séance* is given but might have been enlarged, especially since not many people know the detailed analysis of Mlle. Cuisinier, our best source in this field. Further chapters examine the idea of sacrifice in Malay ritual, and the Sufistic and generically Muslim elements which are so patent in all the Malay magical practices. The treatment then concludes with a consideration of the role of magic in Malay daily life, especially in the life cycle of the individual. A very useful set of appendices includes the Malay originals of the formulæ given in translation in the text.

Like the earlier work, this book gives a most valuable framework for the study of Malay magic. It shows the great range of Malay ideology in this field and brings out the elaborate character of the symbolism. It demonstrates also the intricate way in which Muslim, Hindu and presumably Indonesian elements are blended to produce living cults in which the operator is blandly unconscious of the history of his tools. The treatment as a whole is in the classical tradition of such studies and Sir Richard in the earlier edition made specific acknowledgment to Tylor, Frazer, Jevons and others of their day. To this is due his interest in parallels such as those with Egypt and Babylon, which sometimes range too far afield for modern taste. A statement such as that in Kelantan the *séance* at which the state is cleansed 'must be a survival of orgiastic Tantrism' (p. 63) is one which modern methodology might challenge. In

the ethnographical field certain other comparative notes may be questioned. The statement that in Polynesia only nobles survive and the souls of common folk perish immediately after death (p. 19, note) has support in the older literature but is dubious for most of the societies and incorrect for some. Similarly the statement that in New Zealand (*i.e.* among the Maori) the bodies of chiefs are buried extended and those of others flexed is a reminiscence of Rivers; but it is doubtful whether there was formerly such a clear-cut class distinction in burial style and the statement has no reference to present-day Maori custom.

The book does not claim to be a definitive study of the Malay magician. But it would have been useful to have had from Sir Richard more discussion of the hereditary factor in the practice of Malay magic, its nature, and the values attached to it in cases where a magician clearly has great charismatic power. More, too, would have been welcome about the place of the magician in the social structure and, in particular, his relations with Muslim officialdom. (In Kelantan my own material shows considerable tension between them, but also justification of his position by the magician in Muslim terms). One might question the implication (p. 62) that a Malay who is *latah* is thereby qualified to become a shaman. My own experience in Kelantan would seem to show that persons subject to *latah* are not necessarily good material as shamans because of the difficulty of control of their behaviour except by imitation. Again it is a little hard to see what is meant by the statement that 'even now the shaman is so respected that in Kelantan if he is operating in a district all other medicine men are disqualified for the time being' (p. 8). As a general indication of the superior status of the shaman, this is valid; but it must not be taken too literally. In an area where a shaman is resident and continually practising his art, there are other non-shamanistic performers of ritual who also continue to practise, each party being summoned by members of the public according as the gravity of the situation requires, and the wealth of the client allows. Moreover, in one district there may be several shamans operating and there is usually a dynamic situation of evaluation of their merits *vis-a-vis* one another. There is nothing like 'disqualification.' At times the author is inclined to cite the ideal rather than the real situation. For example, it is said that at a Malay *séance* 'the spectators present should make up an uneven number, which must not vary from night to night' (p. 59). Surely Sir Richard, with his vast experience, will agree that it is virtually impossible so to control a Malay audience as to keep their numbers steady, not only night after night but even throughout a single evening! But queries of this nature are rather grumbles that the author has not chosen to write a larger book in which his own great personal knowledge would have come much more to the fore and given us a larger body of field data from which to study variation as well as major pattern. It is a pity, perhaps, that on p. 3 he charges the professional anthropologist with preferring to study 'the intact customs of primitive tribes' at a time when so many of us have for the last decade or more striven to carry the study into the broader field of the changing society of Oriental peasantry and beyond. But this may help to make us as a profession still more careful to frame our discipline in broad terms,

RAYMOND FIRTH

Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Vol. XI, Part 3. Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker, V, Die asiatischen Hirtenvölker.

251 *By Wilhelm Schmidt. Münster (Aschendorff), 1954. Pp. xxvii, 734. Price DM. 45*

Like Andrew Lang, the late Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt of Vienna did not succeed in making widespread conversions to his theory that religion originated in a primitive monotheism or to his diffusionist hypothesis. Yet his encyclopædic scholarship, shown once again in this volume, has won universal admiration and respect. His great work *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, begun in 1926 and now almost complete, works out in detail his thesis that religion spread throughout the world from a number of cultural centres in Asia. This eleventh volume has recently appeared; and here he devotes his attention, as its subsidiary title indicates, to the religions of the pastoral peoples of Siberia. This is a little-known field; and Dr. Schmidt has characteristically massed together a great deal of information, including the relevant introductory geography, demography and ethnology.

His first and largest section deals with the Yakuts, who are the farthest north of the more important pastoral folk, and whose autonomous republic within the Soviet Union stretches from the Yenisei to the Sea of Okhotsk. He distinguishes between the older western Yakut religion and the newer eastern, though he maintains that they had a common ancestry. The second and third sections of the book survey the religions of the Soyots and Karagasses and of the people of the Yenisei basin; while the final section compares these religions with those of the neighbouring non-pastoral peoples, such as the Tungus, who have given us the word *shaman*. As is to be expected, in a work from this hand, the volume is amply documented and indexed. There are extensive quotations from the tribal rituals; and it need hardly be pointed out that much space is devoted to shamanism.

It is fitting here to pay tribute to the scholarly author of this great work as a whole, which will for many years remain a monument to his industry and erudition, as will also his journal *Anthropos*. Dr. Schmidt died before his eleventh volume appeared in print; but it is a happy thing to know that his twelfth and final volume was completed before his death, and that it will be published in due course. Although, as has been pointed out above, his particular theory that a creator god figures in the most primitive religions is not widely held, it has no doubt been valuable in helping to correct and improve upon the naive evolutionary view of religion popularized by many writers at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century.

D. W. GUNDRY

The Absorption of Immigrants: A Comparative Study Based Mainly on the Jewish Community in Palestine and the State of Israel.

252 *By S. N. Eisenstadt. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1954. Pp. 275. Price £1 5s.*

Research workers who study contact and social change cannot gain much assistance from the conceptual framework developed for the study of relatively isolated and stable societies. That useful fiction 'social structure' is of little use in the analysis of the sort of situation with which Dr. Eisenstadt has to deal and the assumption of institutional integration would be invalid. Hence it is of interest to examine the theoretical notions which he uses, for they may prove applicable in a far wider sphere.

Dr. Eisenstadt sees assimilation largely as the re-socialization of immigrants, the institutionalizing of their role-expectations and the limitations imposed by the institutional structure of the absorbing society. A crucial part of this process is the transformation of the immigrants' primary groups (especially their values) and the extension of participation into the main spheres of the social system. However, the receiving society may discriminate in its allocation of special roles or the immigrants may identify themselves with their own particularistic group, refusing to perform the universal roles of the host society. Such obstacles may prevent the individual immigrants from creating a new coherent status image and precipitate disintegrative behaviour, or they may give rise to a pluralistic structure in which the immigrants perform universal roles but are restricted in their choice of alternative and special roles. In such a way the author builds up a systematic analytical framework which is tried out briefly on four case studies and on Israel in detail, supplemented by demographic data and a discussion of the special position of the Oriental Jews in Palestine.

The principal types of group transformation in recent Israeli immigration are identified with the following groups: (*a*) the isolated apathetic family; (*b*) the isolated stable family; (*c*) the isolated active family; (*d*) the cohesive traditional group; (*e*) the self-transforming cohesive group; (*f*) the instrumentally cohesive group. These types are variously characterized. The institutional structure of the receiving society is analysed in terms no less sophisticated, though perhaps less exhaustively. On the theoretical side Eisenstadt distinguishes between integration in the adaptive, instrumental, solidary and cultural spheres (following Parsons); on the descriptive side he discusses the bureaucratic frame work of absorption, the demands of army and school, and the various types of immigrant settlement.

The book deserves the attention of methodologists for its assiduous

use of a new conceptual scheme some impression of which is, I hope, conveyed by this inadequate and selective summary. Dr. Eisenstadt has made a new approach to the study of immigration and assimilation (for I still think this a better term than absorption), but he has not risked everything upon one brand of theory; he gives us at least an equal weight of empirical data. MICHAEL BANTON

EUROPE

The Divine King in England. *By Margaret Murray. London (Faber), 1954. Pp. 279, 12 plates. Price £1 5s.*

253 This is neither the place nor am I qualified to discuss the historical aspects of Dr. Murray's latest book; but her folklore theories deserve our serious attention. Norse evidence, more expressly than any other, supports her main supposition, for two Swedish kings were sacrificed to Odin after other attempts had failed to put an end to a long famine. The following Irish text links up the king's duty to secure fertility with the 'seven years' cycle,' another of Dr. Murray's major contentions:

> 'There were three kings over Erin in joint sovranty . . . [who made] an arrangement that each of them should be 7 years in the kingship. The sureties between them were 7 druids . . . to bewitch [?] them by means of spells; 7 poets to satirize them and denounce them, and 7 chieftains to wound and burn them, unless each man of them should give up the kingship at the end of his 7 years, with safeguarding a prince's truth, to wit, mast every year, and no failure of dyestuff [?] of every colour, and no women to die in childbirth. Each man of them took three turns in the kingship, that is, 63 [years in all]' (Rennes Dindsenchas).

In certain cases the author adduces inconclusive evidence for her thesis. For instance, the widespread belief in the life-giving power of the blood gushing forth from a slain man or of the droppings of a hanged man was solely based on his premature end; it did not matter in the least whether the dead man was a king, a 'member of the Old Religion' or a criminal. Nor can one endorse the views that the stone of Cashel was regarded as 'dumb' and the Lia Fáil 'used in the same way' as the Stone of Destiny. According to the legends the stone of Cashel was oracular and the Lia Fáil screamed when a 'true' king stepped on it or it 'screeched against his chariot axle' during the election tests. Its actual form, a pillar is strikingly different from the Stone of Destiny, the inauguration stones at Londonderry and in the Inverness Museum, not to mention the inauguration chair in the Belfast Museum.

A final remark may be added as a footnote to p. 106: 'stepping betwixt a severed head and the trunk' is recorded several times in Irish sources; according to C. Plummer this custom was probably meant to 'prevent the ghost from walking.' E. ETTLINGER

The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales. *By E. G. Bowen. Cardiff (U. of Wales P.), 1954. Pp. x, 175, 1 plate, 53 text figs. Price 10s. 6d.*

254 Previous papers caused us to wait impatiently for Professor Bowen's book, which even surpasses our expectations. Much new light has been thrown on the Dark Ages and on the diffusion of Celtic Christianity by the author's painstaking methods and wide range of knowledge. Besides investigating some 600 church dedications, he has marshalled the evidence provided by Welsh legends, place names, differences in dialect, topographical allusions in the 'Lives' of the Saints, by the geographical distribution of Ogham stones, Early Christian inscribed stones and archæological and numismatic finds. Wales proved a very advantageous field of research on account of its central position in relation to the western sea routes and its remains of Roman military roads. 'The Celtic saints made use of both methods of travel.'

Seldom can distribution maps have been more helpful than those so excellently drawn by Mr. M. Hughes. One of them shows that the cult of St. Brĭgid of Kildare was so widespread that she cannot 'conceivably have visited any of these sites in person.' But this is an exception, for which Professor Bowen convincingly accounts; the other saints had clearly defined 'spheres of influence.' Their cults varied: in the south-west they were 'western-based,' in the south-east 'Roman' or 'Romano-British' in character, and in the north they were mainly influenced by northern contacts. Prehistoric archæologists hold the view that 'the cultures which affect North and South Wales have entirely different origins'; the author adds in conclusion of his investigations: 'these prehistoric conditions survived the Roman occupation of Wales and continued well into the Dark Ages.'

The second part of the book is devoted to a masterly study of the position and site of the Celtic churches as well as the form of the surrounding settlements. Professor Bowen admits: 'We cannot rule out the possibility that the saints sometimes seized upon sites of traditional sanctity from remote prehistoric times . . . Numerous examples can be cited from Brittany . . . but evidence . . . in Wales leaves the matter open to considerable doubt.' In Brittany formidable natural obstacles prevented a 'semi-nomadic life such as that practised by the free tribesmen in Wales.' Among the more settled Bretons the 'Christianizing' of ancient burials and sacred wells was obviously more necessary than in the districts through which the Welsh tribesmen roamed. The problem of the Welsh settlements 'in close proximity to the sea or to tidal waters' may have been different. The existence of prominent pagan sanctuaries near the estuaries and the end of tidal waves is so well established in others parts of the British Isles that we may assume that some of the early Celtic churches in the coastal region of Wales occupied previous pagan places of worship. All the more as other parallels also abound. To quote only one example: Glencolumbcille in Donegal closely corresponds to the Welsh sites described on p. 126. It is to be hoped that historic geographers in other Celtic lands will supply us with similar studies and thereby further enhance the value of Professor Bowen's book. E. ETTLINGER

Colour Prejudice in Britain: A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool, 1941–1951. *By Anthony H. Richmond. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1954. Pp. xi, 184. Price 18s.*

255 This is a somewhat ambitious title for a competently written study of a group of West Indian technicians who were brought to Liverpool by the Government in the years 1941–3. In general there is not much that will be new to those who have read the works of Dr. Little and others, but some points of interest emerge. The skilled men settled down in England much more readily than the less skilled, and many of them are happily married to white wives. The worst people to put in charge of West Indians are those who have dealt with coloured labour in the colonies. A striking feature is the ignorance of the Liverpudlians, many of whom do not know that English is spoken in the West Indies, or even where these islands are. RAGLAN

OCEANIA

Saipan: The Ethnology of a War-Devastated Island. *By Alexander Spoehr. Fieldiana, Anthrop. 41. Chicago (Nat. Hist. Mus.), 1954. Pp. 383, 32 text figs. Price $5*

256 As a field for the study of acculturation Saipan provides a combination of circumstances that must be without parallel elsewhere. The Marianas were discovered by Magellan in 1521, and the first official Spanish missionaries landed on Guam in 1668. The group then underwent over two centuries of intensive contact with Spanish culture. Until the Spanish-American War the history of the Marianas followed broadly the lines of that of the Spanish colonies in America; but during the last half century they have been administered successively by the U.S.A. (briefly, except for Guam), Germany, Japan, and again by the U.S.A. In Saipan the story is further complicated by the fact that the island was depopulated during the Spanish period and resettled in the nineteenth century by Carolinians, mostly from the central Carolines which had been

devastated by a hurricane, and later by Chamorros. The Carolinians now form a considerable minority. During the last war practically all buildings and movable property were destroyed and much of the best land was either covered with rubble for military purposes or requisitioned for the same reason.

It is therefore possible in Saipan to study the survival of features of the aboriginal culture after over 400 years of western contact, and to compare it in this respect with Latin America. For this purpose the Carolinians provide in a sense a control group, being in an earlier stage of the same process. Moreover, the fact that the economy was completely disrupted, land rights obliterated, and the social system disorganized by the war makes possible an interesting study of the extent to which traditional patterns are reasserting themselves.

Dr. Spoehr's concern is mainly with the social and economic systems and religious beliefs and their interactions; his book should therefore be of importance to social anthropologists. But it is full of interest too in its sidelights on material-culture survivals, which are of course inseparable from the other aspects, though he goes into little detail in this field. He has produced a most useful study of what it is to be hoped will be a unique combination of cultural influences.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Tongan Grammar. *By C. M. Churchward. O.U.P., 1953. Pp. xiv, 305. Price £1 5s.*

257 Dr. Churchward who, as will be recalled, is also the author of *A New Fijian Grammar* (1941) and of *A Rotuman Grammar and Dictionary* (1940), has now published the first full-scale grammar of Tongan. In his studies and in the preparation of the book he has had the royal patronage of the Crown Prince of Tonga, Tupouto'a Tungī. There are indications that the first draft of this grammar was submitted to Prince Tungī and that his observations have been added *verbatim* to the relevant chapters (see in particular chapters 16 and 27). It is understandable that the author may have desired to present these comments *in toto* rather than to incorporate them in his own statements. The result, however, is an over-large number of postscripts and afterthoughts which do not facilitate the comprehension of the text. The adoption of extensive footnotes would perhaps have served the author's purpose more efficiently. Similarly, the numerous but indispensable cross-references might have found a better place in the footnotes. In any case cross-references are not an adequate consolation for the absence of an index.

It is difficult to understand why Dr. Churchward, who had an excellent opportunity of recording idiomatic utterances in the form of tales and legends, should for his examples, have drawn so heavily on translations from English, such as the Bible and sundry other publications. When, much more seldom, original material is used, the source is either not specified at all or dismissed with a somewhat vague reference.

The grammatical framework used here is not free from the tyrannies of Indo-European concepts. Thus (3.1) there are ten parts of speech in Tongan. But nouns can be verbs (3.8–10) or adjectives (3.11) or adverbs (3.12). Verbs can be nouns (3.13) or adjectives (3.14) or adverbs (3.16). Adjectives can be nouns (3.17) or verbs (3.18) or adverbs (3.19). Then adverbs can be nouns or adjectives (3.20) or verbs (3.21). On what basis, then, do these concepts rest? The explanation (in 3.7) appeals to 'characteristic usage.' But is characteristic usage arrived at by statistical methods? The value of these categories is at least open to question.

Dr. Churchward has the merit of being the first scholar to give an account of the movable stress (or accent) which is an important feature of Tongan. Whereas in a non-emphatic utterance stress falls on the penultimate syllable of a phrase, an emphatic utterance is characterized by the incidence of stress on the final syllable. The author calls that the definitive accent, and he draws an interesting comparison with the occurrence of closed and open final syllables in Rotuman. Both phenomena, he argues, are associated with the presence or absence of emphasis. A satisfactory account of stress can, however, hardly be given without reference to intonation, and it is regrettable that the author has treated stress in isolation from pitch. It is to be hoped that, perhaps in a forthcoming article, Dr. Churchward will give us an account of intonation in Tongan.

One of the most interesting and valuable features of this Tongan grammar is the full description of the complex pronominal system. Once more we are presented with the problem of the dual system of nominal classification, which, as will be recalled, is characteristic of Polynesian languages and constitutes one of the important criteria by which they can be distinguished from Melanesian languages.

Dr. Churchward's approach is partly grammatical and partly notional, but, it must be admitted, not altogether convincing. If a possessive pronoun refers to the subject of a sentence, then it is *subjective* and it is formally distinguished from a possessive pronoun having reference to the object of a sentence, which he calls *objective*. That is to say if 'my orders' (for the sake of argument) refers to the orders I give, the subjective possessive is used. If 'my orders' refer to the orders given to me, then the objective possessive is used. Thus, claims Dr. Churchward, is the distribution of the two parallel series of possessive pronouns in Tongan to be systematized. Unfortunately very many words only take one form of the possessive pronouns to the exclusion of the other, irrespective of context. The author attempts to overcome this difficulty by a purely notional explanation. The use of a subjective pronoun he argues, implies that a person can impress his will (13.17) over a thing or person, whereas an objective pronoun is used with things or persons that impress themselves upon that person.

If, however, we turn to the examples, we find so many exceptions to this rule that its general validity may be questioned. Thus, among the terms of kinship, a man would then be subservient to his brother, his wife, his daughter and his son (13.36). On the other hand his father, his mother and his sister's son would be subservient to him (13.37). In view of what is known about the Tongan system of kinship such a thesis can scarcely be upheld, and the problem of nominal classification in Tongan remains unsolved.

G. B. MILNER

CORRESPONDENCE

Pottery in Arnhem Land. *Cf.* MAN, 1954, 180

258 SIR,—Dr. Donald Thomson in his recent article in MAN complains that the title of my pottery paper (with Catherine Berndt, published in *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXVII (1947, publ. 1951), pp. 133–8) was 'unfortunate,' since it implied undue emphasis on only one aspect of Indonesian-Australian Aboriginal contact. Since that paper was focused specifically on the discovery of pottery in north-east Arnhem Land, and not on Indonesian-Aboriginal contacts generally, I fail to understand his point. The paper in question was written to report the 'discovery' of pottery on the Australian mainland: this had gone unnoticed by other workers in the same region. However, in that paper other aspects of Indonesian association with eastern Arnhem-Landers were briefly noted, while in a recent volume (R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People*, Melbourne, 1954) a rather more detailed account has been given. Dr. Thomson is perhaps not fully acquainted with the available published material.

The point in question, however, seems to be our statement that although these Arnhem-Landers were shown how to make pottery, they had no desire to continue doing so once the Indonesians had finally left. We suggested that the craft was in effect 'rejected' by them. We noted (*ibid.*, p. 134) that the pottery was interesting because it was manufactured on the Australian mainland with the aid of Aborigines (who were shown the method of production, but have now forgotten the process). In the above-mentioned volume (p. 44) we said that the Aborigines did not manufacture such pottery independently of the Indonesian visitors. In later years, once the process was discontinued, they showed no interest in reviving it, preferring to rely rather on their indigenous resources. (This was not however the case with other introduced items of

material culture.) The fact remains that no recent pottery, subsequent to the Indonesian visitations, has been made by Arnhem-Landers. Since some of the pottery was made on the Australian mainland, and these Aborigines record in their songs roughly (and apparently somewhat inaccurately) how it was made, it may be assumed that they had in the past some knowledge of its manufacture, although they certainly put it to no practical use now.

Dr. Thomson writes, 'It should be pointed out that these people had already learned, apart from this Indonesian influence, how to work clay in a wet and plastic state . . .' The obvious question here is: 'How does he know?' Dr. Thomson's first visit to Arnhem Land was, I believe, in 1935–6, while Indonesian (Macassarese or Malay) voyagers were gone from the north coast of Australia by 1908. On the other hand, information at hand pushes back alien contacts in this region to approximately the early seventeenth century (documented) and possibly even much further. All we can truthfully say, at the present time, is that these Aborigines do not make pottery, although they have some vague knowledge about it, while they do work in clay, moulding various objects, etc., as Dr. Thomson has pointed out. To speculate when they began to do the latter is beyond the scope of the social anthropologist, or probably of any serious student. It would seem that no archæological evidence can be invoked to support such speculation, while there is ample evidence of the former.

Dr. Thomson is right in pointing out that it has not been sufficiently noticed that Australian Aborigines (in this case north-eastern Arnhem-Landers) have moulded and are moulding clay and beeswax for various purposes. He mentions the moulded clay breasts used by adolescent girls, as well as various objects made out of beeswax. Some of these have already been discussed elsewhere—*e.g.*, there are illustrations of beeswax objects in *Art in Arnhem Land* (by A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, Melbourne and Chicago, 1950, Plates XVIII A, XIX A, XX A, XXI). A point which should be noted is the relative durability of hard beeswax in contrast with moulded clay. While white moulded pipeclay for trading breaks easily, hard sun-baked clay breasts may have some permanence; well-worked wax sacred objects are however even harder and do not break with dropping, or disintegrate under different climatic conditions. Small sorcery or play figures of human beings and so on in wax are more delicate and far more subject to breakage. The moulded clay heads and figures in western Arnhem Land (see R. Berndt, 'Aboriginal Ochre-Moulded Heads from Western Arnhem Land,' *Meanjin*, summer, 1951, plates) are more elaborate than anything of the kind which I have seen attempted in north-eastern Arnhem Land: but they have little permanence.

The fact that Arnhem-Landers know all about moulding clay and beeswax today, as they did no doubt during Warner's field work period—and certainly during Thomson's and our own—cannot serve as a clue to its independent indigenous origin. It is sufficient that they do this, without speculation which can lead us nowhere! Moreover, Dr. Thomson, assuming that clay-moulding is a necessary preliminary (as it may well be) to attempts at pottery-making, asks in effect the following question: What stimulus would have been required to achieve this 'advance'? At least we are in a position to answer this categorically. The stimulus was evidently, in this specific instance, alien contact! But after this was withdrawn, rejection followed. This is probably not the 'real' or complete explanation, but since we shall probably never know this, we can refer only to what we do know. On the other hand, this could be elaborated on the basis of empirical data from north-eastern Arnhem Land. The people are (or were) semi-nomadic: they moved about the country fairly frequently and did not want to carry unnecessary burdens: they had (or have) a sufficiently wide range of receptables for their everyday use, without adding unduly to this. In other words, pottery *was not required* under indigenous conditions. When Indonesians introduced rice, pots were obviously more or less essential: when Indonesians withdrew, no rice was available and pots were not required. By the time other alien commodities were introduced and accepted by these Aborigines, tins were available in great numbers (as they continue to be). The explanation may very well be in these terms, since it is one which conforms with what we know about these people.

RONALD M. BERNDT
Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney

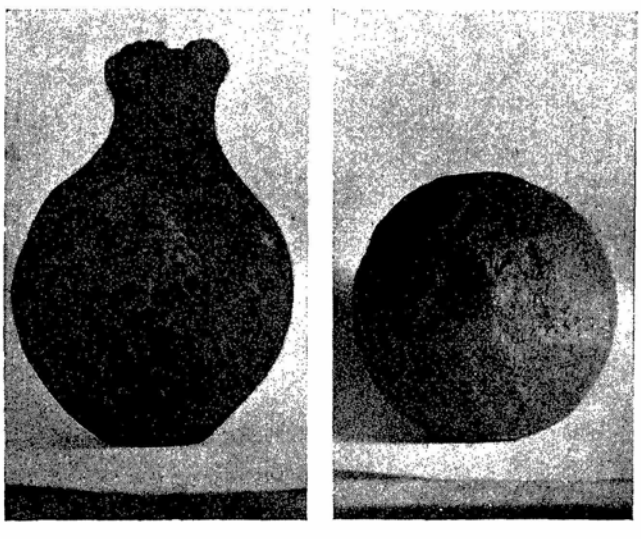
Note

Let us never despair of the advancement of science, even into the past.—Ed.

A New Find of Dimple-Based Pottery in Africa. *With a text figure*

259 Sir,—Since the paper of Leakey, Owen and Leakey (Nairobi, 1948) on the dimple-based pottery from Central Kavirondo, Kenya, the only other known occurrence of this unusual type is the one from two ruined towns in the Sudan, which was cited in the same paper. Sherds bearing a strong resemblance to the dimple-based pottery have been recovered from the Nsongesi Rockshelter in Uganda, but no base was recovered. Lanning recorded, in Man, 1953, 283, the finding of beakers showing a similar decoration from Mubende Hill, Uganda, but their base was flattened, without any dimple.

I was recently given the small pot shown in the photograph,



accidentally found near Astrida, Ruanda, at a depth of 40 centimetres in a marsh. The dimple base is clearly seen. The decoration consists in an impression by a reed roller, which is the present type of decoration in a wide area around the find. The general form and size (height 16·2 centimetres, greatest diameter 11·7 centimetres) are similar to those of pots used by the present people of the country for offerings of beer to the spirits of ancestors or to the spirit of Ryangombe, a revered hero, but I have never seen a dimple base to any modern pot or beaker from Ruanda, Urundi or adjacent regions of the Belgian Congo.

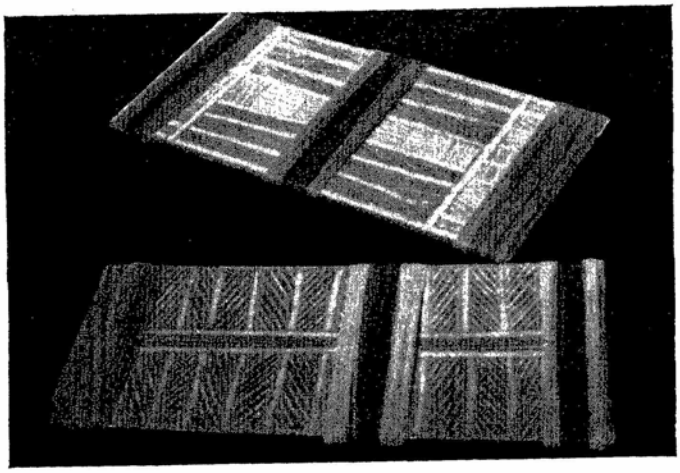
J. HIERNAUX
I.R.S.A.C., Astrida, Ruanda-Urundi, via Belgian Congo

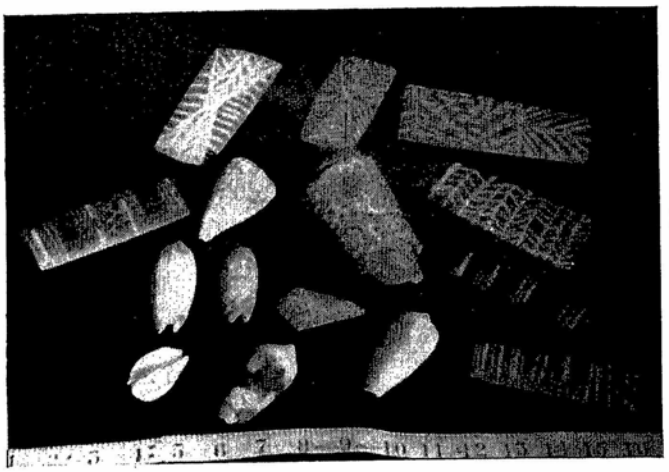
Zande Texts

260 Sir,—In my book *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (1937), in excusing myself for not presenting my Zande texts in the Zande language and with literal and word-by-word translations, I said that I hoped one day to publish them in Zande. As the years have passed and the difficulties of publishing this sort of material have increased, I have become less hopeful of completing that task than I then was. As a precaution, I have therefore copied into an interleaved copy of my book the texts which are quoted in translation in it and other texts which are not quoted in it but refer to the subjects treated in it. This copy will be placed in the library of the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford where it can be consulted by anyone interested in the structure of the Zande language.

All Souls College, Oxford E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

(a)

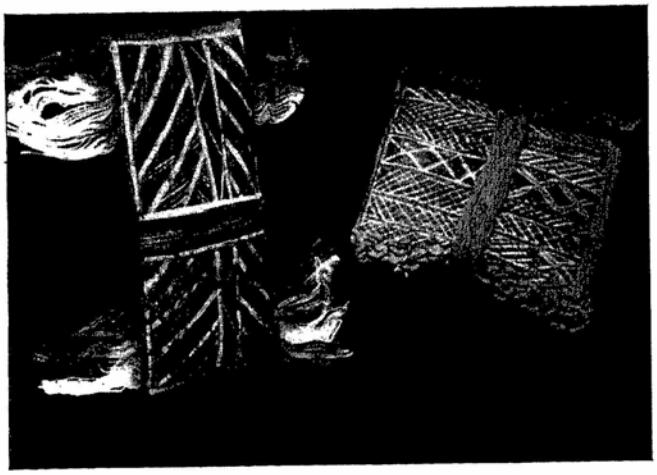




(b)

(a) *Two* Wanungembilja *dolls decorated with coloured wool.* (b) *Girls' dolls. The shells in the centre represent females, the flat slabs males.*

(c)



(d)

(c) *Two* Wanamaluda *bone boxes,* (d) *A group of Moiety fellows singing totemic songs during the manufacture of a bone box. The drone pipe is inserted into a tin-can resonator.*

(e)

(f)

(e) *Women cutting their heads.* (f) *The dancers handing the bone box to the old women.*

MATERIAL SYMBOLS OF HUMAN BEINGS AMONG THE WANINDILJAUGWA

MATERIAL SYMBOLS OF HUMAN BEINGS AMONG THE WANINDILJAUGWA*

by

PETER M. WORSLEY, M.A., PH.D.

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261 This article considers the relationship between two types of symbols of human beings which are found amongst the WaniNdiljaugwa tribe of Australian aborigines.[1] The WaniNdiljaugwa, who today number 450 individuals, used to inhabit Groote Eylandt and neighbouring islands in the Gulf of Carpentaria, but are now concentrated at two settlements on Groote Eylandt itself. They have patrilineal, totemic clans, divided into two moieties.

The first kind of symbol which I wish to consider is the *nenungembilja* (or *nenamembilja*), plur. *wanungembilja* (*wanamembilja*). These are made by fathers for their sons; a *nenungembilja* consists of a thin slab of wood about eight inches long and four inches wide (Plate K*a*). The slab is painted with a totemic design similar to those painted on boys' chests during circumcision ceremonies, and, as we shall see, on bone boxes. It is decorated with coloured wools (in the past, with fibre) wound round the top and bottom, and also round the middle. These slabs are beautifully painted, and are the object of loving attention by the maker and by the child to whom they are given. They may also be decorated with hanging buttons, coins and other trinkets. A few specimens have no design on them, nor need the design necessarily always be the moiety design; it may be painted according to taste, but the style of the painting is generally similar to that of moiety designs.

Whilst these objects are similar to ordinary dolls in some respects in that they are used as playthings, they appear to have an additional significance since the child calls the *nenungembilja* by the kinship term for 'son,' and gives it a name which is usually the name he gives to his actual son in later life; other relatives may refer to the doll by appropriate kinship terms. Further, once he is past puberty, the child usually leaves the doll in his mother's or grandmother's keeping though it will ultimately pass to his wife when he marries.

The wife then carries it round with her until a male child is born. Although female dolls of this kind were said to exist, only male dolls were noted, and this would seem to conform with the strongly patrilineal stress of WaniNdiljaugwa culture. After the wife has given birth to a son, the doll is usually kept by the husband's mother who carries it round with her for some time, just as she carries the bone boxes of her deceased children and grandchildren (see below). Sometimes the doll may be disposed of, whilst occasionally dolls may be seen in the possession of men. Generally these are adult men who have not yet married, although such men often pass their dolls over to their mothers for safe keeping. One case was noted where the doll made for the first-born child, a son, was passed on to his baby sister to play with. Not all male children have a doll nowadays.

For girls, other dolls are made which have a different significance (Plate K*b*). Although these dolls, which are marine shells, represent the females of different clans, according to the kind of shell (not every clan is represented), they are used merely as playthings. Thin wooden slabs, about 3 inches long by 1½ inches wide, represent males in general, their clans not being distinguished. The dolls are used in games similar to those of European children: playing house, dressing the dolls in scraps of cloth, making beds, tables and chairs for them out of pieces of wood and fibre, and calling some dolls mothers and fathers, others children, etc. Both the dolls and the slabs are painted according to the taste of the painter, not with moiety totemic designs, nor even in the same style as the moiety designs. The clan affiliations of the female dolls are given below:

Enindiljaugwa name of shell[2]	*Clan*	*European systematic name*
wuradagagaugwa	WuraGwaugwa	*Conus capitaneus*
wuradagajalugwa	WanungAmagadji-ragba	*Oliva maura*
wuradaganggwara / *wurad(ar)idjara*	WaniNdiljaugwa	*Dorioconus textilis*
wuradagaljagwa	WanungAwerigba	*Rollus geographus*
juguna	WanungAmulangwa	*Melo amphorus*

The prefixes to the names of the shells are clearly feminine (*wurad-*: *wur-* personal plural, *d-* feminine singular prefix), though they are peculiarly so, since normally the personal plural is used for both feminine and masculine nouns. Femininity, therefore, is emphasized here. In the first case, the name of the shell would seem to have been derived from the name of the clan members, WuraGwaugwa (or WuraGaugwa); only the bailer shell has no feminine prefix. These dolls, however, although they have clan associations, have not the same ceremonial and symbolic significance as the *wanungembilja*, and are not handed on to or kept by parents and grandparents, except for immediate safekeeping.

The peculiarly feminine association of these dolls is their outstanding characteristic, as evidenced in the unusual feminine plural prefixes and the specificity of the clan affiliations of the female dolls, as contrasted with the 'lumping together' of the male dolls.

The bone boxes referred to above are objects made when any young person up to about thirty years of age dies (Plate K*c*). These objects, known as *wanamaluda*[3] are not made for old people who die, but a memento of a deceased aged person, known as a *mamudamuda*, is sometimes made, in the form of a lock of the deceased's hair tied up in a strip of cloth, and resembling a small dilly-bag.

* *With Plate K*

The manufacture of a bone box is carried out ceremonially to the accompaniment of the usual totemic songs, with drone pipe and clapping stick accompaniment (Plate K*d*). On two occasions when I witnessed the ceremony, only the moiety songs of the deceased's moiety were sung; on another, both moieties sang as in most ceremonies. This musical accompaniment is regarded as essential, the drone-pipe phrase being repeated over and over again, as is the short musical phrase sung by the voices; from time to time, the drone-pipe phrase is varied, but the vocal line remains the same. At one stage, when the musicians had rested too long, a bone-box-maker pointed out to them that they had better start singing, as he had nearly finished one phrase without having had any musical accompaniment from the group. Several male singers participate at once, but one takes the lead, occasionally handing over to another man. The short phrases, with changing words, describing attributes or activities of the totemic creatures or objects, are repeated for up to ten minutes or so, with short pauses interspersing the songs. One succession of 180 such phrases was noted.

The bone box is made from the bark of the *amindjungwada* tree, which is very thin and pliable but quite strong.[4] A piece of bark is folded over so that it forms a flat container about 1 foot long by 6 inches wide, the edges being sewn together with shreds of lawyer vine. Inside the box are placed a lock of hair of the deceased together with one or more bones of the fingers of the right hand, usually up to the second joint from the fingertip. These objects are normally wrapped in cloth or in a small cloth bag and placed in the centre of the box, the rest of the space inside the box being most carefully filled with pieces of stringybark and paperbark. The greatest care is taken over the manufacture of these bone boxes, and careful measurements are made to ensure that both edges are parallel. The box is then painted with a moiety design (as in chest paintings), and decorated with streamers of lorikeet feathers stuck with wax onto string, with skeins of coloured wool, as in the case of the *wanungembilja* dolls, and with individual feathers inserted under the lawyer-vine stitches.

Precautions are taken to ensure that women and young children do not see the objects inserted, but during the sewing, the women, who sit nearby, begin crying and cutting their heads ritually (the latter operation is known as *aburada*); blood pours down their faces (Plate K*e*). Sometimes women who are particularly closely related to the deceased approach the scene and stand cutting their heads in this way, in order to express their grief. Although women are thus segregated during the ceremony, and in the circumcision ceremony are entirely so, it will be seen that their participation in the ritual is an essential to it.[5]

In one case where the deceased was a newly born baby, no bones were inserted, but a *nenungembilja* doll was used instead. This was not even the doll carried by the mother prior to the baby's birth, because this particular mother did not have one; it belonged to a full brother of the bereaved father, an adult brother who had not yet obtained a wife, and whose *nenungembilja* was in the charge of his mother. This man had two dolls, which he had made himself. The doll was clearly used as a symbol of the child himself when no actual remains were available.

After completing the painting of both sides of the bone box, the next stage in mourning is the dancing and handing-over of the box to its owners; this final part of the ceremony was carried out only once during my stay. The dancers painted themselves with stripes of white ochre. The usual totemic dances were performed, the accompanying music became more and more intense, and grew in volume, and the tempo was speeded up. As the dance reached its climax, the dancers, one of whom held the bone box, gradually worked their way over towards a spot where two classificatory mothers of the deceased were seated on the ground (Plate K*f*). The man with the bone box, without interrupting the dancing, first dropped the cloth covering of the bone box into the hands of one of the grandmothers. The dancers then moved away, to return again. This time, the woollen skeins round the box were dropped off, and, finally, the dancers came up to the old women once more, and deposited the box itself with them. At this, the old women immediately got up and went over to the women's enclosure where all the women broke into wailing and started cutting their heads.

This was followed by a mimetic performance which usually concludes important ceremonies: in this, the unity of the tribe is emphasized, and tension is released. At night time for some days afterwards, there is usually ceremonial dancing, the bone box being placed near the dancers, and also carried in the dancing.

Not only do the *wanungembilja* dolls resemble the bone boxes in shape and size, but they are also painted and decorated in the same way. This physical resemblance mirrors the connexion between the two types of object, both of which symbolize human beings who are not living members of society—the unborn and the dead. This symbolic significance appears strikingly in the use of a *nenungembilja* doll in lieu of a portion of the body of a dead child. Nevertheless, there is no concept of a 'cycle' of death and reincarnation among the WaniNdiljaugwa, nor is such implied in this analysis.

The link between these two types of object is further revealed in the ownership and transmission of the objects. Before the birth of a male child, and for some time after the death of a child, a mother will carry the appropriate doll or bone box with her; after the birth of the child in the one case, and after the passing of the period of deepest grief in the other, both types of object usually end up in the hands of the father's mother. The aborigines point out themselves that grandmothers like to carry these objects around since they no longer have any young children, and also as mementoes of their deceased children and children's children; young wives, similarly, like to possess them as a substitute before their own children are born, and as mementoes of their deceased children. The WaniNdiljaugwa have an extremely deep love for children and lavish affection on these objects in lieu of children. One will frequently see an old woman set out for the bush with only a minimum of equipment—a tin can, a bark container and possibly a ragged blanket or an axe. She will, however, carry several

dolls and bone boxes with her, objects which are a physical inconvenience when moving through the bush. Eventually, the dolls and bone boxes are deposited usually in an anthill or hole in the ground or rocky place in the bush, or in the branches of a tree. There is one tree in the native camp at one of the settlements where large numbers of decayed bone boxes may be seen.

Although patrilineal descent and clan and moiety affiliation are given primary emphasis in the mourning ceremonies, and although the dolls are made for boys and not for girls, nevertheless, in the persons of the old women, there is a recognition of the importance of the women of the other moiety who have given birth to the individuals who make up the clan and moiety, and who are particularly affected by the birth and death of moiety members. Occasions when women are given such specific social recognition are few in this society. Even so, it is not the wife to whom the bone box is handed over, but the husband's mother.

Once the ceremony, with its emphasis on structurally important groups, is over, however, personal considerations are recognized, for the old women hand the bone box to the bereaved mother. Thus the mother carries the bone box during the critical period just after death, and also carries the dolls in the important period leading up to the birth. Although ceremonial practices emphasize patriliny, and the importance of the females of the opposite moiety, the specific personal significance of birth and death to the mother herself is clearly recognized—the individual is not completely submerged in the group.

Notes

[1] The fieldwork on which this article is based was carried out under the auspices of the Australian National University, to which institution my thanks are due.

[2] The orthography used here is based on that of Dr. A. Capell; *cf.* 'Methods for Recording Australian Languages,' *Oceania*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, Sydney. (In accordance, however, with the practice of MAN, phonetic symbols have not been employed; *ng*, whenever it occurs, is to be pronounced as in 'singer,' and the letter *n* has in some cases an inferior point in the author's manuscript.—ED.)

[3] The root *-maluda* is also used in referring to a person who died some time ago, *e.g. dadumaluda* (fem. sing.). A woman who had died recently would be referred to as *dadungwadinuba* (*adinuba*: 'close-up,' *i.e.* recently, or, in other contexts, soon).

[4] Although I have identifications of over 100 plant species used by the WaniNdiljaugwa, unfortunately the *amindjungwada* remains to be identified. The tree grows in the dense 'jungle' pockets of the island.

[5] Although women are spatially segregated in the circumcision ceremony so that they are 'unable' to see, they know exactly when to commence crying and cutting their heads, an integral part of the ceremony. *Cf.* H. M. Gluckman, 'Wiko Circumcision Ceremonies,' *Social Structure*, Essays Presented to Radcliffe-Brown, Oxford, 1949.

GENITAL SYMBOLS ON SMITHS' BELLOWS IN UGANDA*

by

E. C. LANNING

Mubende, Uganda

262 The discovery of clay objects of unknown origin and unknown purpose at the Munsa earthworks in Mubende District during 1954 led me to make enquiries amongst local elders. A similar object was later found within the perimeter of the trenches of Masa encampment further north, and a smaller but unmistakably identical object was collected at the Bigo earthworks in Masaka District, south of Mubende.

All the specimens are surface finds from farm areas or from land where cultivation ceased long ago. Phallic in shape, they vary in length from 6 to 13 centimetres. They are either flattened or rounded, the rounded type having a greater girth of from 15 to 22 centimetres. In some specimens the surface is smooth, in others it is decorated with rouletted or punched patterns or both. All are rough or broken at the base, as if they had been attached to some other object.

After many abortive enquiries some information has been acquired. The objects are symbols of human male and female genitalia (fig. 1). As recently as 40 or 50 years ago, these formed part of smiths' bellows for the purpose of denoting the sex of the bellows.

The type of bellows referred to is the bowl type found throughout Bunyoro and Buganda, as used by smelters as well as blacksmiths. These bellows vary in size but those used for smelting (which practice is fast dying out with the easy availability of scrap iron, etc.) were usually the larger.

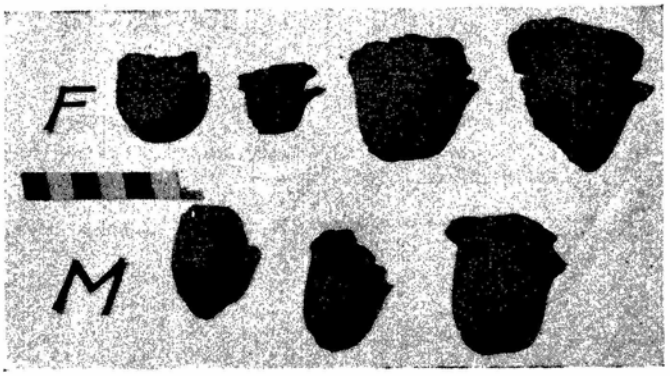

FIG. 1. FEMALE AND MALE SYMBOLS (NYORO TYPE)
Photograph: C. P. S. Allen

In the case of the average smiths' bellows of today the approximate dimensions are: diameter of the bowl, 27 centimetres; length of the pipe, 33 centimetres. A goatskin, or nowadays more often a suitable substitute, is draped over the bowl and fastened loosely over the mouth. A

* *With three text figures*

stick is then attached to the centre of the skin. The bellows are used in pairs, a draught being created by an operator working both sticks up and down in quick alternation; thus air is forced from the two bowls down their pipes which converge at the mouth of a *tuyère*, which, in its turn, guides this draught into the hearth or furnace. A gap between the mouth of the *tuyère* and the nozzles of the pipes serves as a valve. Of the two bellows one is usually smaller than the other. The larger is known as the female and the smaller as the male. This distinction remains today, but it appears that only the symbols indicating the sex of the bellows have been discarded.

Variations in the design of these symbols are probable. Two types have, in fact, been recorded, namely Nyoro and Njulunga. Those specimens recovered are, however, evidently of the former type only.

FIG. 2. MODELS MADE BY OMW. GABIERI BABEYA (NYORO TYPE)
Photograph: C. P. S. Allen

According to Nyoro informants, of 50 men or more years of age, symbols had been in use on bellows in the times of their fathers and grandfathers; under the influence of Christian teaching it became shameful, already during their youth, to own or use bellows so decorated.

The better to illustrate his words one old blacksmith, living in the neighbourhood of the Masa earthworks, prepared for me models of the old-type bellows (fig. 2). These included the symbolic appendages (Nyoro type) as known to the modeller, which symbols are not found on modern bellows. The male symbol clearly combines an accurate model of the glans and a portion of the body of the penis with a less accurate representation of the lower portion of the scrotum. The anatomical details of the female symbol are less accurate. The clitoris and urethral orifice can be clearly identified whilst the rest of the symbol presumably represents the labia.

The symbols so fashioned show close similarity to the broken objects recovered from Masa, Munsa and Bigo, which objects have also been identified in turn by independent witnesses. These specimens, of both male and female symbols, were found incomplete, in that the male symbols consist simply of the portion representing the penis and the female symbols consist mainly of the lower end of the representation of the labia.

These symbols though joined to the bowl, are not connected to the pipe but extend for some centimetres above it. The pipe itself is named after that symbolic organ attached to the bowl of which the pipe itself forms part. The size of the symbols is said to have varied considerably depending to some extent too on the size of the bellows.

The other type of symbol which I have been able to record is that described by the elders of the Bajulunga, a group of pastoral people of Hima-Nyoro stock who tend their herds partially in Mawogola and Buwekula counties of Masaka and Mubende Districts.

In this instance the emblem is a detachable piece of elongated clay, up to 15 centimetres in length, which can be fitted so as to rest on the bowl's pipe, pointing upwards.

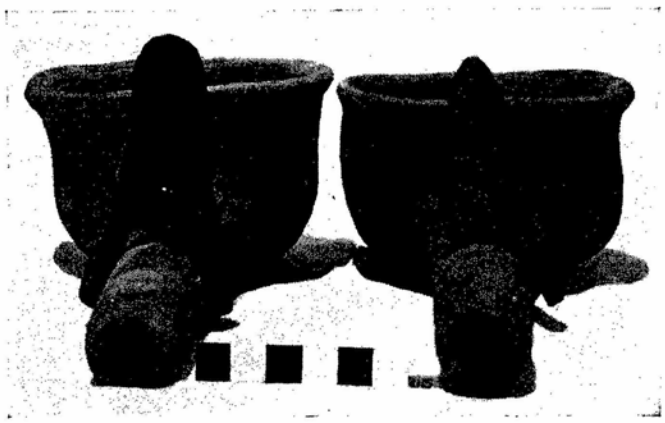

FIG. 3. NJULUNGA-TYPE MODELS PRESENTED BY OMW. J. MUKASA
Photograph: C. P. S. Allen

The female symbol is flatter and blunter than the male symbol. As a further mark of distinction it is said that it was usually decorated with red and black vertical lines.

In this case, too, models have been prepared (Fig. 3) by an old smith of Nkonge in Mawogola, which corroborate the oral testimony of these people.

Apart from the statement that the symbols indicate the sex of the bellows to which they are attached, no explanation has been given why the bellows were thought to be of different sex nor has any ritual or legend been traced

which would throw light on the significance of this custom.

The area from which the clay objects have been recovered and over which enquiries have been made (though by no means exhaustively) extends from the Bunyoro-Mubende boundary to Masaka District, beyond the Katonga river in the south, close to where the borders of the districts of Masaka, Ankole and Toro meet. In Mubende it is believed that the use of symbols to distinguish between male and female bellows was also practised in Toro and Ankole, although variations in the execution of the symbols are believed to have occurred.

OBITUARY

Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree: 1871–1954.

263 Trained as a chemist, Seebohm Rowntree (who died on 7 October, 1954) entered in that capacity the business founded in York by his father, Joseph Rowntree, but at the age of 19 became manager of one of the chief departments. However, early in his career he directed his attention to improving conditions of the workers, first at the cocoa works, and later of workers in industry at large.

His systematic studies of social problems led to the publication in 1909 of *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, which has been regarded as the most valuable of his many books. The publication of this volume stirred in the minds of many, perhaps for the first time, that all was not well in our modern industrial civilization. It served too to establish his reputation as a reliable, painstaking investigator.

The strength and value of his mission for amelioration lay in the fact that he was not an academic theorist but one who had had the courage to introduce into the works at York the reforms he was urging upon industry as a whole. In all his labour he was able to command the loyal service and affection of others whose privilege it was to assist him in his surveys.

He came more prominently before the employers of the country during the first world war when Mr. Lloyd George invited him to establish at the Ministry of Munitions what became known as the Welfare and Health Department. Lloyd George had become convinced that he would not get the war material he required unless improvements were made in conditions and relationships, which were by no means satisfactory, in the factories, mills and shipyards. Of this work, in which I was allowed to share, Lloyd George wrote in his 'Memoirs':

> Mr. Rowntree is one of the most successful pioneers in the development of improved conditions in his works. I should like to pay tribute here to his skill, energy, sympathy and address with which he organized this new department.

In his last address to an audience in America, where he had considerable following, he said: 'The tone of a workshop is just as important as that of a school or college,' and there was no doubt that he succeeded in creating such within his works at York, where he was affectionately known to all the employees, staff and manual workers alike, as 'B.S.R.'

As one observes the growing interest in what Elton Mayo described as the 'Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization' the truth becomes apparent that the work inaugurated by Rowntree during the 1914–18 war years influenced the establishment —in which he took a personal share—of such bodies as the Institute of Industrial Psychology; Management Research Groups; British Institute of Management, and, in a wider field, the Outward Bound Trust. He was too a member of the Council of the Industrial Welfare Society and other voluntary bodies having for their purpose the improvement of conditions in social and industrial life. In addition to such activities he had served on many national committees concerned with reconstruction, agriculture and housing, on all of which subjects he could speak with authority.

Recently it was said by one who had long been associated with him, 'Seebohm Rowntree had a greater influence than any other business man who had lived in our time in guiding this country to a wider, wiser, and more enlightened view of the task of business leadership.' Such words are true of a man of deep humility, sound learning, and, until the end, a man young in heart whose place as a pioneer will be difficult to fill. ROBERT HYDE

SHORTER NOTES

Enslavement and the Early Hebrew Lineage System. *By Miss S. Strizower, M.A.*

264 It is only natural that the Joseph story, one of the most poignant and dramatic in the Bible, should have received, and should continue to receive, the closest possible consideration from commentators and others, from every possible angle.

Recently Dr. Steiner,[1] following lines indicated by Professor Daube,[2] considered the sale of Joseph in relation to slavery customs which might have been valid at the time, and then by comparing these with the later laws concerning slavery in *Exodus*, *Deuteronomy* and *Leviticus*, inferred that this study might go 'a long way in explaining the evolution which led to later legal customs.'

It can be fairly maintained that the biographical data on biblical personalities contribute many cultural items and reflect cultural attitudes. It might be questioned, however, whether the Joseph story—even it be assumed that it is the true story of a life in the setting of a particular cultural milieu—represents an average sample of the relation of the enslaved (or formerly enslaved) to his original kin group. There is possibly some doubt, therefore, whether the contrast between Joseph's relation to his father and brother and the relation of the enslaved Hebrew to his kin group, as depicted in *Exodus*, *Deuteronomy* and *Leviticus*, indicated a significant change in biblical slavery customs.

Dr. Steiner distinguishes between the type of slavery in which there is a renunciation of all kinship ties between the person sold and his original kin group, and debtor slavery in which the kin group retains the right—and the duty—to redeem the sold. The former he finds exemplified in the Joseph story, the latter in the slavery legislation of *Exodus*, *Deuteronomy* and *Leviticus*, 'which correspond to the slavery laws of the Mesopotamian cultures. Both types of societies, differ as they may amongst themselves, are no longer tribal societies in the strict sense. Both types of societies distinguish between two types of slaves: nationals and enslaved aliens. The later biblical law conceives of the enslaved

male nationals as temporary slaves. The point of interest is not so much the possibility of automatic release after the fixed number of years (*Exodus*, 21, 2), but the unbroken kinship ties with, and obligations towards, the enslaved which makes them "nationals."'

Even if one agrees with Dr. Steiner's interpretation of Joseph's relationship to his father and brothers—that the sale constituted renunciation of all kinship ties—is it necessary to postulate an 'evolution' in the slavery legislation? The problem may be posed differently: instead of considering only the relationship resultant upon sale, one might also ask what factors lead to enslavement. First, there are raid captives and prisoners of war enslaved against the will of their kin group. These might run away—unless capture, as among the Maori, was considered as proof of divine disfavour, in which case the kin group would disown the enslaved individual. Secondly, fellow members might undergo servitude in order to rescue an impoverished kinsman. In these circumstances the debtor slave enjoyed mild treatment, suffered no severe loss of prestige, and was redeemed by his kin group as soon as possible. Thirdly, a person might be sold outright without intention of his being redeemed—as in the case of Joseph. Such irrevocable sales might in some cases be due to cupidity, but in this case it is usual to sell the victims of slave raids from enemy territory rather than individuals of the kin group. Even in societies where there is a strong social stratification based on the acquisition of wealth, there is a significant differentiation in the treatment of slaves based on their respective sources of origin. When then are fellow members sold outright—and why was Joseph sold?

The biblical account relates that Joseph had made himself unpopular by his repeated acts of anti-social behaviour towards his brothers. He was sold because he had made a nuisance of himself. The particular type of punishment meted out to him was slavery. This punishment, though it takes the form of slavery, must therefore be considered under the aspect of law and justice. It is true that Joseph's brothers may have acted harshly—and illegally, by punishing without the consent of the head of the group; nevertheless their action may be considered as an example of a recognized form of punishment for offenders of the group—a way of dealing with undesirables. Slavery as a punishment seems to have been practised before its prohibition by the Europeans, among many contemporary primitive societies. Among the Mende the maternal uncle had the right to punish an obnoxious sister's son or daughter by selling them into slavery—a right which constituted an ultimate sanction on the nephew's or niece's good behaviour. Although it is the mother's brother that has the decision, it is to be noted that descent is patrilineal among the Mende.[3] Among the matrilineal Ashanti, the maternal uncle could sell a troublesome sister's child to the chief for use as a sacrifice, among the latter therefore punishment was not slavery with complete renunciation of kinship ties, but certain death. Among many Ibo groups, people were sold into *osu* (ritual) slavery if they were undesirable or abnormal, and the group wished to rid themselves of them. An *osu* could not be redeemed, and could be offered as a sacrifice to a deity whose wrath had been aroused. Ibo also sold delinquents into non-ritual slavery. The severing of kinship ties through slavery is a form of punishment not uncommon among many other groups; furthermore it does not appear as if there were here any evolutionary modification of slavery customs—from renunciation to retention of kinship ties—since it co-exists with the other types of slavery mentioned.[4]

It is true that the fact that two forms co-exist among contemporary primitive societies does not prove that this was the case of the period of Joseph, but it certainly makes it more likely, especially as the temporary enslavement of nationals was found in other related cultures of the period. It appears unnecessary, therefore, to assume an evolution of slavery customs in the form indicated by Dr. Steiner. The question that arises with reference to evolution of customs seems to me to be concerned rather with the difference in the execution of justice. Joseph was sold by his kin group and it is assumed here that the action was in accordance with the code of the group, though probably legal only with the consent of its head. In *Deuteronomy*, however, parents are required to bring an unruly son to the elders of the town, who may put him to death. It is not the family, but the constituted representatives of social authority who inflict hurt or death.

Obviously the severity of punishment inflicted by the renunciation of all kinship ties will depend on the strength and importance of kinship within the social structure of the group. In Joseph's case, where the kin group was all-important, outright sale, as Dr. Steiner has shown, implied the loss of all connexion with the original kin, a severe punishment indeed. In later Hebrew legislation, where the kin group had lost its supreme importance, punishment is meted out by the local rather than the kin group. True, one does not hear of the local group inflicting slavery as punishment but rather physical hurt or death, but it appears to have been inconsistent with cultural values of the Joseph period to shed the blood of one's kin. In the same way, the Ashanti maternal uncle and the Ibo head of the kin group do not actually put their kin to death, but sell them into slavery. The local group according to later Hebrew legislation carried out death sentences without resorting to slavery. The outstanding difference between punishment as inflicted in the Joseph period and as regulated in later Hebrew legislation may well be due to the shift of authority from kin groups to territorial entities.

Notes

[1] Steiner, 'Enslavement and the Early Hebrew lineage system,' MAN, 1954, 102.

[2] Daube, *Biblical Law*, 1945.

[3] Little (*The Mende of Sierra Leone*, London, 1951), does not state whether such slavery as punishment constituted permanent renunciation of kinship ties or was only of temporary character.

[4] I have not found discussed anywhere whether the selection of the member who was to be sold into temporary debtor slavery was influenced by the fact that a particular member was undesirable and the group well served by his temporary disappearance. That is, what factors influenced the choice of the person to be sold as a debtor slave.

Unusual Designs on Ibo Wooden Vessels. *By Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys. With three text figures*

265 While engaged at the behest of the Nigerian Government in 1930 in investigating the magico-religious beliefs of the Umundri Ibo near Awka in the Onitsha Province, Southern Nigeria, I was, through the generosity of the Wellcome Foundation, able to purchase a considerable quantity

FIG. 1. A WOODEN BOWL FOR SERVING FOOD TO TITLED IBO MEN OR DISTINGUISHED GUESTS

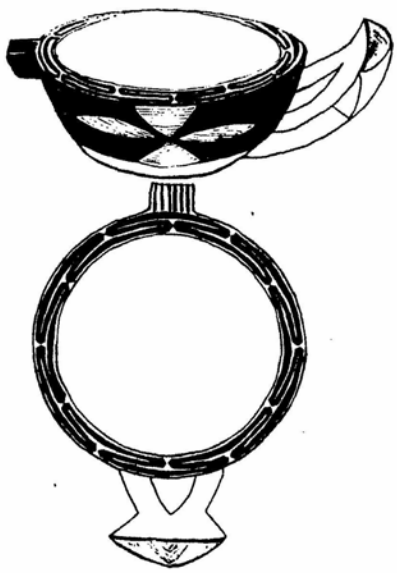

FIG. 2. A WOODEN BOWL USED BY IBO MEN OF TITLE

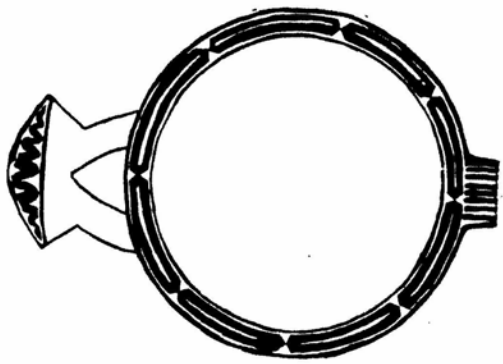

FIG. 3. ANOTHER WOODEN BOWL

of Ibo material culture. Among these items were wooden bowls with unusual designs on them. While in the field I made drawings of these bowls, and reproduced here are photographs of them showing these designs or patterns. The bowl was first carved out of a block of white or light coloured wood. Then the outside surface was blackened and the pattern incised with a sharp iron tool allowing the light wood to show up. The patterns are in relief.

The Distribution of the P Blood Groups in Greece. *By N. C. Constantoulis, Director of Laboratories, Athens Polyclinic*

266 Greece was the country in which, for the first time in the history of blood groups, mass blood grouping was carried out by L. and H. Hirszfeld[1] during World War I, yet it remains one of the least blood group surveyed countries in Europe.

The present work is part of a wider investigation begun three years ago, dealing with the distribution of blood groups among the Greek population.

It is because the *P* blood groups of Landsteiner and Levine[2 3 4] had never before been tested in this country and we therefore had not the benefit of comparing our data with previous figures, and also in view of the rather unsatisfactory state of *P* grouping in general, that we felt some reserve at the beginning of our investigation.

However, the fact that our results agreed with those of the principal previous investigations carried out elsewhere in Europe by Sanger *et al.*,[5] Stratton,[6] Ikin *et al.*,[7] Van Loghem and Berkhout,[8] Henningsen,[9] Moullec and Kherumian,[10] led by the remarkable work of Dahr[11 12] and his co-workers in Cologne, also the number of people tested in the present study, as well as the technique followed in these tests, lead us to believe that we have succeeded in offering some contribution to the subject.

One human and one pig anti-*P* sera were used in each blood test; horse antiserum was used occasionally in place of the latter. The absorbed animal sera, which were from a local source, gave identical results throughout the entire investigation with those of human origin.

Tests with human antisera were left overnight in the refrigerator before reading, while those with the animal antiserum were performed at room temperature.

All tests were done in small tubes and 0·02 c.c. of antisera and cell suspension were used respectively with the aid of calibrated Pasteur pipettes.

In each series of tests one known stronger and one weaker reactor as well as one negative were run simultaneously as controls.

Controls were taken from individuals whose blood had previously been typed for us by Mr. I. Dunsford, of the Sheffield Regional Blood Transfusion Centre.

Two grades of *P* positive reactions, a stronger and a weaker, were always encountered but we never had great difficulty in distinguishing weak positive from true negative reactions.

Following Henningsen's technique,[9] by freeing the sera of their non-specific cold agglutinins before testing for their anti-*P* strength, we were able to find the necessary human anti-*P* sera for our work.

The gene frequencies are based on the results obtained by testing the blood of 3000 unrelated persons, the majority of whom came as out-patients to the Athens Polyclinic.

Separate figures were kept as regards the provincial distribution of persons tested, who included refugees from Asia Minor, but no mention will be made of such data in the present note as the differences are not statistically significant.

The results are as follows:

	Observed	
	Number	*Frequency*
P+ . .	2346	0·782
P— . .	654	0·218
Total . .	3000	1·000

Accepting the conclusions reached by Landsteiner and Levine (1931) and Dahr (1939) that *P* negative persons are homozygous *pp*, the gene frequencies are:

$$p=\sqrt{0\cdot218}=0\cdot4669$$

and

$$P=1-p=0\cdot5331$$

Acknowledgement

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REVIEWS

GENERAL

La Linguistique. *By Jean Perrot. Paris (P.U.F.). 1953. Pp. 136. Price 150 francs*

267 Concise and informative summaries describing the present state of knowledge and the direction of current study in any field of endeavour are always needed. To such a class belongs this little manual. It is especially recommended to those who may not be aware of the parallel development of anthropology and linguistics in the last 100 years. For it is not without interest to notice how the exponents of these two disciplines, who at the turn of the century studied mainly processes of diffusion from a diachronic viewpoint, now attach more importance to synchronic studies of function and structure.

Yet in the United Kingdom, at any rate, they have not perhaps been over-anxious to compare methods and results, or to assess the value of their findings in relation to the parallel work carried out in other social sciences and founded on similar contemporary premises. On page 120 of this work, a footnote reads as follows: 'L'accord n'est pas réalisé entre les linguistes sur la valeur des termes fonction, système, structure.' One might add: Neither have anthropologists shown themselves to be always agreed as to the meaning of function, system and structure. If commonly accepted definitions are scarcely to be hoped for from either side, it may be (as Lévi-Strauss reluctantly concluded two years ago) that to speak of social anthropology and linguistics in the same language 'must lead to confusion and frustration.'

J. Perrot devotes four separate chapters to his survey. The first outlines the whole field of study and the methods by which it is brought to bear (processes of investigation, collection of material and technical devices). Chapter 2 is devoted to descriptive linguistics and makes use of the still valid Saussurean dichotomy between internal and external linguistic data. A brief review of historical linguistics follows in Chapter 3. The fourth chapter is a short description of the disciplines subsumed under the term of general linguistics. It sets out the planes or levels on which data of various orders are usually arranged and analysis most profitably undertaken. A reading list follows.

G. B. MILNER

AMERICA

Ensayos sobre Indigenismo. *By Juan Comas, with a foreword by Manuel Gamio. México (Institute Indigenista Interamericano), 1953. Pp. xiv, 272*

268 *Indigenismo*—the word has undergone more than one shift of meaning. There were times in the 1920's when it was not so easily distinguished from the political *indianismo* which exalted all that was native at the expense of all that was European in the Americas: the policy which removed the crucifix from Mexican schools to set up the Martyrdom of Cuahtematoc. The *indigenismo* of Juan Comas and his associates in the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano is something very different. Their aim, as Manuel Gamio, the illustrious director of the I.I.I., describes it in his preface, is 'not a search in records of the past for anti-Spanish material, but the study of the Indian as he is today, in order, from a background of ascertained fact, to satisfy his needs and legitimate aspirations and to defend him from the calumnies, abuses and extortions which he still suffers.'

Of these 15 reprinted essays, dated 1942 to 1953, Dr. Comas has one vindicating the veracity of Bartolomé de las Casas and two in which he contrasts the idealism of Spanish colonial legislation with the iniquities of colonial practice—matters on which it might seem superfluous to enlarge but for a modern tendency to qualify them, in the interests of *hispanidad*, as part of a 'black legend.' The rest deals with practical aspects of the subject—the reality and urgency of the native people's needs in almost all the American countries; the kind of economic and educational work required; the growth of a true *indigenismo*; the necessity of linking it with anthropological research and applied anthropology; and a valuable survey of institutions on the American continent now working for native welfare and advancement. Two striking portraits of Indians strike the keynote of the book: such people, they seem to say, are worth saving.

The work is dedicated to the late Luís de Hoyos Sainz and Eugène Pittard.

BARBARA AITKEN

Tiahuanaco, Atacama und Araukaner: Drei Vorinkäische Kulturen. *By Walter Ruben. Leipzig (Harrassowitz), 1952. Pp. viii, 262, 70 plates and 4 sketch maps. Price DM. 17.20*

269 This book is the result, mainly, of two journeys, one in July, 1949, to Tiahuanaco and the other through Atacama in February of the same year. The author undertook his journeys with a purpose and attempts a great deal in his report of them. From fieldwork in Turkey and India before the war he turned to pre-Columbian America, and it is not surprising therefore that he refers often to Old-and-New-World relationships. For so large a subject it might perhaps have been as well to concentrate on a narrower field; as it is, the book suffers rather from indigestion. Under the headings of geography, ethnology, cultural origins and a general survey of Tiahuanaco in all its periods, a great number of topics are dealt with, while Atacama and the shamanism of the Araucans receive equally wide treatment. The result is a rather disjointed series of usually short sections in which, however, it is only right to say the material is meticulously presented. In general, as when writing on the Araucan shamans, the writer is avowedly interested in making a contribution towards the world history of the subject,

but are we yet scientifically advanced enough to make real use in any direction of widely separated coincidences in cultures? This should, however, prove a useful reference book for students of South American archæology and ethnology, and we should be grateful for the collection in one volume of so much information on Tiahuanaco. The plates are rather poor. Now that technique is so far advanced must we suffer from feeble reproductions in a field where high fidelity is so important in illustration? A. S. JENKINS

Nordperuanische Keramik. *By Gerdt Kutscher. Monumenta Americana I. Berlin (Gebr. Mann), 1954. Pp. 79, 80 plates*

270 This publication consists of 80 plates, reproduced from drawings done by Wilhelm von den Steinen in 1908 for a work on Peruvian pottery by Seler, which was never published. They are accompanied by descriptions and a very brief introduction by Dr. G. Kutscher, in Spanish as well as in German. The original drawings have been lost, but two incomplete sets of proofs survived and the whole series has been recovered from them.

With two or three exceptions, the drawings represent designs taken from Mochica pots, mostly from Berlin but some from the British Museum and elsewhere. Dr. Kutscher dislikes the word Mochica because it is based on a surviving language which is not certainly known to have been spoken by the 'Mochicas.' He calls these people Early Chimus instead, and claims that in so doing he follows North American nomenclature, by which he means the older publications of Kroeber and Means, ignoring recent work, including Kroeber's own *Peruvian Archeology in* 1942. It is no more certain that it is correct to call the earlier people Chimu than that they spoke the Muchik language; the term Mochica avoids the confusion between the two periods to which Early Chimu may give rise, and the revival of the latter term seems to me to be a useless and undesirable piece of pedantry.

In order to learn what we can about the Mochica culture it is desirable to have available reproductions of the designs on as many different Mochica pots as possible. The present random collection will not help a great deal; it adds a detail here and there, but the content of a good many of the designs repeats what we already know from other examples, and most of the exceptional examples, *e.g.*, Plates XXI, XXIV, LXVI, LXXVIII and LXXX, have been reproduced before. As for the drawings themselves, those of the painted scenes are admirable, but the minority which show relief designs, though doubtless accurate, are less pleasing in style.

Plates XII *b* and *d* have been interchanged. I am not competent to criticize the German text, but I noted a few questionable points in the Spanish translation. The word *hoz*, meaning a sickle, is used in several places to denote a knife with a convex, not a concave, blade, which does not seem right. The word *anzuelo*, meaning a fish hook, is used for the heads of darts with numerous forward-pointing barbs on one side (Plate XV *b*). Crabs, apparently normal ones not living in borrowed shells, are invariably described as *ermitaño* or hermit. G. H. S. BUSHNELL

Die blaue Hütte. Zum Sinnbild der Perle bei den Nordamerikanischen Indianern. *By Werner Müller. Studien zur Kulturkunde, Vol. XII. Wiesbaden (Steiner), 1954. Pp. 145*

271 The esoteric medicine societies of Algonkin and Sioux tribes west of the Great Lakes have become known through the work of several ethnologists, such as Walter James Hoffman, Alanson Skinner, Paul Radin, to mention only three of the more prominent investigators. Werner Müller has made a systematic and critical survey of the ethnological literature, attempting to trace certain lines in the evolution of these esoteric societies. The object of all the societies is to secure for the members long and happy lives by means of certain rites, giving a symbolic representation of human existence, and also by a special knowledge of medical virtues of plants. The meaning of the rites and their supposed origin are given in certain myths. Werner Müller finds two main types of medicine societies or lodges. One of these was, according to myth, given to mankind by the Great Spirit. Another type has its mythical foundation in the life and adventures of a culture hero. Müller attempts to prove that the Great Spirit lodges are the oldest group, the culture-hero lodges a younger group. He finds a clue to the determination of the relative age of the two types in their geographical distribution. The transition from the Great Spirit type of lodge to the culture-hero lodge started long ago, before the European invasion. The philosophy of the medicine lodges may sometimes recall Christian ideas; however, no missionary influence seems to be traceable. The cross, appearing in the paraphernalia of some medicine lodges, has nothing to do with the Christian symbol.

GUDMUND HATT

Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains: Seventeenth Century through Early Nineteenth Century. *By Frank Raymond Secoy. Monog. Amer. Ethnol. Soc. New York (Augustin), 1953. Pp. 112. Price $2.75*

272 This book is not a piece of conjectural reconstruction, proceeding through fragile inferences from later distributions of culture traits. It is solidly based on a critical examination of contemporaneous written sources. It deals with the spread of the horse and the gun. The horse came to North American Indians from the Spaniards of Mexico. The Spanish government forbade the sale of guns and ammunition to the Indians, and this prohibition was on the whole enforced. But horses could not be guarded so effectively, and once stolen multiplied. So the tribes living in the areas adjoining Mexico evolved a method of fighting on horseback which—and this is an interesting example of parallel evolution—resembled the tactics of the horse nomads of Asia. The gun spread from the north-east, a region then unsuitable for horses. The trading companies, operating there without any effective governmental supervision, were not averse to providing the Indians with guns in exchange for furs. The new 'horse-no-gun' and 'gun-no-horse' war techniques conferred upon their initiators superiority which enabled them to expand for a time, until their opponents were able to imitate them successfully. In consequence, important migrations took place. Finally, the two techniques met, and the new 'horse-and-gun' technique was developed. It was the swan song of the warrior of the Great Plains.

In a well written narrative, enlivened by aptly chosen quotations from old sources, the author depicts the transformations of warfare and the vicissitudes of the tribes. He touches only lightly upon the changes in social structure connected with them, except in what concerns trade. As among the Norsemen, the Bedouins and many others, trade and war were intertwined. The author cannot be blamed for not having done what he did not propose to do, but let us hope that he, or somebody else, may go further and give us a 'bellic interpretation' of the structural history of the Plains tribes. So far as they go his findings confirm the theories about the relations between warfare and social structure, propounded by the students of comparative sociology.

In contrast to the high quality of the description and analysis of facts, the author's ventures into the fields of general theory and methodology are rather unfortunate. His remarks, though on the whole sound, are too superficial to do justice to the problems raised. Furthermore, on these occasions he appears to feel obliged to pay homage to the cult of pompous verbosity. Instead of talking about 'history' he prefers to talk about 'dynamic view of culture' and 'specific picture of historical depth'; and instead of 'explaining' he prefers 'to provide a more meaningful framework for the interpretation.' There are also 'technique patterns' and 'factors developing in time depth.' Luckily, these slips are too few to mar seriously this valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of 'peoples without history.' S. ANDRZEJEWSKI

Proverbial Comparisons and Similes from California. *By Archer Taylor. Folklore Studies III. Berkeley (U. of Calif. P.), 1954. Pp. 97*

273 This is the first substantial collection of comparisons published outside of journals and of great importance since the journal articles which contain the most comparisons are very little known. The ingenious manner of tabulation which renders the perusal of some 20,000 items easy and pleasant is indeed praiseworthy. The comments are short and accurate and the whole

approach is fresh and unorthodox. Crime books stand out among the contemporary sources for ordinary speech. The list of contributors is, admittedly, only a token acknowledgment of their considerable share in the progress of folklore; but even that is not granted by many institutes which claim the limelight for themselves, and leave to their anonymous collectors nothing but the vague hope that some diligent student may in a hundred years' time discover and publish their names. It is high time that books on the collectors and their informants were published. Future students should understand how the personal merits of the collectors gained the confidence and unsealed the lips of the informers. This is just as essential as the questionnaires drawn up by the institutes, or the harvest reaped by the indefatigable collectors. Professor Taylor would certainly agree with this demand; does he not himself promise a sketch of 'the intellectual and spiritual picture of the minds and tastes' of those who use proverbial comparisons and similes?

As was to be expected, the introduction is of fundamental importance for folklorists and linguists alike. Proverbs and proverbial phrases are referred to, but kept apart. New words, replacing old ones, are discussed and the conclusion is drawn that rare words or elaborate versions are surprisingly little used. Professor Taylor's demands for further research covering wider territories and longer periods of time should be met, for it might enable us to carry out one of our foremost tasks, namely, to discover 'the operation of forces that create and preserve folklore.' E. ETTLINGER

The Makah Indians: A Study of an Indian Tribe in Modern American Society. *By Elizabeth Colson. Manchester (U.P.), 1953. Pp. xvi, 308. Price £1 8s.*

274 In 1936, after 70 years of subjection to an alien rule which may fairly be described as tyrannical, the Indian Reorganization Act restored to the Makah some measure of autonomy. The change of policy after long repression was still looked on with suspicion by the Indians when Miss Colson lived with them in 1942: 'Nevertheless they admitted that they were now free to carry on many of their old customs if they so wished. They were also free to continue the practices which they had learned under the direction of the agency. Since they were in a position to make a choice, it can be assumed that the life of the Makah today is a fairly accurate index of the measure to which members of the tribe have accepted the goals and standards of their mentors, the whites. If their associations and their systems of thought are such that they still retain their identity as a distinct community, then they are not assimilated no matter how much their culture has changed.'

This is the subject of Miss Colson's penetrating and sympathetic analysis—an inspiring example of what can be learned from an Indian community which seems, on the surface, to be nearer to 'Middletown' than to Mitla. In dress, housing, diet, livelihood, literacy, amusements, and often in physical type, the 357 Makah of Neah Bay near Cape Flattery are scarcely distinguishable from the white Americans who share their village. Most of them are bilingual or speak only English. They have intermarried for generations with outsiders. What holds them together as a conscious community is the requirement of tribal status for ownership of the valuable timber property on the reservation. The conditions of tribal consciousness and acceptance, discussed in pp. 60 ff., are thus of great importance, and the author's discussion of them will be valuable in a wider connexion.

Partly in consequence of this situation, the Makah are excellent genealogists and have preserved their interest in kinship. They are also exceedingly snobbish. The old struggle for prestige has survived the suppression of the potlatch. Almost every family claims that its ancestors were chiefs, not commoners or slaves; and no family admits another family's claims.

Under the somewhat shifting membership of three Churches runs the belief in and search for two kinds of 'medicine' power. There is no organized *indianismo*: the majority of the Makah find their ancestral beliefs compatible with the local versions of Christianity. The ownership of some noble names, songs, dances and games is valued and disputed. These intangibles, it seems, can survive the loss not only of material culture but even of language.

Lastly, the tribe, though so small, apparently below the danger-line for survival, is neither moribund nor discouraged. 'No one can say now we are dying Indians!' And 'Their magnificent vitality and zest for life, their outrageous humour, their independence and courage are not reflected in these pages,' says the author. 'A novelist and poet is needed to give the full flavour of the turmoil of their lives.' BARBARA AITKEN

ASIA

Russia and Her Colonies. *By Walter Kolarz. 3rd edn. London (Philip), 1953. Pp. xiv, 335, bibliog., endpaper maps. Price £1 5s.* **The Peoples of the Soviet Far East.** *By Walter Kolarz. 2nd edn. London (Philip), 1954. Pp. xii, 194, illus., maps, bibliog. Price 15s. 6d.*

275 Soviet Russia has mostly been studied during the last decades by comparing the economic, social and cultural plans of the Communist Party with their realization by the Soviet Government. Kolarz approaches the problem from a different angle, namely, by investigating the Soviet 'nationalities' policy. He thus increases our knowledge of the intentions of the leading people in the Soviet Union and of the conflicts within the Party and the government.

The author bases his books on 'evidence emanating from the régime itself.' He does not repeat other criticisms of the Soviet régime, but states his own views. He consulted particularly the literature written in Russian. The additional study of literature published in other languages of the Soviet Union would have presented a formidable task even for a polyglot; besides, it would scarcely have offered any new facts, because the non-Russian sources mostly copy the official and semi-official publications.

In about 50 separate sections Kolarz deals with the newly created Union Republics, Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Provinces, thereby giving us a more or less complete account of the numerous nationalities within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Many chapters, for instance those on the North Caucasus Peoples, Tajikistan, the indigenous peoples of the Soviet Far East, the Tannu-Tuvinians and their cousins are of some interest for anthropologists. It is not the author's fault that some of his chapters are not as complete as he himself would have wished them to be, and lack the inspiration which can only be obtained by personal impressions. A direct and systematic survey made in any one of the various parts of the Soviet Union is an impossible task, as all the would-be 'explorers of Russia' during the last decades have discovered. A map of the Eurasian territory as a whole, showing the boundaries between the various 'nations' would, however, have been a great help to the reader.

From Kolarz's descriptions we see what the victory of the Stalinists over the opposition inside the Party meant in strengthening centralistic tendencies. In spite of the liberal constitutional law of the Soviet, which grants the right of national autonomy to all the nationalities of the federal Union, russification, more energetic and consistent than in Czarist times, soon became apparent. In the introduction to his first volume Kolarz vividly depicts the old Russia, a state with mobile frontiers which had been expanding for centuries, with their population of fugitive peasants, Cossack rebels and persecuted sectarians. All of these became pioneers in the underpopulated regions north and east of Moscow. It was usually the policy of the Czars to sanction the occupation of these regions at a much later date. The russification of northern Russia and Siberia was greatly helped by the non-discriminatory attitude towards race which was typical of Russian relations with native tribes. This traditional absence of racial prejudice is a principle for the Communists also, and combined with their religious indifference greatly contributes today to the process of assimilation.

From Kolarz's descriptions of the Moslem and some Caucasian republics, the Ukraine and the Mongols (all nationalities with a con-

siderable intelligentsia and a nationally conscious leadership), we learn how the strong central power succeeded in eliminating the more centrifugal elements. As the latter were mostly identical with the wealthier part of each nationality, they could easily be suppressed in the struggle against 'class enemies,' waged as early as 1918–1919 in Russia proper. The posts thus vacated in Party and government administration were filled to a large extent by Great Russians. The process of russification was accelerated by the Five-year and other programmes which became characteristic of Soviet economic policy. With the increase of industry and urbanization during the last 30 years the 'native islands' have shrunk, and more Russians have penetrated into the various regions than during many previous centuries. The chapters on Kazakhstan and Tajikistan are most illuminating in this respect. In contrast to the expansion through peasant settlers in former times, Kolarz describes the development of the last 30 years as rather a colonization by Russian industrial workers. The new industrial centres are modern Russian strongholds in the non-Russian territories. It should be noted that the non-Russian Stalin did more for this development than the Russians Bukharin and Rykov.

The purges of the thirties seemed to crush the last resistance of the nationalistic federalists. But when the German armies advanced, these elements revived. The future will show whether their subsequent severe suppression has brought a lasting pacification. The chapter on the Crimean Tatars demonstrates the difficult problem of establishing a real peace inside the Soviet Union with more than 200 million diversified inhabitants. (I would recommend that one should speak of 'Tatars' instead of 'Tartars,' because the Chinese first called these tribes '*Ta Ta*.')

In his conclusion the author examines the future prospects of the policy of russification and colonization. Will it be increased or moderated, or perhaps lead to the return of a more liberal national policy, as was proclaimed by the first constitutional law? Kolarz's striving for an objective view, to quote his own words in the preface, assures a serious discussion of this controversial subject. In his opinion it would be in the interest of the dominating Slavic Russian people to grant a maximum of freedom to the different nationalities, even if some borderlands should choose their own way of life. It is not impossible that such a liberal attitude might even win them over. The hundred million Russians are numerically so superior to any other single group, quite apart from their cultural influence and their economic and technical achievements, that they would always dominate this vast territory. A great number of independent and often quite small states in Eastern Europe, Siberia, the Caucasus and Central Asia could only mean new chaos, and none of these nationalities would benefit from such a development. The collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy, with its dire political and economic consequences for south-eastern and central Europe, shows the great danger which could arise in the immense spaces of Eurasia.

The author compares the Soviet nationalities policy with British colonial policy. His comparison of these two outstandingly successful colonizers in modern times is of special interest, not only because similar territorial dimensions are involved, but also because of the totally different aims and methods. Great Britain's special mission is to create today in the Commonwealth the largest of federal organizations. The Soviet Union, or more precisely the Russians, after abandoning some liberal attempts, are trying to strengthen the Union with a strong nucleus of Russians. This policy is favoured by enforced technical progress and the propaganda slogans of equality and fraternity but, with a certain loss of personal, political and religious freedom.

B. WAURICK

The Shi'a of India. *By J. N. Hollister. London (Luzac), 1953. Pp. 440. Price £3 3s.*

276 This intensive study of the Shi'a of India is of interest for anthropologists inasmuch as it reveals the place and influence of a sectarian movement within the most closely integrated religious system in the world. Notwithstanding the traditional saying of Muhammad that his followers would be divided into 73 sects as the Jews are divided into 71 and the Christians into 72 religious bodies, it has been often maintained that Islam has been free from schisms because all Muslims are agreed upon the fundamental doctrines of their faith. This contention is challenged by Dr. Hollister, and in the volume before us he demonstrates the unorthodox character of the variety of sects comprehended in the Shi'ite movement, based on the claim of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, to be the rightful successor of the Prophet. It is true that what began as a political and social revolt soon acquired a religious character with specific doctrines centring in a series of infallible Imams, numbering 12 in the case of the main tradition, known as the Ithna 'Ashariya, and seven in that of the Isma'iliya.

The book is divided into two sections dealing respectively with these two divisions of the Shi'a, and their ramifications. Although little is known of the beliefs of Isma'ilism, since it became and has remained a secret society, it was a powerful influence in the eleventh century and spread throughout the Islamic world. The vicissitudes of the Fatimid Imams are considered in some detail, particular attention being paid to the Bohra community in India as a branch of the Mustalian Ismailis. The final section is devoted to the Nizarians, the sectaries who owed their allegiance to Nizar, the eldest son of al Mustansir, of whom the 'Assassins' of the Middle Ages were an offshoot, and to whom the Agha Khans owe their descent; Agha Hasan Ali Shah having arrived in India in 1840 from Persia, the cradleland of the Nizari Imams.

As a contribution to Islamic studies this exhaustive survey of the Shi'a of India is a work of considerable value and importance. The material has been collected during the author's residence in Lucknow, and quotations have been selected, wherever possible, from Indian sources. A discussion of the historical and theological aspects of the account hardly falls within the scope of this review, but as an examination of the part played by Shi'ism in the consolidation and spread of Islam in India, and its adjustments with Hinduism, the study merits the attention of social anthropologists.

E. O. JAMES

Sinhala Verse (Kavi). *Collected by the late Hugh Nevill (1869–86); and edited by P. E. P. Deraniyagala. Ceylon Nat. Mus. MS. Series, Vol. IV (Ethnology, Vol. I). Colombo (Ceylon Gov. Press), 1954. Pp. x, 352. Price Rs. 6.75*

277 This is the first instalment of the descriptive catalogue of Sinhalese MSS. by Hugh Nevill, late of the Ceylon Civil Service, which is now being printed by the National Museums Department of the Government of Ceylon. Nevill was not only the collector of the MSS., as the title page of the present volume would make out, but he was the author of this most useful catalogue of Sinhalese books, the first of its kind to be written. A few shortcomings in the identification, description and dating of the books are inevitable, and one would have expected the editor to have noticed these; but this has not been done. For example, we may refer to the date of the well-known poem, the *Guttilaya* (No. 105).

The statement in the editorial preface that the whole of Nevill's collection of Sinhalese MSS. is in the British Museum is misleading. A good number of them are in the British Museum, a few are in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and some (for example, the MS. of the *Kavsiḷumiṇa*, No. 75) are altogether missing. The catalogue would have been more useful had the editors of the Colombo Museum added information with regard to the present situation and condition of the MSS.

It is true that a number of works in Nevill's collection of poems deal with popular cults and local gods; but this is hardly a justification for placing under the category of Ethnology a volume dealing with such classical poems as the *Kavsiḷumiṇa* (No. 75), *Kāvyaśēkharaya* (No. 155), *Kōkilasandēśaya* (No. 167), etc., and several other literary pieces, historical and religious poems, war ballads, panegyrics and eulogies. Dr. L. D. Barnett, in 1917, dealt separately with the poems relating to Folklore in this collection and published his 'Alphabetical Guide to Sinhalese Folklore from Ballad Sources,' in the *Indian Antiquary*.

The transliteration of Sinhalese words followed by Nevill in his day cannot be understood except by scholars who are very conversant with the language. It would have been desirable had the

editor adopted the system followed by international scholars, or at least explained Nevill's method in relation to what is adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society.

It is hoped that the future volumes will be brought out in such manner as to be more useful as reference books. Nevill's descriptions of the Sinhalese literary works are indeed valuable, as most of the works noticed by him are no longer readily available either in print or manuscript. C. E. GODAKUMBURA

EUROPE

Weihnachtskrippen in Steiermark. *By L. Kretzenbacher. Vienna (Öst. Mus. f. Volksk.), 1953. Pp. i, 64, 24 illus.* **Kultur und Volk: Festschrift für Gustav Gugitz.** *Edited by L. Schmidt. Vienna (Öst. Mus. f. Volksk.), 1954. Pp. x, 423, 33 plates and text figs..*

278 Dozent Kretzenbacher traces the cult of the Christmas crib back to the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem, where, according to Origen (*ob.* 254), devout Christians used to kneel in front of a trough. During the fourth century pilgrims visited the basilica which the Emperor Constantine had erected over the sacred cave. In Rome, about the year 354, Pope Liberius transferred the Feast of Christ's Birth from 6 January to 25 December and built a special church for the celebration of this new feast. Realistic mediæval Nativity plays in the churches and above all the well-known Christmas celebration of St. Francis of Assisi (1223), exercised a deep influence upon the artists and the Nativity became a favourite subject for Gothic altar shrines, carved in wood.

The first Christmas cribs with movable figures were made in Italy. In the sixteenth century Jesuits and Franciscans displayed Christmas cribs in Austrian churches. At the height of baroque art, the most famous Styrian cribs, at Kallwang, Admont and St. Lambrecht were created. Deteriorations caused the Emperor Josef II to forbid the display of cribs in churches; but the people were so fond of them that the prohibition had to be cancelled 22 years later. From the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the clergy discouraged them and a 'crib industry' took the place of individual artistic creations.

In the preface to *Kultur und Volk* Professor Schmidt stresses the great merits of the octogenarian Viennese G. Gugitz, who relentlessly and systematically explored the religious folklore of his native country. Most of the 25 papers, incorporated in this presentation volume, are linked with Gugitz's special field of study and are of particular concern for Central Europe. R. Bleichsteiner's paper takes us further afield: 'The Divinities associated with the Smallpox and St. Barbara in the Folk beliefs of the Georgians.' His comparative material contains noteworthy references to shamanism and magical ploughing rites. Of importance to all students of religious phenomena is Professor R. Kriss's eye-witness account of the forbidden pilgrimage to Heroldsbach, in which ecstasy and mass emotions are described with rare candour and detachment.

In spite of the title 'Rosaries in Upper Austria,' H. Grünn deals with rosaries in general. References to A. Loch, 'Der Rosenkranz als Rechtssymbol' would have afforded interesting sidelights. H. Grünn's statement that the men used to have rosaries with longitudinal terminal tassels, whereas the women had rosaries with round ends, *i.e.* capsules, should lead to an investigation of English brasses and funeral monuments. E. ETTLINGER

Tradizioni populari in Lucania. *By G. Bronzini. Rome (Montemurro-Matera), 1953. Pp. 329, illus.*

279 With Carlo Levi's book *Christ stopped at Eboli* it became widely known that the South of Italy, isolated for so long, is for folklorists one of the richest fields of work still remaining in Europe. Professor Toschi points out in his lucid preface that a group of students from Rome carried out an investigation there using the latest methods and scientific instruments. But it seems appropriate that a son of Lucania was able to write this lengthy survey of his native country, based upon records of the past and his own findings. Dr. Bronzini might have indicated more clearly when the various customs became extinct; he might also have given the date of the photographs which seem to have been taken at long intervals. But these are minor objections compared with the excellent material to which he has given us access.

Most striking is the survival of a custom introduced by the Longobards, namely, the gift of the bridegroom to his bride on the morning after the nuptials. More archaic perhaps are the marriage rites under the elm tree which have been observed and described by Professor R. Corso, the venerated Nestor of Italian folklore. This rite, nowadays carried out by the gypsies, has been interpreted as a transmission of the generative power from the tree to the young couple. Weird is a custom formerly observed by pregnant women who kissed a hare beneath its tail to prevent their infants from being born hare-lipped.

Less spectacular tradition are equally welcome. Dr. Bronzini gives us badly needed information concerning amulets: the usual time when they were put on a string round the infant's neck in order to protect it against the Evil Eye. Amulets were placed on the bridal bed to ward off evil spirits and to counteract black magic intended to prevent the consummation of the marriage. Patients were richly provided with amulets, chosen according to their illness; but as soon as their death appeared inevitable, these were taken away in order to shorten the agony.

An Appendix deals with the folklore of the Albanians living in Lucania. The glossary of 26 pages should be of great interest to linguists. E. ETTLINGER

More Greek Folktales. *Chosen and translated by R. M. Dawkins. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1955. Pp. viii, 178. Price £1 10s.*

280 Professor Dawkins here gives a number of stories which are either less widely known or more recent than those given in his *Modern Greek Folktales.*

His treatment of them does not always seem satisfactory. Thus of the first story he says that it is an entirely childish story, a real fairy tale told to amuse children. It begins, however, with parents plotting to murder their children, an idea surely calculated to horrify any child. It continues with widespread myth themes such as the pursuit foiled by magic obstacles, and it ends apparently unfinished with the hero, who has been turned into a deer, still in that form.

No. 4A is a Cyclops story which Professor Dawkins apparently supposes to be a survival from pre-Homeric Greece, but the resemblances to the story told in the Odyssey are far too numerous for this to be probable.

No. 19 is a sophisticated tale which Professor Dawkins attributes to a 'rustic philosopher,' but if there is such a person he would hardly set his tale in a royal palace. The peasants of Chios would be even less familiar with royalty than most peasants.

The stories are varied, interesting and well worth publication, but even in these days 30 shillings seems a great deal for so slight a volume. RAGLAN

Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde. *First Part, third Issue. Basel, 1953. Pp. v, 86, 16 maps*

281 Before the answers to the questionnaires were recorded it had not been realized how little is known about the history of various dishes; a discovery which presumably applies to many countries. Regional dishes mostly reflect the characteristic occupations: fishing, cattle-rearing, cheese-making and wine-growing. Quite a few regional dishes are the result of the 'individual creations' of local butchers or bakers; others are formerly popular dishes which have generally been discontinued but survive in certain parts of the country.

In high-lying and particularly dry regions meat is hung up in the attic, occasionally after having been slightly smoked. This meat keeps for may years. In the Wallis it was considered a sign of a wealthy family to possess some old dried ham. The popularity of sausages differs surprisingly. In the homes pigs are usually slaughtered between Christmas and Lent and the butcher who helps is regaled with a fine lunch. On the same evening or the next morning relatives and neighbours are lavishly entertained with 'fresh'

sausages; the guests are, however, expected to return the compliment. In some provinces a share is still sent to the parson and the teacher. Children's Begging Songs for sausages have stopped, but young lads still 'steal' the animal on the eve of its slaughter and parade it through the village before returning it for a ransom to the owner.

The distribution of traditional cold and warm beverages on feast days as well as of different kinds of fried potatoes for breakfast, lunch or supper are also entered on the maps of this latest issue of the Swiss Folklore Atlas. The names of the various dishes and their derivations should be of interest to philologists.

Rather astonishing are the sociological conclusions drawn from smoking, chewing tobacco and snuff. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries only pipes were smoked. Since the eighteen-thirties cigars have been made in Switzerland and since 1870 cigarettes. The chewing of tobacco mainly survives among hard-working labourers and those farmers who frequently handle hay and for whom smoking would be too dangerous. Since 1925 the custom of taking snuff has almost completely disappeared; its last adherents were clergymen, doctors and so-called 'characters.'

E. ETTLINGER

The Nomadism of the Swedish Mountain Lapps. *By Ernst Manker. Acta Lapponica VII. Stockholm (Nordiska Museet), 1953. Pp. 262. Price 75 Swedish Crowns*

282 Once more Dr. Manker has published one of his gorgeous volumes on Lappish (Samish) culture. The volume is provided with beautiful photographs arranged on plates, drawings and coloured maps demonstrating the routes of migration, etc. The main objective of this volume is a most extensive publication of all Same *siidas* in Sweden and their annual migratory cycle. The comprehensive chapter on 'Siidas, Dwelling and Migratory Routes' is therefore schematically arranged according to administrative districts, including a list of any *siida* within the districts, the number of families, persons and reindeer, and a survey of the entire migratory cycle with the distances both of the whole migration and between all residences and shorter resting places. Furthermore the section on each district is provided with general information on the area, the population, reindeer-breeding, residences, and migratory routes. Obviously this part of the book contains a tremendously rich source of valuable information for the specialist, although it also might be of considerable interest to the general reader interested in Lappish nomadism. I wished that information on the relationships within the *siida* had been included too, *e.g.*, whether or to what extent the composition of the *siida* is determined by kinship. This question is referred to in one of the introductory chapters, in fact, but only cursorily and without any documentation except from the two communities studied by Robert N. Pehrson (Chicago) and Ian 'R. Whitaker (Edinburgh). In Finnmark (Kautokeino and Karasjok) the *siida* seems to be an exogamic unit, usually, but not necessarily, based on kinship ties.

The introductory chapters dealing with 'The Concept of Siida,' 'The Administration of the Mountain Lapps,' 'The Underlying Factors of Lappish Nomadism,' 'Residential Practices,' and 'Routes of Migration' are also very useful although they do not pretend to treat the problems in question exhaustively. Dr. Manker refers to a series of definitions of the concept of *siida* given by different authors, But I miss Dr. Asbjörn Nesheim's suggestion that the original meaning of the word was simply the group territory, hunting ground. As far as the political organization is concerned a couple of Norwegian sources from around 1700 mention an officer, *kochstarus*, obviously a sort of assistant to the *sii'da- ised*. This office, known from the Sea-Sames of Finnmark, the Skolte-Sames and from the Finnish Enare-Sames, is even mentioned from the Mountain-Sames of Kautokeino. Hence it would have been of interest to learn whether it is mentioned in Swedish sources (a corresponding political office, by the way, is also known from the Alaska Eskimo). The survey of the underlying factors of the nomadism is a valuable contribution although the problem could certainly have been more thoroughly elaborated. It is, for example, only partly true that 'the Lapps who do not subsist on reindeer-breeding, such as the North Cape Sea and River Lapps, are just as fixed to their shore-land homesteads as any other Scandinavians.' Apart from the fact that the 'River Lapps' live in the interior of Finnmark, the Sea-Sames along the coast have been semi-nomadic until relatively recent times. It would also seem to have been relevant to distinguish between a hunting nomadism with tame reindeer used as decoy and transport animals only, and a reindeer-herding nomadism proper.

Nevertheless, Dr. Manker's volume represents a great achievement upon which he, and all students of Samish (Lappish) culture, should be congratulated.

GUTORM GJESSING

Les Lapons des Montagnes Suédoises. *By Ernst Manker. Paris (Gallimard), 1954. Pp. 289. Price 1,200 francs*

283 A French translation of *De Svenska fjällapparna* by Dr. Manker, published in Swedish in 1947, has now appeared as Vol. XXIV in the series *Géographie Humaine*. With this work the author has in a deserving manner in part satisfied the need for an up-to-date, popular survey of Lappish culture.

The work relates to the Swedish mountain Lapps, but it is treated so broadly that it extends far beyond the frontiers of Sweden. The writer has managed to include a lot of general information about Lappish culture, and in addition some important features from the Lappish communities in other countries.

The presentation in the first two chapters is particularly comprehensive, dealing with the earliest historical and archæological material. The dry archæological facts are enlivened by a discussion on the migrations of the Lapps to Scandinavia. This epoch in the development of Lappish culture has been given a relatively wide space, but as the origin of the Lapps has represented a fundamental problem, on which many theories have been advanced, there was a special need here for light on the subject.

In the chapters 'Race and Temperament,' 'Language' and 'Number, dispersion and administrative division' the author deals with the people themselves. The chapter on language by Bo Wickman could perhaps have been placed more appropriately under the main section 'Intellectual Culture.'

In a short but perspicuous chapter, the people and their culture are brought into relation to the natural conditions, and the differentiation which these have caused is shown.

The following treatment of the economic activities is naturally dominated by reindeer-breeding. After an exhaustive but lucid account of the natural basis of economic activities, the author describes reindeer-breeding and the cultural elements which it has brought. He ends the chapter by a statement of the chief theories respecting the origin and course of the activity.

The chapter 'Hunting and Trapping' is undoubtedly a positive feature in the account, as it makes more comprehensive and creates a better foundation for the understanding both of the transitional forms and of mountain Lappish culture itself.

The material culture is also described in the chapters on 'Migration routes and modes of travel,' 'Encampments and dwelling places,' 'Handicraft,' 'Costume,' 'Food and Drink.' The presentation is marked by great detailed knowledge. The descriptions are short and precise, and the delineation of objects and conditions stands out clearly because the characteristic features are drawn with great sureness.

It might perhaps be objected that the second main section of the book, 'Intellectual culture,' is not sufficiently amplified by comparison with the section on 'Material culture.' But in a survey of this kind the treatment of the intellectual culture must necessarily be of a more general character. A more exhaustive presentation would presumably have exceeded the scope of the work and have been more appropriate in a general exposition of Lappish culture as a whole.

A detailed description of all the Swedish Lapp villages, *siidak*, present in the Swedish edition, has been omitted in the French. It has, however, been included in Manker's *The Nomadism of the Swedish Mountain Lapps* (*Acta Lapponica*, Stockholm, 1954).

Apart from this no essential part of the original text has been omitted, but the copious illustrations in the Swedish edition, which excited such admiration, have been severely cut down. Of 217 photographs in the original, only 49 are reproduced here, and these compressed into 16 plates. But a still more serious defect is that the

reproductions are so poor; the paper on which they are printed is altogether unsuitable for the purpose. It is a pity that the publishers have been unwilling to bear the extra expense which a finer quality paper would have involved.

Les Lapons des Montagnes Suédoises is a very praiseworthy undertaking. It will open the way for a far wider circle of readers to gain knowledge of Lappish culture, a great need which it will take a long time to satisfy. Ø. VORREN

OCEANIA

Die Soziale Organisation in Mikronesien. *By Bernhard Stillfried. Inst. für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien, Acta Ethnologica et Linguistica No. 4. Vienna (Herold), 1953. Offset from typescript. Pp. iv, 132*

284 This is a survey account drawn up according to the classical principles of the *Kulturkreislehre*. The distribution of such stereotyped categories as *Mutterrecht*, *Totemismus*, *Dualsystem* and *Männerhäuser* is duly noted. For English readers the book will have very limited value. Practically all the recent work on this area, and it is very substantial, has been carried out by American anthropologists and is readily available in its original form. As was to be expected, the book contains an extensive bibliography which is strong on the early German sources. But the bibliography stops at 1950 and since that date there have been a large number of highly important publications, some of which certainly call for a rather radical redrafting of certain sections of this book. Those who are interested in the logical validity of Culture History reconstructions may find it instructive to compare the inferences arrived at here with those put forward by Goodenough in the *American Anthropologist*, January, 1955. E. R. LEACH

CORRESPONDENCE

'The South Seas in Transition.' *Cf.* MAN, 1940, 40, 178

285 SIR,—To adapt Robbins's well-worn definition, 'economizing time' means relating time (which is limited and has alternative uses) to ends. The process involves numerous choices, such as that between doing something now and putting it off; or between doing something that obliges kinsfolk and doing something that is in other ways more satisfying to the actor. It if were true that Melanesians discounted the future more than we do or that they consistently made their choice to oblige kinsfolk, one accurate generalization would be that they solved the problem of economizing time in these ways rather than in others. In Dr. Stanner's apt phrase, there is implicit economy. This is a universal aspect of human behaviour.

I fully agree with Dr. Stanner that the bearing of what he calls 'cognitive economy' upon implicit economy is important; so important that he would have been justified in making the terminological distinction in his book. But a fully cognitive economy, as demonstrated by an increasing number of empirical studies exists only in the imagination of economists and in the direction of a few firms which employ economists. Nor do the Melanesians exist at the opposite pole, a non-cognitive economy. It is not necessary for me to cite references from the literature, well-known to Dr. Stanner, to illustrate examples of productive and distributive institutions which imply lengthy, detailed and accurate planning—cognitive economizing of time. And although rewards and penalties may not (on one reading) be systematic, they are certainly present. There are nearly always significant limits, for instance, to the degree to which an idle Melanesian can live from the resources of friends and relatives. It would be interesting to trace the operations of marginal evaluation in the mind of such a person who realizes that his welcome is wearing thin, and in the mind of the host, who deliberates at what stage to revolt against the imposition.

Dr. Stanner's phrase 'unnecessary . . . progressively to provide capital' is again confusing. Quite apart from ambiguities which surround the word 'progressively,' Dr. Stanner's point and his subsequent explanation of it are not clear when related to the facts. This may partly explain his recourse to the idea of 'true progressiveness' when he discards the evidence of garden 'surpluses' (a misleading word) and the accumulation of exchange media (to say nothing of polygyny, pig herds, and possibly slavery and political domination).

The difficulty is partially resolved by distinguishing between (*a*) accumulation by individuals in their lifetime, and (*b*) the balance between capital production and capital depreciation which is society's rate of capital growth or decline. There is a great deal of personal capital building, including the amassing of stocks, in Melanesia. In some Melanesian cultures there are, it is true, inheritance institutions or inter-personal jealousies which, in the first case, limit the possibilities of continuous accumulation, and, in the second, limit the degree to which individuals, *in respect of certain commodities*, can get ahead of their fellows—a very different statement from the assertion that none of them do or want to accumulate capital. And it seems to me that the limited accumulation of Melanesians should not be laid at the door of the system of values and human relationships. It should rather be traced to the limited technology and to the absence of substantial durable goods without which accumulation must be restricted to the output of the contemporary generation.

Elementary though these propositions are, they assume importance because Dr. Stanner links them with a presumed inability of Melanesian society to 'develop' or 'progress.' If this meant only that numerous alterations in viewpoint and in some institutions are a necessary condition of growth in economic complexity and capital accumulation, Dr. Stanner and I would be in substantial agreement. But, to quote from his book, Dr. Stanner goes much further than this. On page 8 he says, 'They are not really "peasant" systems and not really "economic" systems, and cannot "change" into qualitatively different types without a violent discontinuity with the past.' And on page 12, 'To ask for the simple "modernizing" of such an ideological and social system, without intermediate chaos, is to ask for the moon.'

If these statements were not so strong and uncompromising, and not so fundamentally linked (as his rebuttal of my review makes plain) with misconceptions of the points at issue in this notice, I would have sympathy with them. But in fact, a great deal of culture change in Melanesia takes on its character because the people must allocate their time between alternative uses. They cannot be printing compositors in Port Moresby and continue to operate cumbersome trading canoes in search of sago; they can, up to a point, work copra or build vessels for sale, and continue to participate in ceremonial exchanges (often highly inflated). Economic growth, an aspect of cultural change, is sometimes violent; more usually it is slow; in most cases it is non-chaotic and continuous, since it proceeds on the basis of individuals economizing time in various describable ways, but in respect of new values and new resources. Similarly, individuals continue to accumulate. Occasionally they learn to accumulate in new ways. Quite often, they accumulate new things, which (like money or machinery) carry implications of further change. These propositions do *not* lead to the conclusion that change is unilinear. But they do suggest that the transformation of culture is a descriptively continuous process about which sensible generalizations can be made.

University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. CYRIL S. BELSHAW

The Tiv. *Cf.* MAN, 1954, 189

286 SIR,—In the review of the pamphlet which my wife and I did on the Tiv of Nigeria for the *Ethnographic Survey of Africa*, your reviewer states that the Tiv are the largest tribe in Northern Nigeria. The correct statement is that the Tiv are the largest pagan tribe—there are, of course, several Muhammedan peoples who far outnumber them.

Mumias, Nyanza Province, Kenya PAUL BOHANNAN

A BUSHMAN-EUROPEAN HYBRID FAMILY

Female line through three generations. Naron Bushwoman (top); her daughter by a European (centre); daughter of this Bush-European hybrid by another European male

ON A BUSHMAN-EUROPEAN HYBRID FAMILY*

by

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Introduction

287 In his comments on the U.N.E.S.C.O. Statement on Race, Professor F. Lenz[1], of the Institut für Menschliche Erblehre at the University of Göttingen, declares:

> As far as I am aware, neither African pygmies nor Bushmen interbreed with Negroes or with Europeans; thus, owing to their natural instincts and their habits, they are physiologically isolated.

This assertion has prompted me to place on record data on interracial hybridization between Bushmen and other races, collected in September, 1951, during my participation as physical anthropologist in the French Panhard-Capricorn Expedition. Not only did I encounter examples of Bushman-Negro and Bushman-European unions, but I was enabled to make detailed measurements on some members of one such hybrid family.

Both Wells's study of a Hottentot-Bushman hybrid[2] and Trevor's studies of hybrid populations[3, 4] were confined to metrical features. In the present study, I have attempted to combine this approach with an investigation of non-metrical features such as hair form and eye folds. Part of the object here is to suggest the mode of inheritance of some non-metrical features in hybrid crosses.

Sandfontein is a Bechuanaland Police post on the South-West African frontier some 80 miles from Gobabis, the nearest town. From Sandfontein, a farm track runs eastwards for 120 miles to the District Commissioner's headquarters at Ghanzi, 200 miles south of the main Ngamiland village of Maun. The Sandfontein-Ghanzi road coincides approximately with the boundary between the territories of two Bushman tribes. To the north-west lies Dorothy Bleek's Northern Group of Bushman tribes, represented here by the /Kau//en or Auen, while to the east and south, live the Central Group, represented here by the //aikwe or Naron tribe. Along the boundary is an interrupted line of cattle ranches owned mainly by Bastards and by Europeans. Many Bushmen live on these farms, where they are employed as herdsmen. Both Auen and Naron Bushmen are often found living on the same farm. Indeed, to such an extent has the traditional enmity of the two neighbouring tribes disappeared along the marginal zone, that a number of mixed Naron-Auen families were encountered.

A study (to be reported elsewhere) was made of the physical features of 51 individuals. Of these, two were the offspring of interracial unions, while the remaining 49 were the progeny of Bushman-Bushwoman matings. One female of the 49 'pure' Bushmen (No. 14) was married to a Bakalahari, a member of a nomadic Sechwana-speaking tribe belonging to the Bachwana or Western Sotho Group of the Southern Bantu. At the time of my visit, no children had yet been borne by the young wife. Another Bushman (No. 58), was married to the son of a Bushman-European union (No. 59—not available for study), but there were at that time no children.

Of the two interracial hybrids, one is the daughter of a European male and a Bushwoman, while the other is the daughter of this hybrid and another European male. The family interrelations are shown in fig. 1 (white symbols

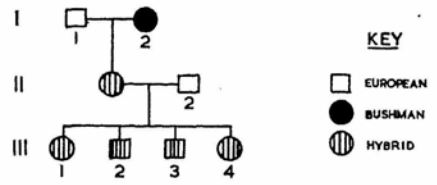

FIG. 1. PEDIGREE OF BUSHMAN-EUROPEAN HYBRID FAMILY

represent Europeans, black symbols Bushmen, cross-hatched symbols interracial hybrids). The only available members of this family were I.2, II.1, II.2 and III.4. These individuals are shown in the accompanying photographs.

A daughter (II.1) was born to a Naron Bushwoman (I.2) by a European (Dutch) (I.1). This hybrid daughter, whose general appearance is 'coloured,' has presented another European (II.2) with two girls and two boys, of whom the younger son, at an early age, died of the bite of a button spider. Of the remaining children, III.1, I was informed by reliable witnesses, looks European; III.2 looks Coloured; while III.4 I found to resemble a European child strongly. The union which produced the youngest generation may be likened to a back-cross, the F_1 progeny mating with the *type* of one of the parents. Under those conditions, some of the characters which are recessive in a Bushman-European cross might emerge in some of the F_2 progeny.

A detailed study was made of the three females, I.2, II.1 and III.4, *i.e.* the Naron grandmother, the Bush-European mother and her hybrid daughter.

Measurements

I.2. (=*No. 62 in field records*): The Naron grandmother is fairly typical of the Naron adult females studied. All of her 19 measurements fall within the mean $\pm 1{\cdot}75$ S.D. of a group of 7 Naron adult Bushwomen measured by me; in fact, 13 of the 19 dimensions fall within 1 S.D. of the mean for this group (Table 1). Unfortunately, no trace could be found of her European (Dutch) husband.

II.1. (=*No. 64*): the daughter of this cross shows features intermediate between those of a Bushwoman and of a European. Her stature is 111 millimetres ($4\frac{3}{8}$ inches) taller than that of her mother (fig. 2): over half of this increased height is in the lower limbs, the tip of the greater trochanter standing 63·5 millimetres ($2\frac{1}{2}$ inches) higher in the hybrid

* *With Plate L and three text figures. Read at the Annual Congress of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, Bloemfontein, July, 1954*

TABLE I. DIMENSIONS AND INDICES OF BUSHMAN-EUROPEAN HYBRID FAMILY

Dimension or Index	*Naron Females:* (7)	*Bush Grandmother:* I.2	*Eur.-Bush Hybrid:* II.1	*Hybrid Child:* III.4	*Dutch Females:* (60)
Cephalic Length	180·0±1·86	182·0	182·0	167·0	185·2±0·40
Cephalic Breadth	136·6±1·59	136·5	138·5	131·0	148·2±0·36
Auricular Height	129·7±3·48	133·3	133·3	120·7	—
Min. Frontal Br.	100·3±1·44	102·0	103·0	94·5	117·4±0·62
Bizygomatic Br.	123·1±1·57	123·0	130·0	104·0	133·7±0·50
Bigonial Br.	88·2±1·41	83·0	92·0	74·0	103·4±0·55
Facial Height	100·3±1·96	105·5	114·0	87·1	113·3±0·57
Upper Facial Ht.	60·9±1·37	61·7	67·1	46·5	—
Interocular Br.	36·2±1·47	38·7	34·1	31·0	35·1±0·31
Biocular Br.	92·8±1·61	88·3	90·5	78·6	96·3±0·46
Nasal Length	44·7±1·01	46·4	53·7	38·5	51·9±0·39
Nasal Br.	39·7±0·76	40·0	33·1	26·8	32·7±0·31
Nasal Depth	16·4±0·68	15·5	17·6	14·5	—
Ear Length	50·9±1·54	50·2	56·0	51·4	62·5±1·21
Ear Br.	26·5±0·72	25·0	28·9 (L.), 30·7 (R.)	31·2	33·8±0·28
Stature	149·0±1·78	152·4	163·5	92·4	161·8±0·53
Iliac Cristal Ht.	88·5±1·15	94·6	102·9	50·8	—
Leg Length (Troch.)	73·7±1·38	78·1	85·1	40·6	—
Arm Length	62·4±0·75	61·3	66·4	40·7	71·0±0·41
Cephalic Index	75·9±0·98	75·0	76·1	78·4	80·1±0·23
Auricular Ht. I.	72·1±1·55	73·3	73·3	72·3	—
Fronto-parietal I.	73·4±1·25	74·7	74·4	72·1	—
Nasal I. (Br./L.)	88·9±2·21	86·2	61·6	69·6	63·4±0·83
Nasal I. (D./L.)	38·0±1·80	33·4	32·8	37·7	—
Interocular/Biocular I	39·0±1·29	43·8	37·7	39·4	—
Facial Index	81·5±1·57	85·8	87·7	83·8	84·5±0·59
Upper Facial I.	49·5±1·21	50·1	51·6	44·7	—
Ear Index	52·3±1·78	49·8	51·6 (L.), 54·8 (R.)	60·7	53·3±0·60
Fronto-Bizygomatic I.	81·5±1·07	82·9	79·2	90·9	—
Bigonio-Frontal I.	88·0±1·47	81·4	89·3	78·3	—
Bigonio-Bizygomatic I	71·7±0·93	67·5	70·8	71·2	—
Facio-Ceph. Br. I.	90·1±1·03	90·1	93·9	79·4	—
Facio-Ceph. L. I.	55·8±1·12	58·0	62·6	52·2	—
Upper Facio-Ceph. L. I.	33·9±0·62	33·9	36·9	27·8	—
Facial Length I.	60·9±1·15	58·5	58·9	53·4	—
Arm Length I.	41·9±0·48	40·2	40·6	44·1	—
Leg Length I. (Troch.)	49·5±0·62	51·3	52·0	43·9	—
Cristal Ht. I.	60·2±0·55	62·1	62·9	55·0	—
Intermembral I.	84·9±1·44	78·5	78·0	100·3	—

daughter than in the Bush mother. Above the trochanter, there is a difference in height of only 47·5 millimetres ($1\frac{7}{8}$ inches), distributed between the trochanters and tragion. Above tragion, there is no further difference in height, the auricular height being the same in both.

There is a remarkable similarity in the absolute cephalic dimensions of the Bush mother and the hybrid daughter. In the face, however, marked differences emerge, the hybrid having an absolutely longer and wider face. Despite the greater breadth of the face, the hybrid has more closely-set eyes, and a higher and narrower nose.

III.4. (=*No.* 65): The youngest generation has resulted from a cross between the Bush-European hybrid and an (English) European. Of the three living children of this union, only the youngest, a three-year-old girl (III.4) was available for measurement (Table I).

The measurements of the Bush grandmother and her hybrid daughter may be considered in relation to the range of variation of a small group of Naron women and of a group of Dutch women measured by Steggerda.[5] In the case of the hybrid grandchild, only the indices have been compared.

In 8 out of 20 dimensions, II.1 differs from the Naron mean by 2·5 or more standard deviations and may therefore be regarded as differing significantly from the Naron in these measurements. The most marked differences are in nasal height (+5·11 S.D.'s), stature (+5·11 S.D.'s), cristal height (+4·14 S.D.'s) and leg length (+3·37 S.D.'s). The other significantly greater dimensions of II.1 are ear breadth (right), total facial height and upper facial height, while the nasal breadth is 3·28 S.D.'s smaller than that of the Narons.

In relation to Steggerda's figures for 60 Dutch women, in only 2 out of 16 dimensions does II.1 differ from the Dutch mean by 2·5 or more S.D.'s. These two dimensions are the minimum frontal breadth which is significantly less than the Dutch mean (−2·74 S.D.'s) and the bigonial breadth which is just significantly smaller than the Dutch mean (−2·47 S.D.'s).

In her dimensions, II.1 is more closely related to Dutch women than to Naron women and has thus inherited a tendency towards the measurements of her European father rather than those of her Bush mother.

Nine out of 21 indices of the child, III.4, differ significantly from those of the Naron, the most striking being the nasal index (+4·85 S.D.'s). The other significant differences reflect the wide forehead, unexpanded maxillæ and short legs of a young child. Only four indices are available for comparison in Steggerda's series of Dutch women; in none of these does the hybrid child differ significantly from the Dutch women.

FIG. 2. ENGLISH-EUROPEAN WITH HIS DAUGHTER BY A BUSH-EUROPEAN HYBRID

square and lobeless, as is typical of most Bushmen. The 1st hybrid (II.1) has a larger ear, rather intermediate in form between a square and a pyrifom shape, yet still without a lobe. The 2nd hybrid (III.4) has big ears, unlike the Bush type, set at an angle to her head and possessing a definite lobe. Dominant inheritance of lobelessness is suggested.

Eye folds are present in the Bush grandmother as well as in the hybrid mother and daughter. The fold is apparently

FIG. 3. THREE GENERATIONS OF FEMALES

Naron Bushwoman (left); Bush-European hybrid daughter (centre); daughter of the latter by another European (right). Note the contrasting stature of the mother and hybrid daughter.

Non-Metrical Features

Hair. In the hybrid mother, II.1, the hair is dark brown, long, wavy and of silken texture. There is no trace of the peppercorns present on her mother's head. Hair is moderately profuse on the head, eylashes and eyebrows, arms and legs, in contrast with her mother's relative hairlessness. The hybrid child, III.4, has long, wavy, golden-brown hair and moderately profuse hair on her arms and legs.

Eyes and skin. II.1 has brown eyes, creamy white conjunctivæ and light skin (Table II); III.4 has light brown

TABLE II. SKIN COLOUR ON THE VON LUSCHAN SCALE

	Face	*Arm*
Naron females (7)	6–28	22–29
Naron grandmother (I.2)	6–20	23–24
1st hybrid (II.1)	5–6	4
2nd hybrid (III.4)	4	7–8

eyes, blue-white conjunctivæ and very fair skin. The conjunctivæ of the Bush grandmother are dirty white, her eyes brown, as in most Bushmen.

Ear type. The ear of the Bush grandmother is small,

inherited as a dominant trait in these crosses, as it is in a pedigree of Taaibosch Korana.[6]

The nose. The bridge of the nose in both hybrids is high, in contrast with the flat bridge of I.2. On the other hand, the tip of the nose in hybrid II.1 is rather bulbous, like that of her Bush mother—the type ascribed by Dart[7] to his Boskop type of Southern Bushman.

Bossing. In skull bossing, the Bush grandmother has fœtal frontal and parietal bossing, imparting an acutely pentagonoid contour to her head; the F1 hybrid (II.1) has juvenile bossing and a resulting ovoid form; while the young hybrid (III.4) has fœtal to juvenile bossing: her head is thus only obtusely pentagonoid, despite her young age, so that it might be expected she would become at least ovoid by adulthood.

Body build. This shows a striking contrast: the Bushwoman (I.2) is asthenic like most Bushmen, whereas her hybrid daughter is hypersthenic in build; the hypersthenic potentiality thus predominates over the asthenic tendency. Because of her build, it is difficult to decide whether II.1 has true steatopygia or simply fat buttocks.

Discussion

The hybrid daughter (II.1) resembles her mother's Bush people in the dimensions of her cranium, in binocular and bigonial breadth. On the other hand, she resembles her father's Caucasoid people in her facial and bodily dimensions.

The non-metrical features which distinguish the Bushman from the European fall into several categories in this hybrid family:

A Features present in bush mother but not in hybrid daughter:	Yellowish-brown skin Peppercorn hair Black hair Hairlessness of face and body Flat nasal bridge Fœtal skull bossing Asthenic body build	
B Features present in bush mother and in hybrid daughter:	Lobeless ear Bulbous nose tip Eye fold	*Present in hybrid child*
C Features presumed present in European father but absent from hybrid daughter:	Lobed ear Non-bulbous nose tip	*Present in hybrid child*
D Features presumed present in European father and present in hybrid daughter:	Light skin Long, wavy hair Brown (lighter) hair Hairiness of face and body High nasal bridge Juvenile to adult bossing Hypersthenic body build	*Present in hybrid child*

The features under *A* and *C* are seemingly recessive in this family, those under *B* and *D* dominant. Trevor[4] has rightly sounded a warning against the assumption that a knowledge of the mechanism of inheritance in particular family lines, justifies its prediction for a population comprising a large number of such family lines. As he points out:

> The validity of this view will differ in the case of the more familiar of the blood-group systems, where the mode of individual inheritance is relatively simple, and in that of anthropometric characters (measurements of the body and its segments, of the head, and so on), which are decidedly more complex owing to their multifactorial nature.

When dealing with non-metrical morphological features, one is concerned with differences which are not mainly matters of relative proportion. Such differences seem to be inherited by a comparatively simple mechanism, compared with the complexity of the hereditary mechanism in metrical features, in which mainly the relative proportions vary. Some at least of the non-metrical features discussed here, such as the presence or absence of an eye fold, of an ear lobe, of a peppercorn arrangement of head hair, may be inherited by mechanisms fully as simple as those governing the inheritance of blood groups. Were this so, one could confidently predict mechanisms among populations, given the mode of inheritance of these non-metrical features in isolated families. Before we can take this step, however, a number of detailed family histories like the present one are required, in order to determine whether the non-metrical features behave consistently in families. Only then will we dispose of a basis for prediction from families to populations.

The 'back-cross' child, III.4, might be expected to combine some dominant and recessive features in her make-up; she has, in fact, all the presumed dominant features and two recessive features of the European grandfather, one dominant feature (eye fold) and no recessive features of the Bush grandmother. Most of the European features thus segregate out in this female child. It is of interest that the male grandchild, according to reliable informants, has more Bush features in his phenotype, while the other female grandchild resembles her sister in possessing mainly European features. This apparent sex difference in the segregation of racial features is difficult to explain on current genetical concepts. Yet, sex differences in the expression of physical type in man have been reported by Dart[7] and Galloway[8] in Bushmen and Ambo, while Wells[9] has drawn attention to similar conclusions drawn by Males[10] in a study of Balkan populations. Stojanowsky[11] has demonstrated a similar sex-differential incidence of physical types in a Polish population. Further family studies of the present variety would undoubtedly throw light on this curious phenomenon.

Acknowledgement

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Abstract

In his comments on the U.N.E.S.C.O. Statement on Race, Professor F. Lenz declares: 'As far as I am aware, neither African pygmies nor Bushmen interbreed with Negroes or with Europeans; thus, owing to their natural instincts and their habits, they are physiologically isolated.' This has prompted the author to record cases of interracial hybridization between Bushmen and Europeans and between Bushmen and Negroes, and a brief description of one such Bushman-European hybrid family in the Kalahari. Attention is given to the inheritance of non-metrical features, *e.g.* hair-form and eye-folds and to the influence of sex in the expression of physical type.

Notes

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POHUNG AND *MATAKAU*: SCARING CHARMS IN THE BATAKLANDS AND THE MOLUCCAS*

by

G. L. TICHELMAN

Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam

288 In one of the show cases of the Tropical Museum at Amsterdam is exhibited a *pohung* of the Bataklands, an exceedingly primitive wooden image (*ganaganaän*), little more than a stub of wood on which a face has been clumsily carved out. A pair of roughly cut, monstrously big hands have been nailed to the stump. The manikin wears a coloured piece of cotton by way of head dress; a rag is wrapped around the part representing the body, and a piece of matting is used as a loin cloth (*sarong*).

An old Batak of Lumban Sitapongan, district Oonte Mungkur (Muara Toba) supplied us with some very valuable information about the effect and significance of the *pohung*, which is still in general use among the tribes in the Batak country (Northern Sumatra), and is considered particularly effective for safeguarding the standing crops. The Batak has a *pohung* (or *ganaganaän*) made by a learned priest (*datu*) as a scaring charm, a taboo sign and warning that nobody dare take a single leaf or fruit out of his plantation.

In peacetime the *pohung tu suasuanan, pangingan ni pantangan* scares thieves away from plantations, and in wartime it serves to repel an enemy's attack on the *datu's* (sorcerer's) hut (*pantangan*).

In order to make a *pohung* all kinds of *pangulubalang* soil, loam etc. (*pangulubalang* here means a spell to cause damage to the enemy) are collected, and are mixed together in a mortar. From this soil mixture a figure is kneaded, sitting on its haunches. When it has been dried in the sun, the *datu* paints all kinds of characters and taboo signs on it, the paint being concocted out of the magic mash. The manikin is then clothed in *bira* leaves, the big leaves of a tuberose plant and the tendrils of the creeper *baliang*. Next the oracular cock is consulted and the *pohung* is 'fed.' After a special incantation has been uttered, the *pohung* is installed in the plantation that has to be protected, either in front of the *datu's* (sorcerer's) hut, or under the roof of the *raja's* abode.

In the Batak country people generally believe in the efficiency and power of the *pohung* to bring about bewitchment through an image. Belief in the power of wishing is preconceived; the identity of wish and reality is accepted. The image is thought capable of causing serious illnesses or complaints, such as gangrene, footsores, (a symptom of framboesia), mental disorder, and temporary or permanent paralysis of one or more limbs, or of the whole body. Paralysis, for instance, can be instantaneous, so that a thief is unable to leave the scene of his crime and the owner of the plantation can arrest the thief on the spot. In its most virulent form, the *pohung* may even cause death. The grade of its influence depends upon its magic potency. To the owner of the protected crops the *pohung* causes no harm.

* *With three text figures*

As already mentioned, the scaring charm is made by a *datu* who is particularly skilled in this work. He will make such an image only at the special request of the owner of the plantation who calls in his highly esteemed aid. Sometimes the *datu* has actually to be begged to grant his help.

FIG. 1. A 'POHUNG' FROM THE BATAKLANDS
Collection of the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam

The *pohung* are mostly made of an inferior kind of wood in which something like a human mask is roughly carved. Less frequently, clumsy stone images are used for the protection of crops against theft. Somewhere about the navel or loin level of the *pohung* a hole is made into which is inserted the substance called *pupuk*. This is a magic mash or paste concocted out of several, sometimes loathsome, ingredients. The hole is closed with a wooden plug to prevent

the magic mash from being washed away by the rains. The manikin is wrapped in a worn piece of cotton, any rag serving the purpose. Often a 'coiffure' made of leaves or grasses is fixed to the head, and finally the body is wrapped in a worn piece of matting. Evidently very little care is bestowed on its outward appearance. The *datu* then utters the incantation dictated for a *pohung*. The efficiency of the *pohung* is thus ensured through the intervention of the *datu*,

FIG. 2. THE HEAD OF A VILLAGE IN WEST CERAM PUTTING UP A 'MATAKAU'

by the application of the combination: (1) image or effigy in whatever shape and from whatever material made; (2) the animating stuff, *pupuk*; (3) the formula, the incantation. According to some *datu*, the *pohung* must also have a knife made of a bit of wood or bamboo. This weapon is locked away by the owner of the *pohung* in his house.

When the crops for the protection of which the image has served have been harvested, the *pohung* may be kept for another occasion without any further treatment by the *datu*. It may even be used several times. But the person who is about to instal the *pohung* 'prepared' by the *datu* in his plantation, is not allowed to do so casually—he must make his intentions explicitly and generally known by the following announcement: 'I hereby notify everybody that a *pohung* has been installed at... So beware that no harm befall you through its potency.'

After this general announcement the owner of the plantation takes his *pohung* to the fields for which he needs protection and fixes the charm on to a tall bamboo or wooden pole so that all approaching the neighbourhood can see it. Finally he exhorts the image to guard the plantation faithfully. He can then go home with no further need to worry.

The *pohung* may be likened to a *pangulubalang* for the crops. *Pangulubalang* in this sense is an image, either of stone or of wood or in the form of a drawing which, by means of witchcraft, is meant to act as a 'champion' either for aggressive or defensive purposes. The points of resemblance are indeed striking, the primitive image made by a *datu*, with the magic mash deposited in it, serving repeatedly as a prohibitive or punitive charm. Charms such as those described here occur throughout Indonesia.

FIG. 3. A 'MATAKAU' IN A MINIATURE HOUSE

The palm leaves wrapped around the stem of a coconut palm indicate that it is forbidden to touch or violate the fruits. This is known as salele.

The *pohung* only harms persons consciously guilty of stealing or damaging crops from a protected plantation. The so-called *penchuri raja* or *tangko tangko raja* is not included. Whoever takes fruit or vegetables according to this code of hospitality will not be harmed by the *pohung*. *Tangko tangko raja*, according to Batak *adat*, allows any hungry person passing the plantation to pick fruit or vegetables in order to alleviate his immediate need; *e.g.* he may take one to four or five corncobs, a moderate quantity. As a rule, the cobs are roasted and eaten on the spot as a 'medicine' against hunger. Food acquired in this way must never be sold. A person is also allowed to dig up some four or five onions and take them away to start a garden of his

own. No offence is meant by this appropriation and if the owner of the garden is met later on, he must be told that a little bit of his crop has been taken; or somebody else can be asked to tell him. The owner must never take this amiss.

It is dangerous to make an imitation *pohung* (*pohung tirutiruan*) intended only to frighten people. For there are *pohung* called *pohung simadangadang*, which are able to move and slink around. The potency of this kind of *pohung* may enter into the *pohung tirutiruan*, turn upon its maker and bring him bad luck. That is why no one will construct a pseudo-*pohung*.

The *pohung* shows great similarity to the *matakau* (*mata aku*?=my eye) which is found all through the eastern part of the archipelago. In the very extensive literature on this subject *matakau* is often translated 'red eye,' corresponding in meaning to the so-called 'evil eye.'

The view taken by Mr. van Dissel, at one time an officer in the Civil Service in Indonesia, who regarded the *matakau* or *kèra kèra* of the Papuans of New Guinea as a materialized representative, seems, however, more to the point.

The *matakau* of the Moluccas are placed especially in plantations and near fruit trees. Some of them are in the shape of animals (snake, tiger, crocodile), weapons (arrow, lance, axe) or are puppets made of *gamutu* (arenga-palm fibre), causing the death of anyone who lays hands on another man's property. The *matakau* may also be shaped like a fruit, which kills the thief when he eats it. Thus a *matakau* is set up in order to prevent theft or to compel the thief to give back the thing stolen. The destructive power of animal, weapon, or fruit represented by the *matakau*, will destroy the criminal. What makes the *matakau* into a fetish is the fact that it acts like a living being, punishing the thief but causing no harm either to the owner of a plantation or to his orchard.

Some of the types of *matakau* are: fire, coffin, devil, crocodile, frog, pig, leprosy, gonorrhœa, insanity, stabbing, paunch, stone-bearing, eggplant *matakau* and so on. A rather mild type is the *matakau kodok* (frog), which causes an uninterrupted series of sounds like the croaking of a frog in the culprit's pants or loin cloth. As appears from these names, real calamities are called down on the head of the offender. Sometimes the *matakau* is erected under a diminutive awning and it must never be forgotten to whisper into its ear some kind of agreement (*perjanjian*), generally a fearful threat intended for an eventual wrong-doer.

The *kauwakit* of Buru (South Moluccas) corresponds entirely to what is called *matakau* in the Malayan dialect of the Moluccas. Among the Alifuru of Buru it generally comes to this: that the effigy of some animal, usually a crocodile, either made of *gaba-gaba* (the central rib of the sago-palm leaf), or carved out of wood, is tied to the object that needs protection. Accompanied by certain ceremonies a formula is pronounced whereby whoever makes bold to lay hands on the object will be devoured by a crocodile.

Among the Galelarese of Halmahera (Northern Moluccas) the *matakau* is generally made out of sticks and leaves with spears stuck into them, or with a wooden hammer tied on. Fearing the effect of the *matakau*, a Galelarese will not dare to steal. Should he do so, then the sorcerer pierces the *matakau* with a spear or crushes it with a hammer, thus intending to hit the guilty man's spirit or soul, and soon after this the man will die.

Such taboo signs threatening the offender with serious illness or an incurable disease are made use of not only throughout Indonesia, New Guinea and the South Moluccas, but also on the islands in the Pacific, in Cape Colony, in Surinam, in the Russian Baltic provinces and in Ireland.

In the absence of proper police supervision in primitive society, the measures described have a first-rate preventive effect.

SHORTER NOTES

A Zande Slang Language. *By Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford*

289 My esteemed friend Major P. M. Larken wrote in 1926 ('An Account of the Zande,' *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. IX, p. 24) that the ruling aristocracy, the Avungara, 'had a language of their own, which they kept very secret. They used it when they did not wish their conversation to be understood by any who might overhear it. Were it possible to obtain information about this language, doubtless the difficulty of tracing the cradle of this exceptionally interesting race would vanish. It is, however, in the highest degree unlikely that it will ever become known through researches undertaken in the Sudan, for the last few Vungara who know the dialect will soon die out, and they guard their secret tenaciously. It is to Congo ethnologists that the solution of the problem may be still given.'

I have always found it difficult to accept the possibility of such a language because, among other reasons, adult Avungara for the most part live isolated from each other, and in so far as they have secret converse it is with commoner subjects rather than among themselves. I think it is not unlikely that what might have been described as a Vungara tongue by commoners was the language spoken at court by the young sons of kings and princes. This language was similar to what we call thieves' slang. I do not know whether it was spoken at courts throughout Zandeland or only where I heard it myself, in the old kingdom of Gbudwe; nor can I say for certain whether it had any antiquity or was a recent invention. When I was in Zandeland it was spoken at the courts of some of the more powerful princes, especially at the court of Rikita, son of Gbudwe. The many sons of the many wives of a prince had few duties and could devote their leisure to pastimes. One of their amusements was to talk the Zande language backwards, a slang they called *ngawani*. It is true that this enabled them to poke fun at commoners who visited court, which a prince's children liked to do when their father was not present, but their slang was not used for serious purposes and knowledge of it was not restricted to children of the aristocratic clan because commoner pages brought up among them at court could also follow what was said in it. It had no other purpose than play, though perhaps play intended also to exhibit aristocratic superiority, and sometimes with a touch of malice. The children of Rikita, at whose court I

mostly heard this slang spoken, conversed in it with such speed that what they said was incomprehensible to me and, ordinary commoners have told me, very largely to them. Commoners knew what it was, their own language spoken backwards, and I suppose that had they tried to listen to it with care they could soon have followed it easily. They regarded it, however, as a game of princes' sons and one of their little jokes at the expense of themselves of which it was wiser and more dignified to take no notice. It should be noted, however, that princes' sons chatted also to each other in their slang when there were no commoners present and there could therefore have been no intention of deceiving or poking fun at them. As it is possible, indeed likely, that this language has disappeared today, some record of it should be preserved, for a slang language of this kind must be very rare in Africa. The examples I give were taken down from Ayani, son of Rikita, who spoke it fluently.

When a Zande word has two syllables, each comprising a consonantal and a vowel sound, which is the form of a very large part of their vocabulary, the syllables are simply changed round in the slang language. Thus:

	Zande	Slang
salt	*tikpo*	*kpoti*
belly	*vuse*	*sevu*
my	*gimi*	*migi*
my father	*buba*	*babu*
many	*dungu*	*ngudu*
body	*kpoto*	*tokpo*
dance	*gbere*	*regbe*
witchcraft	*mangu*	*nguma*
witchdoctor	*binza*	*nzabi*
axe	*mangwa*	*ngume*

When the word is monosyllabic either there is no change, as in the words for river (*di*), country in between rivers (*ngbi*), thou (*mo*), he (*ko*), and yesterday (*gba*), or a euphonious syllable is added. Thus:

hand	*be*	*yebe*
animal	*nya*	*nyahi*
banana	*bu*	*yubu*
thing	*e* or *he*	*nyehe*
plant or medicine	*ngwa*	*yangu*
buffalo	*gbe*	*nyegbe*

When the word is composed of a consonant and two vowels the syllables may be simply reversed, they may be reversed with the adding of a consonant, or they may be reversed with an elision of the vowels. Thus:

noble	*gbia*	*nyagbi*
termites	*age*	*geha*
dog	*ango*	*ngoha*
song	*bia*	*abi*
we	*ani*	*nai*

When the word has three syllables the syllables are transposed, the first syllable then usually coming between the other two, and, as also in some of the examples given above, vowel values may change. Thus:

girl	*degude*	*gudede*
my sister	*dewile*	*ledewe*
my younger brother	*tamere*	*reteme*
tongue	*mirase*	*ramese*
chest	*ngbaduse*	*dengbasu*
hate	*sogote*	*gotose*
European	*baramu*	*rabamu*

When a word or linked words consist of several syllables they are reversed in pairs, again sometimes with vowel changes or with added aspiration. Thus:

	Zande	Slang
egg	*parakondo*	*rapandoko*
boy	*kumbagude*	*mbakuduge*
slander	*gumbalimo*	*mbagumali*
witch	*iramangu*	*rahinguma*
bring fire	*mo ye na we*	*ye mo we na*

On an Oil Lamp attributed to Rurutu, Austral Islands. *By A. Massola, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Victoria. With a text figure*

290 The National Museum of Victoria possesses a very fine specimen of the now extremely rare stone lamp from the Austral Islands. It was presented by Dr. W. A. Lind in 1927, as part of a collection from the Austral Islands in general, and Rurutu in particular. It is carved from a single piece of vesicular lava and stands 12½ inches high by 9 inches wide at its widest point (fig. 1). As the figure shows, there appears to be a cut channel or

Fig. 1. Oil lamp attributed to Rurutu

indentation on one side of the rim of the bowl, but even though there are traces of soot around its edges I am sure that this is accidental, as it would serve no useful purpose. The presence of soot would tend to show that the channel was there when the lamp was in use; possibly the soot was the result of the wick, either accidentally or otherwise, hanging down from it.

The bowl is not as deep as the outside of the body of the lamp would suggest, being a little less than 2 inches deep, well-shaped, with the deepest portion at the centre. It stands on a base formed of five short legs, connected above and below by a protruding rim. The centre of this base or stand is hollowed out, possibly for lightness. The bowl is surmounted by a very solid handle, the chief characteristics of which are a depression on the centre top and two

angular projections on the sides, where the handle meets the bowl. The handle, especially the centre, is heavily stained with soot.

Attached to the lamp is an old label with the inscription, '*Mori*, or lamp in which to burn the *tutui* or candle nut, when strung on dry reeds. Rurutu, Austral Islands, 1854.'

Unfortunately, the literature on this subject is very meagre. The first reference is in a paper by W. T. Brigham, (*Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum*, Vol. I, No. 4, 1902), on p. 65 of which, under the heading 'Stone Lamps,' he illustrates an identical specimen. He calls it a 'Tahitian Sorcery lamp.' In the text he says:

> Fig. 65 shows one of the several sorcery lamps in the British Museum, etc. . . . The cup for oil is exceedingly large [*sc.* comparing it to the Hawaiian stone lamps—A.M.] suggesting that it was used like the *Kapuahi kuni ana*, to burn other material than merely light-producing oil. The arch over the bowl could not conveniently be used as a handle, for the smoke of combustion made it constantly sooty, and its size was also in the way. Perhaps it was a rest for *kukui*-nut candles. Something seems to have been broken off from the top of the arch, possibly a consecrated figure.

There are many points of comparison between this British Museum lamp and the one in the National Museum. Both have a depression in the centre of the arch, but the National Museum specimen definitely does not appear broken in any way. I am sure that if there had been any of 'the several' lamps in the British Museum complete with 'consecrated figure,' Brigham would have chosen it to illustrate his paper. He also mentions that the handle is 'constantly sooty,' which it would be, not if the *kukui*-nut candles were rested against it, but if a light were burning underneath it.

The only other reference to lamps from this part of the Pacific is a paper by J. Söderstrom, published in *Ethnos*, 1938, pp 2f. In it, he cites the above paper of Brigham, and agrees with that author that 'it is hardly possible that lamps of this description were ever used for illuminative purposes' and that they must have been used in magic similar to the *kapuahi kuni ana* of Hawaii in which the magician 'burned his victim's exuviæ in order to bring ill luck or death upon him or her.'

Regarding lamps from the Austral Islands, the same author states that it appears that oil lamps were used, at all events for some period of time. Aitken, he says, quite briefly mentions that in Tubuai, coconut oil, apart from cooking and other purposes, was used for 'burning in lamps. The construction of those lamps is unknown to me.' The paper he refers to is R. T. Aitken, *Ethnology of Tubuai*, *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bull.* 19 (1930).

With reference to the fuel burned in the lamps, Brigham (*loc. cit.*) says that in Hawaii 'the oil was expressed from the *kukui* nut in the stone mortars, and animal fat was often substituted.' But in other parts of the Pacific, the nuts were stuck on to sticks to form torches and candles. Also, as the label attached to the lamp under review states, large numbers were threaded on reeds and other filamentous vegetable material.

If the nuts were strung on reeds to form torches and candles, could they not be placed in small heaps and burned just as easily? This would necessitate a rather larger bowl than if oil was burned, and incidentally would dispose of Brigham's main objection to the use of the lamp as a lighting medium.

One more point remains to be discussed. Is the lamp in question from the Austral Islands, or does it come from the Society Islands, as those in the British Museum are reputed to do?

I have no means of checking the latter specimens, and possibly I would find them correctly labelled if I did, but I see no reason to doubt the authenticity of the National Museum specimen, one point in its favour being the retention of the native name, *viz. mori*. I am not aware that this has been recorded before.

We are thus faced with three possibilities: (1) that the lamps were used on both groups of islands; (2) that they were made in Tahiti, and later found their way to the Austral Group; or (3) that they were made in the Austral Group, and later found their way to Tahiti.

According to Teuira Henry's *Ancient Tahiti* (*Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bull. No.* 48) the Tahitians were without oil lamps before the arrival of the first missionaries, one named Bicknell being reputed to have taught them how to make them from coconut shell. These same coconut-shell lamps are the only ones mentioned by W. Ellis in *Polynesian Researches*.

We have already seen that oil was used for 'burning in lamps' in the Austral Group. No mention is made anywhere of Magic Lamps, and as the National Museum specimen, as previously stated, has a thick coating of oily soot on the handle, it would not be consistent with an occasional burning of a victim's *excuviæ*.

I am left with no alternative then, but to reject possibility (2) and believe that the lamps originated in the Austral Group, being introduced into Tahiti after the advent of the first missionaries, when native cultures were beginning to become mixed.

Note

The above article has been shown to Mr. B. A. L. Cranstone, Department of Ethnography, British Museum, who writes: 'This question becomes more complicated. The British Museum lamp published by Brigham as Tahitian was acquired in about 1867 and was registered without provenance (No. 2149). A later hand has written "Tahitian Group" and yet another hand "? Sorcery lamp (Emerson)." Whether these remarks were added before, or as a consequence of, Brigham's paper cannot now be determined with certainty. The Department of Ethnography acquired two other similar lamps from the London Missionary Society; in both cases they were described, by the L.M.S., as "Hawaii . . . lamp made of vesicular basalt from a marae. Rev. W. Ellis." I can see no evidence that anything has been broken from the top of the arch of lamp No. 2149; on the contrary it seems to me clear that the groove or depression has been cut deliberately. It also appears on the arches of the other two lamps. The latter differ from No. 2149 only in the proportions of the parts, the depth of the bowl, etc. Heights range from 14½ inches (2149) to 10 inches; the latter specimen has a very shallow bowl and the legs are not cut through but are indicated in relief.

There can, I think, be no doubt that the National Museum of Victoria lamp and the three British Museum ones have the same place of origin. I have not found any reference to them in Ellis's *Polynesian Researches*, but Ellis was a careful observer and an accurate recorder, and my personal view is that all come from Hawaii, although an old label giving as much detail as that quoted by Mr. Massola must carry great weight.'—ED.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Triumph of the Alphabet. *By A. C. Moorhouse. New York (Schuman), 1953. Pp. xiv, 223, 41 text illustr., 12 plates. Price* $3.50

291 In these days of the atomic age, before our little planet is blown to pieces, we may well ponder upon the essential elements of the culture of so-called civilized man, upon their origin and development. Amongst these essential elements is the alphabet; and it is strange indeed that relatively little has been written on its history particularly for 'the man in the street.' This is the more strange as, during the last half-century, great advances have been made in the subject generally.

Any new publication in this field, based on scientific results, is

therefore welcome. Professor Moorhouse, Senior Lecturer in Classics in the University of Wales, at Swansea, is already known for his work on *Writing and Alphabet*, published in 1946 by Cobbett Press, London, and for scientific articles on Indo-European philology. The book now published brings the subject up to date, and deals with additional matter.

The book is divided into two parts: the first, occupying 156 pages, deals with what Moorhouse calls 'The Form of Writing.' Under this head are included six chapters, dealing with 'The Development of Writing' (pp. 3–27) from the most primitive means of visual communication through pictography and syllabary to alphabetic writing; 'The Work of Decipherment' (pp. 28–45), treating particularly of the decipherment of the cuneiform writing, the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet; 'Pre-alphabetic Scripts' in Part I (pp. 46–69) and Part II (as a separate chapter, pp. 70–93); 'The Semitic Alphabet and its Origin' (pp. 94–125); and 'The Extension of the Alphabet' (pp. 126–156). The last chapter discusses the Greek, the Etruscan, the Italic, and the Latin alphabets, the Runes and the Oghams, the Slavonic and the Coptic alphabets, the Aramaic, the South Semitic, and their descendants.

The second part of the book, from p. 157 to the end, under the head 'The Use of Writing,' contains three chapters. In Chapter VII ('The Functioning of Writing,' pp. 159–177) various interesting problems are examined, the main being those treating of the advantages and disadvantages of picture writing, and the insufficiency of the Roman alphabet; this latter point, of course, raises the controversial problem of un-phonetic spelling. Chapter VIII ('The Historical Influence of Writing,' pp. 178–198) deals with writing as the foundation of higher civilization—in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, as well as in Palestine and Greece—writing and the Church in the Dark Ages, and the renewal of its commercial use; the effect of the invention of printing, and economic and political factors.

The last chapter ('Writing and the Spread of Literacy,' pp. 199–215) gives percentages of illiteracy for a number of countries, and a definition of the term 'illiteracy.' Other interesting problems are also examined: literacy and world peace, overcoming illiteracy in Europe, illiteracy in Asia, the problem of Africa, and progress in the Americas—all of pressing actuality.

A short bibliography, containing a selected list of works in English (pp. 216–220), is followed by a concise general index (pp. 221–223).

A. C. Moorhouse is a Classicist by training, but he has resisted the temptation to emphasize the Indo-European scripts at the expense of others, and the fantastic 'Aryan' theories of the origin of the alphabet. On the whole, this is an excellent little book without scientific pretensions. Some sections (such as that on Cretan scripts) need revision, but in general the book is a good introduction to a large and difficult subject. It should have a fascinating interest for every cultured person. DAVID DIRINGER

The Facts of Life. *By C. D. Darlington. London (Allen & Unwin), 1953. Pp. 467, 9 plates, 19 text figs. Price £1 15s.*

292 This is an ambitious book, and, as Professor Darlington has been notably successful in realizing what he set out to achieve, it is a very important one. The processes of reproduction and heredity have become understood in great detail during the last 50 years, and it is the theme of the book that the new knowledge occupies a central place in understanding man's nature, his institutions, his conflicts and his history. There emerges no less than a complete philosophy of biological determinism, firmly based upon those central concepts.

The first half of the book traces the progress of thought from early times, through the period when the foundations were being prepared by successive scientific advances, and finally to the integration of the advances in knowledge that have been made in recent times. Then follows a consideration of the implications of the new biology. Professor Darlington's range is vast. He deals with mating groups, with speech and society, with the development of culture, with race and class, with crime and punishment, with adjustment in marriage, with homosexuality, with the evolution of art, with free will and with immortality. On all he has something stimulating, and usually highly individual, to say. Many will disagree profoundly with some of his conclusions, and there is probably no one who will agree with all of them. But each thesis is stated with the utmost clarity and force, backed up by well chosen examples and arguments drawn from biology as Professor Darlington sees it. And he has made it equally plain throughout just how he does see it. The reader who disagrees at any point will find himself forced to formulate his counter arguments, and this is by no means the least of the merits of the book.

Professor Darlington sees Lamarckism as the enemy, and not merely in the crude and open form which is official, at least for the time being, in Russia. Incidentally, a section on the rise of the new Soviet biology, and its origins in the past, is especially interesting. But he also holds that those who practise the arts of government throughout the world believe and apply, however vaguely, a kind of Lamarckism. It informs much of the thinking in the social sciences, and, turning to history, the essence of Toynbee's *Study of History* is seen as an elaborate version of Lamarck's giraffe.

Indeterminacy as a useful hypothesis in biology is rejected. 'If we are to find fundamental or unifying principles for science as a whole we are justified, at least by convenience, in taking them from those which work for the static uses or maintenance of the coherent system built on Newtonian physics, Daltonian chemistry, and Mendelian genetics. These provide a central framework which is based on the tripod of matter, atomism, and determinacy. They belong, it has been said, to the region of experience where models work. The unity of our knowledge depends on the uniformity and continuity of its parts, the predictability of one from another, which these three notions underlie.' Much is made, however, of uncertainty. One illuminating idea, out of many, is the conception of how living systems exploit uncertainty introduced from other levels, and also create it by the operations of the genetic mechanism, so providing a basis upon which natural selection can act. Yet, when required, as in the development of the individual, uncertainty is rigorously suppressed.

My own chief criticism is the treatment of twin studies. Much is made of Lange's famous study of criminality, and the reader is invited to accept a hereditary determination of psychological traits, and even of behaviour patterns, almost parallel to those detailed physical resemblances which are characteristic of identical twins. Too much is said, or too little. For example, it would be relevant to quote, in contrast to Lange, Kallmann's remarkable study of suicide, in which it was found that identical twins were practically never concordant. To quote a personal experience, I once saw a pair of identical twin girls, suffering from the same congenital heart lesion. The mother stressed their profound mental differences. One was shy, retiring and devoted to her family of dolls. The other was a tomboy, afraid of nothing, always frightening her mother by climbing trees, and contemptuous of dolls. The evidence from twins is generalized into a series of propositions which strike me as much too dogmatic and sweeping. For example, one of the things 'genetically controlled and determined' is our 'susceptibility to every disease, infectious or non-infectious, that the flesh is heir to.' The similarities due to an identical set of genes are indeed sufficiently striking, but it is a pity that at this stage of the argument, actually a crucial one, the case should have been somewhat spoiled by over-simplification and over-emphasis. There are, moreover, some points in the earlier half where the reader is not warned that some of the propositions are by no means agreed. This applies, for example, to what is said on cancer. In the second half, however, the reader can form his own opinions, helped by the foundation laid in the earlier part with such brilliance, and, on the whole, fairness.

The book can be most warmly recommended to all those, whether professional or lay, whose interests touch the field of biology. It is clear and authoritative, as well as being readable and entertaining; it is likely to remain one of the standard works reflecting biological thought at the turn of the half-century. J. A. FRASER ROBERTS

Textbook of Genetics. *By William Hovanitz. Houston and New York (Elsevier Press). (U.K. agents: Cleaver-Hume Press), 1953. Pp. xi, 420, 267 plates and text figs. Price £2 2s. 6d.*

293 Besides being a textbook this volume is offered as an 'essentially self-contained research handbook.' Much material has

been collected, but its integration is not always happy. In fact it is difficult to see in what way, except perhaps in the excellence of its illustrations, the book is an improvement on the many textbooks of general genetics already available. There are, however, many who would like to have a book in which the general background is explained with particular reference to man. Professor Hovanitz disapproves of this approach. In his preface he says: 'The principles of genetics are often taught in the present day as a course in "Human Genetics." Through sheer numbers a course of this type appears fordaned [foreordained?] to substitute for the basic course having a full foundation of fact. Unfortunately, the study of human heredity is not for many years to reach a state of factual knowledge whereby the serious student can afford to neglect the advances made with the lower organisms.' Incidentally, this passage will serve to illustrate the author's curious style. He does attempt, however, to bring in human examples, but in doing so unfortunately reveals that he is on unfamiliar ground. For example, in dealing with the blood groups he is under the impression that antigens are proteins. He mentions only three of the nine systems. Unfamiliar apparently with the rather peculiar relations of alleles in the blood groups, he puts forward a fantastic hypothesis of a phenotype alternative to *MN* in which both antigens are lacking. One of the subjects selected for extended treatment is the detection of carriers of recessive genes. Here, of all possible examples, one of those chosen is phenylketonuria, a condition in which the most extensive search for metabolic anomalies in the carriers has actually been made, and without any result. The book cannot be recommended as a general textbook with a human slant. Furthermore, the attempt to combine general principles with specifically human genetics has in fact been most successfully achieved in Stern's admirable *Principles of Human Genetics.*

J. A. FRASER ROBERTS

Razze e Popoli della Terra. *By Renato Biasutti. 2nd. edn. 2 vols. Turin (Unione Tipografico—Editrice Torinese), 1953. Vol. I: pp. xi, 723; Vol. II: pp. 656. Price L. 7200 and L. 6500*

294 These first two volumes of the second edition of Professor Biasutti's well-known study of races and peoples have been published after some lengthy delays. These were occasioned in large part by the ordinary exigencies of war, although more particularly by the bombing of the printers' works at Turin in 1943. The entire book has been substantially revised and expanded, and the order of contents is now quite different from that of the earlier edition. In the main, the impression which these volumes convey is that here is the *chef d'œuvre* of a human geographer rather than that of an anthropologist. Because of this, critical opinion will quite probably consider that Biasutti's complete study ought to have more 'popular' than professional appeal. In fact, the author combines a notable breadth of interest with a unified, although indeed not a profoundly integrated, approach to his subject. This last is unusual in modern anthropology, which now, as a developing science, seems unfortunately to be almost irreconcilably split into its physical and social divisions. In scope and treatment these volumes are truly encyclopædic; likewise they are written in a style that is illustrative and discursive rather than formal, detached and scientific.

Races, peoples and cultures in prehistory and modern times are the subject matters of Volume I: this is a world survey of the scope and development of the whole of anthropological science. There are sections on climatic changes, fossil man, earliest civilizations, morphological characters, blood groups, human physiology, genetics, systematics, classification of races, languages, elements of civilization, social institutions, religion, interrelationship of cultures, etc. The references which accompany each part are well laid out and fairly comprehensive although a very few papers that one would expect to find quoted are missing, as Buxton and Morant's famous monograph on the nasal index. There are abundant illustrations and the maps are excellent; of typical interest is the double-page cartographic display (pp. 388f.) showing the distribution of races of the world according to Pickering (1853), Huxley (1870), Koppen (1895) and Howells (1947).

Volume II is devoted to the ethnology and ethnography of Europe and Asia, and impressive collections of anthropological, historical and geographical data have been included. The treatment of the different areas is uneven, however: it will be discovered that Italy for instance is considered at length in 58 pages, while the United Kingdom and Ireland are together disposed of in six; likewise Indonesia receives 52 pages while the whole sub-continent of India is given only 39. Also much of the material is rather lightweight and there are some quite self-evident mistakes in proof-reading, for example 'the county of Stratford' and 'Worchestershire.' Social anthropologists will find that almost no attention has been given to social structures and culture contacts; neither is there a discussion anywhere of dietary habits in relation to body forms, health and vitality.

Volumes III and IV of the series are still to come and will cover respectively Africa and Oceania, and America (with the index). *Razze e Popoli della Terra* has been written with the help of many distinguished Italian authorities (Bartoli, Battaglia, Corso, Genna, Graziosi, Muccioli, Sergi, Tagliavini and Vidossi), who have individually contributed no less than 17 out of the 36 chapters in the first two volumes. Both the books now available have been excellently produced on high quality paper with clear maps, tables and photographs, in strong bindings and with most pleasing lay-outs. Professor Biasutti is likewise to be congratulated on his choice of extremely attractive dust covers.

MARIE C. NUTTER

AFRICA

A History of the Beja Tribes of the Sudan. *By A. Paul. C.U.P., 1954. Pp. viii, 164. Price 15s.*

295 Although numerous references to the Beja people have been made since the fourth Egyptian dynasty until modern times, singularly little is known about them. Mr. Paul gives a long Beja chronology and a detailed bibliography, yet he is frequently forced to state that much of their actual history is conjectural. However, in spite of numerous contacts with foreign peoples and some intermarriage, the Beja seem to have remained unchanged throughout their long history. A French engineer in 1533 said that he recognized them as the type of prisoners represented on Egyptian bas-reliefs. The same type, with the same headdress, persists today. Their character has always been described in similar terms: inveterate raiders, fearless and often treacherous fighters, devoted to their cattle and disdainful of any other occupation, unapproachable individualists. Although they have retained their tribal entity, they have never been united under one ruler and there has been constant intra-tribal fighting—blood feuds at times amounting to warfare.

Gold and emeralds were discovered in their territory in the fifth dynasty, and from that time onwards at various intervals the Egyptians sent expeditions to exploit the mines and to trade with the Beja for ivory and incense. They found it necessary to garrison the mines against the raiding attacks of the native population. In A.D. 284 the Emperor Diocletian found it expedient to pay a subsidy to the Beja to stop their raids, yet for another two centuries they dominated the Thebaid and were a terror down the Nile beyond that area.

The southern Beja were influenced by the immigrants from Arabia who founded the kingdom of Axum. Here they lost some of their independence and became the serf class, and they adopted the Semitic Tigre language and absorbed a certain amount of Semitic blood. It seems that in the sixth century the Beja were converted to Christianity and remained at least nominally Christian for about two centuries. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they all became Mohammedans, but in spite of the well-known fortitude with which they supported the Mahdi, they were never fanatical or even very observant Mohammedans. Their support was not due to religious fanaticism but to their resentment against the Egyptian government, which had cheated them over a deal in which they had supplied the Government with camel transport for Hicks Pasha. When the various Beja tribes accepted Islam they attached themselves to Arab tribes and provided themselves with genealogies, perhaps not all entirely fictitious, and a certain amount of intermarriage is alleged to have taken place.

The Beja never cared for horses, but rode their camels with amazing skill. They did not carry firearms, but met artillery with sword and spear.

The Beja present an interesting social problem. They have been in touch with civilization for nearly 5,000 years but have taken singularly little from their various contacts. They have little means of support beyond cattle-breeding, raiding, and a certain amount of trade; although only a loose conglomeration of tribes often at war with one another, they have held their own, and are actually increasing in number. Is it merely adaptation to environment that accounts for their unchanged existence? The last chapter, on recent history, is very short but most interesting. B. Z. SELIGMAN

Les Gens du Riz: Kissi de Haute-Guinée Française. *By Denise Paulme. Paris (Plon), 1954. Pp. 235. Price 795 francs*

296 English anthropologists, when they hear the words 'general monograph' are too often tempted to add the epithet 'old-fashioned.' This excellent monograph by the Chargée du Département d'Afrique Noire au Musée de l'Homme should give them pause to consider. It supplies for the Kissi the sort of information which the International African Institute's Ethnographic Survey series has aimed to provide for other African peoples. It is, however, more than twice the length of the ordinary ethnographic survey, and it is done by an experienced anthropologist on the basis of a year's field research. These two factors make an overwhelming difference.

The study is presented in three main parts. The first is devoted to economics, the second to lineage, social and domestic organization, and the third to religion. Each section is developed in sufficient detail to enable us to see what the main problems are, and the main lines along which the Kissi have set out to answer them. The primary concern of the Kissi is the cultivation of rice—it dominates their lives, including their domestic and religious lives.

The most serious shortcoming of the monograph, from the standpoint of the English social anthropologist at least, is that, although we are given information about clans and clanship, and the organization of the very shallow and very small Kissi lineages, and although we are told that a village is composed of several unrelated lineages, we are never given much information on the political action within the village or between villages. The working of the organization is not described—even brief descriptions of disputes and of local-government procedure would have added to the value of the book. The material, in the same section, on kinship and the life cycle is extraordinarily good; yet, even here, one would have liked fuller treatment. There are, for example, a few paragraphs concerning the play of Kissi children. The games are described and we are told at what ages children participate in them. But the size and organization of play groups is not described.

The most interesting aspect of Kissi religion, which centres in ancestral cults and agricultural cults, would seem to be, on the basis of what is given here, the idea of *sara*, which includes both sacrifice and medicines. There is a chapter devoted to witchcraft, witches and witch-doctors.

If one were to sum up this book about the Kissi, one could say that it forms an admirable background. It is to be hoped, however, that the author will not stop here. More detailed studies, on land tenure and land usage, political organization and activities, or the detailed theology and sociology of Kissi ancestral cults, would all be most welcome and most instructive. PAUL BOHANNAN

The Racial Affinities of the Baganda and Other Bantu Tribes of British East Africa. *By Lawrence Oschinsky. Cambridge (Heffer), 1954. Pp. x, 188, 14 plates, 2 maps. Price £1 5s.*

297 While employed as Lecturer in Anatomy at Makerere College during 1950–51, Dr. Lawrence Oschinsky was able to take anthropometric measurements of 1243 adult male Africans, belonging to 25 different tribes or groups. Of the Bantu tribesmen, the biggest group represented are the Baganda (425); next come the Swahili (114), Batutsi (110), Bahutu (106), Batoro (71), Bahiru (50), Banyoro (47) and 12 other tribes with from 3 to 28 representatives. 'Nilotes' and 'Nilo-Hamites' are represented mainly by the Luo (76) and 4 other groups with from 11 to 22 representatives. In addition, a group of 50 Zanzibar Arabs is included.

On each individual, 18 somatic and 18 cephalic measurements were taken, following the techniques enunciated in Martin's *Lehrbuch*. From the absolute dimensions, 25 body indices and 18 head indices were calculated. The author records the ranges, means, standard deviations and coefficients of variation for each group studied and compares them with other African tribal data gleaned from the literature, with the purpose of solving as far as possible the problem of Bantu origin and distribution. The comparative tables compiled under each cephalic or somatic character constitute one of the principal merits of this work.

It must be admitted, however, that after the tremendous labours involved in measuring 1243 people and in collating the measurements on more than 150 tribes and groups, little attempt was made to present these data in a meaningful way. It is in the analysis of the data that this study is disappointing. Although hundreds of inter-tribal comparisons are made of individual measurements or indices, one looks in vain for any punctuating summaries among the confusingly interspersed text and tables, for any pooling of data between different samples of the same or closely related tribes, to introduce order into the welter of figures and for any attempt at multivariate analysis, which the mass of figures surely justifies, if not demands.

Nor is the position simplified by the racial categories proposed by the author. After reviewing the classifications of Johnston, Shrubsall, Czekanowski, Seligman, Leys and Joyce, and Coon, and mentioning a number of others, he has decided 'for the sake of clarity' to use his own terms for the racial groups of East Africa—Bambutomorphs, Congomorphs, Bantomorphs, Nilotomorphs, Hamitomorphs, culminating in the grotesque Nilohamitomorphs and even Mulattomorphs! Although the author complains that 'English-speaking anthropologists have had a tendency to use linguistic terms to denote the East African racial groups,' his own terms are new names for old groups, which, as they involve no major re-arrangement, look suspiciously like the old linguistic groups. The necessity for them is therefore not apparent. The terms proposed by Trevor (*Chambers's Encyclopædia*, 1950), agreeing closely as they do with those of Vallois (1944) and avoiding linguistic connotations, could well have been retained: unfortunately, they receive no consideration.

Morphological or non-metrical data receive but scant attention, being largely relegated to the two final tables, while the brief discussion on serology does not help the author (or the reader) through the morass of figures and he concludes, somewhat lamely, 'It seems that the blood group data alone are insufficient as criteria of racial differences in East Africa . . .'

I will not here enumerate the all too frequent misprints and solecisms, but cannot refrain from quoting the term applied to a trend towards increased relative sitting height—a trend dubbed by the barbarous neologism 'trunkilisation'!

Although it is difficult to decide how far this work has fulfilled the author's stated purpose, he has rendered a useful service by bringing together within two covers a great mass of valuable anthropometric data. As a source book, it should find a place on the shelf of every physical anthropologist interested in Africa; for such collation brings one a step nearer the possibility of understanding the racial origins and affinities of African peoples. P. V. TOBIAS

Zur Gesellschaft und Religion der Nueer. *By J. P. Crazzolara, F.S.C., with a preface by W. Schmidt. Studia Instituti Anthropos, V, Wien-Mödling, 1953. Pp. xvi, 221. Price 25 Swiss francs*

298 The data published in this book were collected before 1932. Part of the manuscript was used by Father W. Schmidt for his *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Vol. VIII (1949). Crazzolara himself mentions that his work was ready for publication only by 1942. Although appearing in 1953, it does not therefore refer to Evans-Pritchard's books and papers on the Nuer, and in fact there is no reference to any older source.

The two parts of the book are entitled: 'Grundzüge im Gesellschaftlichen Leben' and 'Zur Religion der Nueer.' The author's

main interest is in the religious aspect of Nuer culture, social organization occupying only 58 pages, while the rest of the book (162 pages) deals with religion.

Both parts are a rich source of information about an interesting culture, which up till now we have seen mainly through the eyes of Evans-Pritchard. A comparison of the data of both authors would therefore be highly interesting. Such a comparison, however, is very difficult. Crazzolara's book is hardly more than a large collection of data. Instead of a 'description' of Nuer culture, it is rather a storehouse of facts. Nevertheless every enumeration of fact inevitably includes interpretations. Thus the author writes that it was very difficult for him to acquire a clear notion of several religious conceptions, and he preferred therefore to quote literally what his informants told him, often replies to direct questions.

Crazzolara regularly uses Nuer words in his own expositions. This presents a serious difficulty for the reader, especially as there is no vocabulary either of Nuer words or of German catchwords. The author seems to expect the reader to remember the meaning of every word previously used and explained in the text. Since many Nuer words have different meanings (*wei*=*Sippe*, p. 31, but also 'camp dwelling,' p. 6) and German words are often translated by several Nuer words (*Sippe*=*wei*, *thaar wec*, p. 31, *thaar ceng*, p. 22), it takes the reader a great deal of time even to read very simple passages. A comparison with Evans-Pritchard's data reveals many differences (*thogdweel*=*Familie*, Crazzolara, p. 7; *thok dwiel*=a lineage, line of agnatic descent, Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, p. 195).

In such a short notice it is impossible to enter into details, although this is exactly what this book invites the reader to do. The belief in a High God, for instance, to which the author devotes many pages, calls for such further examination, especially since Crazzolara belongs to the group of fieldworkers dedicated to Father Schmidt's theories.

H. TH. FISCHER

AMERICA

Man's Capacity to Reproduce: The Demography of a Unique Population. *By Joseph W. Eaton and Albert J. Mayer. Glencoe, Ill. (Free Press), 1954. Pp. 59. Price* $2

299 The problems of cultural isolation help to throw light on basic questions of social theory and methodology. Now in book form, a paper which previously appeared in *Human Biology* (Vol. XXV, No. 3), combines the techniques of the demographer analyst and the sociologist.

The authors show with great clarity and precision, that the Hutterites, a Protestant Anabaptist sect founded in 1528 by Jacob Hutter, a pious and zealous preacher from the Swiss Tyrol, present numerous unique demographic features. The sect, after considerable persecution, arrived in America in the eighteen-seventies and settled in numerous 'colonies,' now estimated at a hundred, in the states of North and South Dakota and the Canadian provinces of Alberta and Manitoba. In 1880 the sect numbered 443 members. In the absence of recent census information, the authors initiated their own census, with Hutterite participation, in 1950, and found the population to be 8,500, an increase of 1,700 per cent. in 70 years. The unique demographic features are as follows: (1) over 50 per cent. of the population are under 15; (2) men outlive women, which is a 'dramatic reversal of the generalization that females are the "stronger" sex'; (3) the annual (1946–1950) crude birth rate is 45·9 per thousand in contrast to the overall U.S. crude birth rate of 24·1 over the same five-year period. (4) the Hutterite death rate—a natural check on population increase—is 4·4 per thousand per year in contrast to 9·9 for the United States and 14·8 for Algeria's Moslems. Men outlive women, it is suggested, because of the high reproductive rate of the women, estimated between 12–14 live births for the average woman, which has a detrimental effect on longevity. Further, the firm objections to any form of natural or mechanical contraception, the great desire to have children, and the stability of marriage (one divorce has been recorded since 1875) contribute to these demographic features.

In conclusion, the authors point out: (1) that these features, *i.e.* birth rates, have something in common with 'primitive' cultures; (2) that demographic characteristics in general are closely related to sociological factors as enumerated above, and to psychological factors; (3) that cultural factors play a great part such as the selective and controlled Hutterite acculturation, the cradle to the grave security, and the effort to perpetuate a social system which shuns all worldly things.

The acid test will come in 1970 when the present population will, according to the present trends, have more than doubled itself. It remains to be seen then whether the primary group structure can be maintained and whether the accent on youth and high reproduction can be continued. Raymond Pearl, experimenting with *Drosophila melanogaster*, has shown that population growth has three characteristics: (1) a slow start; (2) a rapid development in the middle periods; (3) an asymptotic end.

The tables and maps are well presented and clearly drawn.

PETER C. W. GUTKIND

The Iroquois Eagle Dance, an Offshoot of the Calumet Dance. *By William N. Fenton, with an analysis of the Iroquois Eagle Dance and Songs by Gertrude Prokosch Kurath. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 156. Washington, 1953. Pp. 324, 28 plates, 36 text figs. Price* $1.50

300 The eagle dance, as it exists today among the 'Longhouse' Iroquois on the New York reservations, is a healing ceremony addressed to the Dew Eagles, who have power both to cause and to cure sickness. (A moving passage describes how the Coldspring Seneca went through with a performance sponsored by the late Dr. Frank G. Speck, an adopted member of the tribe, after he had already collapsed and lay at the point of death.)

The ritual is normally held in the house of the sponsor, and opens with a prayer to the Eagles during which ceremonial tobacco is burned in the stove. Songs are sung to the accompaniment of drum and rattles, and dancers mime the action of eagles feeding from the ground. From time to time the songs and dance are interrupted while senior members of the Eagle Society address the company in terms of peace and friendship, sometimes mixed with more or less formalized joking 'to raise the spirits of the patient.' Each speech is followed by the distribution of gifts, in these days usually consisting of biscuits, apples or money. At the close of the ceremony there is a feast. Active participation is still, as far as practicable, governed by clan and moiety membership.

Such, in brief, is the basic pattern; but there are local and personal variations. Taking as his theme the premise that '. . . the diversity of individual expression in cultural situations reflects the personal history of the individual within the culture of his group,' Fenton describes in detail the ceremonies which he has attended and then gives notes on the biography and personality of leading performers. This assessment of the nature and conditioning of individual participation in a prescribed ceremony highlights an aspect of ethnological research that has implications transcending the limits of the present study.

The problem of the origin of the ritual is next considered. The feathered wands used by the dancers, as well as certain non-material features, indicate affinities with the calumet (peace-pipe) ceremonialism of tribes to the west and south, of which the Pawnee *Hako* is a climax form. Working backwards in time by the process which he calls 'upstreaming,' Fenton examines traditional history, folklore, and a mass of late and early documentary evidence bearing on the eagle dance itself, the calumet dance, and historical or putative contacts between the Iroquois and calumet-using peoples. He concludes that the eagle dance was adapted in the eighteenth century from peace-making rituals offered by ambassadors from other tribes, in particular the Cherokee; there is a tradition among the Iroquois that the dance lost its connotations of war and peace and became therapeutic in intent under the influence of the reformer Handsome Lake about 1800. The calumet dance in turn is suspected of deriving from the Southern Buzzard Cult.

The independent analysis of the style and content of the songs and ritual patterns by Mrs. Kurath corroborates Fenton's thesis.

This monograph is of the greatest interest both for the picture it gives of a people holding fast to the fraying shreds of their traditional culture, and for its demonstration of the ethno-historical method by which a given aspect of that culture can be probed and illuminated. It is most fitting that the author should recently have assumed the mantle of Lewis H. Morgan as head of that great centre for Iroquois studies, the New York State Museum.

GEOFFREY TURNER

The Alaskan Eskimos, as Described in the Posthumous Notes of Dr. Knud Rasmussen. *By H. Ostermann. Rep. Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–24. Copenhagen (Gyldendalske), 1952. Pp. 292. Price Kr. 25*

301 No student of Eskimo can ignore the treasure house of Rasmussen's writings and in *The Alaskan Eskimos*, a collection of ethnographical notes and folktales, we find the same strict regard for accuracy, and the same love of his people, that permeates all his work. After Rasmussen's death, the collection was carefully edited, by the Revd. H. Ostermann, assisted by Erik Holtved, the well-known archæologist. The translation has been admirably done by W. E. Calvert. Some notes on the Chukchi, on the west side of the Bering Straits, are included.

The Alaskan Eskimos, living in much more favourable conditions than their brethren in the Canadian east, have developed a more complicated system of religious ideas, aided by contact with Indians. But below this lies the same ancient system of taboos, the endeavours of the Shaman to mediate between the earthly and the supernatural, and the ordinary man's resort to magic words and amulets to help him. 'Like a red thread through all their philosophy ran the same inexorable respect for the origins of all wild game, a respect which must never be forgotten, and for the animals' souls, which were capable of being death-dealing and destroying to man unless they were given proper consideration by means of taboos.' The so-called totem signs on weapons are found to be ownership marks.

About a quarter of the text is given over to description of material culture, and the rest is devoted to folklore which was Rasmussen's great interest. These tales were meticulously recorded in shorthand and transcribed on the spot—he took three days to record only one of his stories, for example. And Rasmussen had learned to speak Eskimo from childhood—contrast Farley Mowat. These tales, like most Eskimo stories, are fascinating. Even more so are the possibilities. There is a wealth of material in this folklore awaiting a skilled psychologist's analysis; for Rasmussen in recording and transmitting them to us was himself an Eskimo. Wherefore he could quote his friends' philosophy as his own. 'Yes, a power which we call Sila, one which cannot be explained in so many words. A strong spirit, the upholder of the universe, of the weather, in fact all life on earth—so mighty that his speech to man comes not through ordinary words, but through storms, snow-fall, rain showers, the tempests of the sea, through all the forces that man fears, or through sunshine, calm seas or small, innocent, playing children who understand nothing. . . . When times are good Sila has nothing to say to mankind. He has disappeared into his infinite nothingness and remains away as long as people do not abuse life but have respect for their daily food. . . . No one has ever seen Sila. His place of sojourn is so mysterious that he is with us and infinitely far away at the same time! . . . The only true wisdom lives far from mankind, out in the great loneliness, and it can be reached only through suffering. Privation and suffering alone can open the mind of a man to all that is hidden from others!'

T. T. PATERSON

Kiva Mural Decorations at Awatovi and Kawaika-a: with a Survey of Other Wall Paintings in the Pueblo Southwest. *By Watson Smith. Pap. Peabody Mus. of Amer. Arch. and Ethnol., Harvard Univ., Vol. XXXVII (Rep. Awatovi Expedition, No. 5), Cambridge, Mass. 1952. Pp. xxi, 363, 64 collotype figs., 9 colour plates, and 28 text illus. Price $7·50*

302 The Pueblo Indian custom of decorating ceremonial chambers with mural paintings is no new discovery, but hitherto has received little specific attention from either archæologists or ethnologists. Mr. Smith's full and discursive monograph is an important contribution to our knowledge in both fields.

The work is based on four seasons' excavation (1936–9) by the Peabody Museum expedition to Awatovi and other abandoned Hopi sites, in the course of which a large number of painted kivas were found. Practically all the walls had been plastered over and repainted several times; in one room no fewer than 27 painted layers were uncovered. At the cost of much labour and ingenuity 14 paintings were transferred intact to fibre-board panels for preservation and display. Of the rest each one was copied on a reduced scale, with careful attention to colour, before being stripped to reveal the underlying layer. The field methods are minutely described, together with the results of analyses of the original pigments.

After this technical discussion, Smith surveys the records of mural painting throughout the Pueblo area. The earliest known example dates from the Pueblo II period (A.D. 900–1100), and there is reason to believe that the practice still survives. Awatovi was occupied from some time in Pueblo III (A.D. 1100–1300) until about the year 1701, and its murals thus afford material for a developmental study of Pueblo graphic art over some five centuries. The neighbouring Kawaika-a was abandoned somewhat earlier. Less intensive excavation was carried on here, but the murals found were not intrinsically separable from those of Awatovi.

For purposes of analysis Smith divided the paintings into four major 'layout groups' based on stylistic treatment. These were defined subjectively and without regard to time relations, but in the event were found to correspond to a chronological sequence, confirmed by the evidence of tree-ring dates and associated pottery styles. The design elements in each group are described and illustrated in detail, and considered in relation to the cultural history of the Hopi. As a single example, the representation of embroidered kilts on a pre-Spanish horizon confirms Mera's thesis of the independent native origin of embroidery. The function of the paintings is considered to have been that of altars, either complete in themselves or, later, supplementary to the wooden slat altars customarily erected by the modern Pueblos. For the latter case the apt simile of the reredos is used.

Smith writes with modesty and caution (to the extent indeed of making somewhat heavy weather of translations of early Spanish reports in seeking to prove that they mean what, unequivocally, they say). He raises more problems than he attempts to answer, expressing the hope that others may be inspired to complete the history of Pueblo mural art in its widest aspects. For any such further studies his own careful and stimulating survey will undoubtedly provide an essential tool.

GEOFFREY TURNER

EUROPE

The Ancient Burial Mounds of England. *By L. V. Grinsell. 2nd ed., revised. London (Methuen), 1953. Pp. xviii, 278, 12 figs., 24 plates. Price £1 5s.*

303 The second edition of Mr. Grinsell's comprehensive account of English burial mounds from the Neolithic to the Viking periods presents not only extensive revisions of nearly every section of the 1936 edition, but also much new information which has become available since that date. The chapters on 'Maps and Distributions' and 'Fieldwork' incorporate the fruits of the author's many years of experience in discovering, measuring and plotting barrows, and will be particularly useful to beginners in field archæology, as will the bibliographies, map-sheet references and lists of local museums and their contents appended to each of the 19 regional chapters of Part II.

Mr. Grinsell has endeavoured to discuss and classify every aspect of burial mounds, from their structure to their local names. Unfortunately, the system on which he has arranged his material has enforced a certain amount of unnecessary repetition, particularly in the 'Local Names' and 'Folklore' chapters, and in other instances seems to have obscured rather than emphasized some of the more

notable distinctions between the burial customs of one period and the next. For example, it is confusing to find, on p. 56, two Welsh passage graves (and only one of them identified as such) included in a paragraph concerned with stone cists. Chapter II, 'The Cult of the Dead,' describes in detail funerary rites of all periods from the points of view of the deceased and of the mourners (perhaps an unwarranted distinction), yet it is surprising to find no mention here of collective as opposed to single-grave burial. Temporary mortuary houses are briefly referred to, but the implications of such structures and the further evidence for reserved burial afforded by the skeletal material from some earthen long barrows are not enlarged upon.

The illustrations include 12 aerial views of barrow groups and handsome photographs of individual mounds. I. F. SMITH

Country Folk. *By Norman Wymer. London (Odhams Press), 1953. Pp. 240. Price 15s.*

304 The title of this book is unfortunate, for the word 'folk' even when used in a correct context tends these days to repel rather than attract the reader. Mr. Wymer has set out to portray in relation to the crafts they pursue 23 groups of people who live in the country. The result, however, is not a serious study of country dwellers but, to be blunt, bedside stuff for the casual reader. The author clings to the present although many of the people he discusses even if they still survive belong rightly to the past. Despite this the book is well written and the illustrations are good. It is difficult to agree completely with many of Mr. Wymer's arguments and he has by the use of generalizations laid himself open to much criticism on historical grounds. He has a strange obsession with biblical happenings and in many chapters we are reminded that Moses was found in the bullrushes. In Mr. Wymer's England little has happened between mediæval times and the present day and though we all accept our inevitable mediæval ancestry it is dangerous to neglect the years between. One of the chapters is devoted to canal boatmen and interesting though they are, it stretches the imagination to write off a class who owe their very origins to the industrial revolution as country folk. The Black Death is usually attributed to 1348 not 1350. Witch Hazel (or Wych Hazel) almost certainly owes its name to the pliableness of its branches rather than to any connexion with witches.

Many of the chapters do give a charming glimpse into a past age and Mr. Wymer writes informatively about many of his chosen folk such as rush workers, Cornish fishermen, and wildfowlers. But in general his book will do the countryman a disservice, for it will help to perpetuate the widely held belief of the townsman that rural England is populated by a backward, ill educated, picturesque race of people who are not only unwilling but unable to rise to the challenge of the modern age. JOHN HIGGS

The Finnish Shrovetide. *By Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio. FF Communications No. 146. Helsinki (Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia), 1954. Pp. 75. Price 250 mk.*

305 During the past century the study of folklore has become increasingly popular in Finland, particularly among amateurs, so that it now ranks almost as a national hobby. Dr. Haavio had, as a result, the advantage of being able to draw on about 6,000 items on the observance of Shrovetide in Finland preserved in the archives of the Society of Finnish Literature in Helsinki, as well as on her own experience of more than 35 years of research.

Her essay summarizes the available information on the celebration of the feast, which she regards as basically a pagan spring festival with an admixture of Christian ritual. Shrovetide marks the beginning of spring; formerly it was the day by which all winter work was to be finished, and on which one first went to bed by daylight. The chief aim of the Shrovetide rites is to secure the success of the flax crop—hence, for instance, the widespread custom of sliding or tobogganing downhill shouting some such slogan as 'Long flax!' There are other, less important rites for promoting the wellbeing of the cattle and for the ritual cleansing of the house. Superimposed on these are the Christian customs associated with the feasting and merrymaking which precede the weeks of self-denial in Lent.

The author has contrived to cram a vast amount of factual information into her 60 pages of text, although one could have wished for a rather fuller theoretical development. The English is readable and unambiguous, although not always entirely happy in its phrasing. The text is freely footnoted (the notes being grouped together at the end) and there is a short bibliography, as well as a complete list of the author's earlier works on Finnish folklore.

ALAN HATFULL

Drag ur Grytnäs sockens bebyggelse- och jordbrukshistoria. *By Sigurd Erixon. In Grytnäs socken, by Agaton Ericstam. Pt. II, pp. 180–288. Sala, 1953*

306 Professor Erixon again provides us with a comprehensive account of the development of the building culture and the agricultural techniques of a Swedish parish: on this occasion of Grytnäs, in the hundred of Folkare, Dalarna (Dalecarlia). He describes the process of settlement as well as the disposition of fields before and after enclosure, illustrating his account by old maps and by photographs. The principal interest for the British reader will be methodological, and here we have much to learn from Professor Erixon's wide range of interests: whilst the depth of detail is considerable, he retains at the same time a view of the whole community that would have gladdened Malinowski's heart, although the historical emphasis might not. IAN WHITAKER

Changing Lapps: A Study in Culture Relations in Northernmost Norway. *By Gutorm Gjessing. Monog. on Soc. Anthrop., No. 13. London (L.S.E.), 1954. Pp. 67. Price 12s.*

307 Gutorm Gjessing, archæologist and social anthropologist at the University of Oslo, is one of the leading Nordic 'lappologists' of the present day. Most of his work on the Lapps has hitherto been concentrated on topics within the material culture. In the present book, however, he faces problems of culture-contact in the Norwegian Lapp districts, with stress on the modern conflict situations. The book may be divided into three parts: the first deals with the general process of acculturation in the Lapp country in the past, the second tries to analyse that peculiar Christian ecstatic movement, Læstadianism, in its cultural configuration, and the third defines problems of culture-contact in three typical Lapp communities —Laksefjord of the sea Lapps, Karasjok of the agricultural Lapps and Kautokeino of the reindeer-nomadic Lapps. Admittedly, the author does not use the term 'Lapp' except on the title page; he considers it better to introduce the people's own word for themselves, 'Same' (*cf.* MAN, 1953, 99, 174, 259 ; 1954, 18).

In the first two historically oriented chapters the reader gets a broad view of the history of culture-contact between Lapps and Scandinavians. The first intense contact took place in the fourth century A.D., when the Scandinavian population of Western Norway in consequence of a climatically conditioned agricultural crisis left their farms and land and spread along the coast northwards, to become fishermen at the fiord mouths. Here they met the fishing Lapps, settled on the inner fiords, who were perhaps the original inhabitants of the area; at least they were the oldest population in Finnmark. These sea Lapps were half nomads, fishermen and gatherers along the coast in the summer, and hunters (on wild reindeer and bears) in the inland in the winter. Step by step they were driven away from the coast by the Norwegians, and their culture changed.

Gjessing thinks that the reindeer nomadism developed in late times as an indirect result of this process. 'On the whole,' he says, 'it seems that reindeer nomadism grew up in the years 1500–1600 as the clearing of the fiord coast gathered speed and the competition in wild-reindeer-hunting between Sames and Norwegians became sharper and endangered the stocks of wild reindeer' (p. 16). Gjessing terms this process 'indirect acculturation.' However, he is anxious to point out that it remains a hypothesis.

In his chapter on Læstadianism the author shows how the old pagan ecstatic shamanism was revived in the new sect. He further emphasizes that Læstadianism 'had a strong culture-preserving and socially cohesive function.'

The three last chapters, devoted to three Lapp societies, are to a certain degree illustrations of the author's main thesis: mechanical solidarity is socially integrative, whereas organic solidarity tends to disintegrate the social structure (*cf.* Durkheim). The author further contrasts the reindeer Lapps with the two other groups, sea Lapps and agricultural Lapps: the former have been able to keep their social culture, *inter alia* because their grounds, the mountain plateau, cannot be used in a more practical way by their Scandinavian neighbours. The sea Lapps experience an economical dilemma, and the agriculturalists in Karasjok (the author is one of the few who have studied them) suffer from national tensions with the Norwegians.

Gjessing's book is interesting and thought-provoking. There are, of course, some statements the value of which seems doubtful, as on p. 25, when the author says: 'There can be no doubt that the social aspect is the most important in most types of religion.' One may ask 'who decides that?' On the other hand, the book overflows with suggestive ideas and comments. It is a rare book, for there are few functionalistic works on Lapp culture, and Gjessing's contribution to the genre is one of the best. ÅKE HULTKRANTZ

CORRESPONDENCE

A 'Tectiform' from Jugoslav Macedonia. *With two text figures.*

308 *Cf.* MAN, 1954, 161

SIR,—The 'tectiform' hut postulated by Mr. A. D. Lacaille for the Magdalenian hunters of La Mouthe has a very close parallel in one of the types of bothy found in Jugoslav Macedonia. This form consists of straw laid over a framework of two sets of two forked poles joined by a ridge-pole. It is generally up to five feet at the apex, and about 12 feet long by eight feet wide at the base. Purlins may be nailed or bound on to the framework (fig. 1).

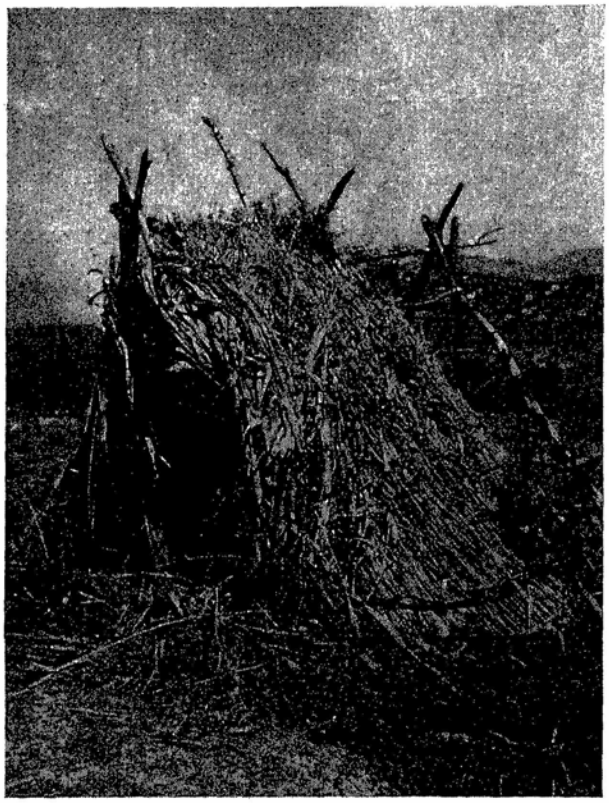


FIG. 1. RUINED BOTHY, GORICA, JUGOSLAV MACEDONIA

Peasants working in fields situated in a valley or *polje* (dried lake bed) some distance away from the main hill settlement use them as a sleeping place during the harvest in order to avoid waste of time trekking to and fro.[1] As the siesta is common in this area, the hut is also used during the midday heat; a straw-roofed portico is therefore frequently added, beneath which the field hands sit on benches at mealtimes (fig. 2).

The distribution of this type of building seems to be confined to Jugoslav Macedonia, and within that region necessarily to the corn-growing areas.[2] I have myself only found it in the neighbourhood of Lake Ochrid, where it is used by villagers from the Petrina

FIG. 2. BOTHY WITH PORTICO, GORICA
Photographs: I. R. Whitaker, 1954

Hills, so the distribution may in fact be very restricted. The bothies built by Macedonian shepherds are constructed on entirely different principles. I. R. WHITAKER

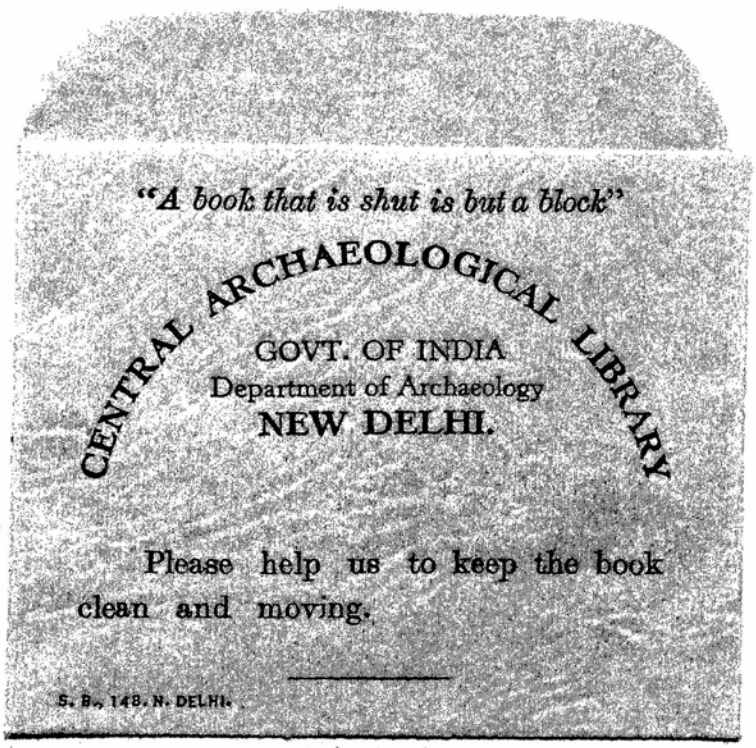
School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

Notes

[1] As many Macedonian settlements are built on a hill (partly for defensive purposes), the distance to the fields is often several miles.

[2] It should be noted that the classification published by the Ethnological Museum in Skopje, *Razvoy na kykáta vo Makedonija*, Skopje, 1952, does not mention the tectiform bothy, although an allied type is listed—*op. cit.*, fig. 2. Neither is this form listed in the very full description of Macedonia by Leonhard Schultze Jena, *Makedonien: Landschafts und Kulturbilder*, Jena, 1927.

Roy Trevor in *My Balkan Tour*, London, 1911, has a photograph from Montenegro (opposite p. 188) of a ridge-shaped wicker dwelling, superficially very similar to these tectiform bothies only very much larger. I have not myself seen this type of building, which is probably obsolete, and which I do not believe has any genetic connexion with the Macedonian bothy which I have described.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